THE WORKS

Of that Learned and Judicious Divine,

Mr. Richard Hooker,

IN

EIGHT BOOKS

Of the LAWS of

Eccleſiaſtical Polity,

Compleated out of his own MANUSCRIPTS.

Dedicated to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty,

CHARLES II.

By whoſe ROYAL FATHER (near His Martyrdom) the former five Books (then only extant) were commended to His Dear Children, as an excellent means to ſatisfie Private Scruples, and the Publick Peace of this CHURCH and KINGDOM.

To which are added, Several other Treatiſes by the ſame Author,

All Reviſed and Corrected in numberleſs Places of the former Editions, by a diligent Hand.

There is alſo prefix'd before the Book,

The LIFE of the AUTHOR written by ISAAC WALTON.

JAMES 3. 17. *The Wiſdom from above, is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, eaſie to be intreated, full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Partiality and without Hypocriſie.*

To this Edition is added a large Alphabetical INDEX.

DUBLIN:

Printed for *J. Hyde*, in *Dames-Street*, and *E. Dobſon* at the *Stationers-Arms* in *Caſtle-Street*,

M DCC XXIV.

To the KING's moſt Excellent MAJESTY.

CHARLES II.

By the Grace of God,

King of *Great-Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*,

Defender of the Faith, &c.

Moſt Gracious Soveraign,

ALthough I know how little leaſure *Great Kings* have to read large Books, or indeed any, ſave only *God's*, (the ſtudy, belief and obedience of which, is preciſely *commanded*, even to *Kings*, *Deut.* 17. 18, 19. And from which, whatever wholly *diverts* them, will hazard to *damn* them; there being no affairs of ſo great importance, as their ſerving *God*, and *ſaving their own Souls*; nor any *Precepts* ſo wiſe, juſt, holy and ſafe, as thoſe of the *Divine Oracles*; nor any *Empire* ſo glorious, as that by which *Kings* being *ſubject to God's Law*, have *dominion* over *themſelves*, and ſo beſt deſerve and exerciſe it over their *Subjects*:)

Yet having lived to ſee the wonderful and happy *Reſtauration* of *Your Majeſty* to *Your* Rightful Kingdoms, and of this *Reformed Church* to its juſt Rights, Primitive Order, and Priſtine Conſtitution, by *Your Majeſties* prudent care, and unparallel'd bounty, I know not what to preſent more worthy of *Your Majeſties* acceptance, and my duty, than theſe *Elaborate* and *Seaſonable Works* of the Famous and Prudent Mr. *Richard Hooker*, now augmented, and I hope compleated with the *Three laſt Books*, ſo much deſired and ſo long concealed.

The publiſhing of which *Volume* ſo *intire*, and thus *preſenting* it to *Your Majeſty*, ſeems to be a *bleſſing* and *honour* reſerved by *God's* Providence, to add a further luſtre to *Your Majeſties* glorious Name, and *happy Reign*, whoſe tranſcendent favour, juſtice, merit and munificence to the *long afflicted Church* of *England*, is a ſubject no leſs worthy of *admiration* than *gratitude* to all Poſterity. And of all things (next *God's* grace) not to be abuſed or turned into wantonneſs by any of *Your Majeſties* Clergy, who are highly obliged beyond all other *Subjects* to Piety, Loyalty and Induſtry.

I ſhall need nothing more to ingratiate this *incomparable Piece* to *Your Majeſties* acceptance, and all the *Engliſh Worlds*, than thoſe *high commendations* it hath ever had, as from all prudent, peaceable and impartial *Readers*, ſo eſpecially from *Your Majeſties* Royal *Father*, who a few days before he was *Crowned with Martyrdom*, commended to *His deareſt Children*, the diligent Reading of Mr. *Hooker's*

Eccleſiaſtical Polity, even next the *Bible*; as an excellent means to ſettle them in the *Truth of Religion*, and in the *Peace of this Church*, as much *Chriſtian*, and as well *Reformed* as any under *Heaven*: As if *God* had reſerved this *ſignal Honour* to be done by the beſt of *Kings*, and *greateſt Sufferers* for this *Church*, to *Him* who was one of the beſt *Writers*, and ableſt *Defenders* of it.

To this *Compleated Edition*, is added ſuch particular Accounts as could be got of the *Authors Perſon*, *Education*, *Temper*, *Manners*, *Fortunes*, *Life* and *Death*, which is now done with much *exactneſs* and *proportion*: That hereby *Your Majeſty*, and all the *World*, may ſee what ſort of Men are fitteſt for *Church-work* (which like the Building of *Solomon's* Temple, is beſt carried on with moſt *evenneſs* of Judgment, and leaſt *noiſe of* Paſſion.) Alſo what manner of *Man* he was, to whom we all owe this *Noble Work*, and *durable Defence*.

Which is indeed at once (as the Tongues of *Eloquent Princes* are to themſelves, and their *Subjects*) both a *Treaſury* and an *Armory*, to inrich their Friends, and defend them againſt the Enemies of the *Church* of *England*: A rare compoſition of *unpaſſionate Reaſon*, and *unpartial Religion*; the mature product of a *Judicious Scholar*, a *Loyal Subject*, an *Humble Preacher*, and a moſt *Eloquent Writer*: The very *abſtract* and *quinteſſence* of *Laws Humane* and *Divine*; a *Summary* of the Grounds, Rules and Proportions of *true Polity* in *Church* and *State*: Upon which clear, ſolid and ſafe *Foundations*, the good Order, Peace and Government of this *Church* was anciently ſetled, and on which, while it ſtands firm, it will be flouriſhing. All other popular and ſpecious *pretenſions* being found by late ſad experiences, to be as *novel* and *unfit*, ſo *factious* and *fallacious*, yea, dangerous and deſtructive to the *Peace* and *Proſperity* of this *Church* and *Kingdom*, whoſe inſeparable *happineſs* and *intereſts* are bound up in *Monarchy* and *Epiſcopacy*.

The Politick and Viſible managing of both which, *God* hath now graciouſly reſtored and committed to *Your Majeſties* Soveraign *Wiſdom* and *Authority*, after the many and long *Tragedies* ſuffered from thoſe *Club-maſters* and *Tub-miniſters*, who ſought not fairly to obtain *Reformation* of what might ſeem amiſs, but violently and wholly to overthrow the ancient and goodly *Fabrick* of this *Church* and *Kingdom*. For finding themſelves not able in many Years to *Anſwer this one Book*, long ago Written in defence of the Truth, Order, Government, Authority and Liberty (in things indifferent) of this *Reformed Church*, agreeable to *Right Reaſon*, and *True Religion* (which makes this Well-tempered Piece, a File capable to break the Teeth of any that venture to bite it;) they conſpired at laſt to betake themſelves to *Arms*, to kindle thoſe horrid fires of *Civil Wars*, which this Wiſe *Author* foreſaw, and foretold in his admirable *Preface*, would follow thoſe *ſparks*, and that *ſmoak* which he ſaw riſe in his *Days*: So that from *impertinent Diſputes* (ſeconded with *ſcurrilous Pamphlets*) they fled to *Tumults*, *Sedition*, *Rebellion*, *Sacriledge*, *Parricide*, yea, *Regicide*; *Counſels*, *Weapons*, and *Practices*, certainly, no way becoming the Hearts and Hands of *Chriſtian Subjects*, nor ever ſanctified by *Chriſt* for his Service, or his *Churches* good.

What now remains, but *Your Majeſties* perfecting and preſerving that (in this *Church*) which you have with much prudence and tenderneſs ſo *happily* begun and proſecuted, with more Zeal than the Eſtabliſhment of *Your* own *Throne*. The ſtill *crazy Church* of *England*, together with this *Book* (its great and impregnable *Shield*,) do further need, and humbly implore *Your Majeſties* Royal Protection under *God*: Nor can *Your Majeſty* by any generous inſtance and perſeverance (moſt worthy of a *Chriſtian King*) more expreſs that pious and grateful ſenſe which *God* and all good Men expect from *Your Majeſty*, as ſome retribution for his many *miraculous Mercies* to Your-ſelf, than in a Wiſe, Speedy and happy ſetling of our *Religious Peace*, with the leaſt *grievance*, and moſt *ſatisfaction* to all *Your good Subjects*; *Sacred Order* and *Uniformity* being the *centre* and *circumference* of our *Civil Tranquillity*: *Sedition* naturally riſing out of *Schiſm*, and *Rebellion*, out of *Faction*; The only cure and antidote againſt both, are good *Laws* and *Canons*, firſt wiſely made, with all *Chriſtian Moderation*, and *Seaſonable Charity*; next, duly executed with Juſtice and Impartiality; which ſober Severity, is indeed the *greateſt Charity* to the Publick. Whoſe Verity, Unity, Sanctity and Solemnity in Religious Concernments, being once duly *eſtabliſhed*, muſt not be ſhaken or ſacrificed to any private varieties and extravagancies. Where the internals of Doctrine, Morality, Myſteries and Evangelical Duties, being (as they are in the *Church of England*) ſound and ſacred, the externals of decent Forms, Circumſtances, Rites and Ceremonies, being ſubordinate and ſervient to the main, cannot be either evil or unſafe, neither offenſive to *God* nor good *Chriſtians*.

For the attaining of which *bleſſed ends* of Piety and Peace, that the ſacred *Sun* and *Shield* of the *Divine Grace* and *Power* directing and protecting, may ever ſhine upon *Your Majeſties* Perſon and Family, Counſels and Power, is the humble Prayer of

Your Sacred Majeſties

Moſt Loyal Subject,

and devoted Servant,

JOHN EXON.

TO THE
READER.

I Think it neceſſary to inform my Reader, that Doctor Gauden *(the late Biſhop of* Worceſter*) hath alſo lately wrote and publiſh'd the Life of Maſter* Hooker*; and though this be not writ by deſign to oppoſe what he hath truly written, yet, I am put upon a neceſſity to ſay, that in it there be many Material Miſtakes, and more Omiſſions. I conceive ſome of his miſtakes, did proceed, from a Belief in Maſter* Thomas Fuller*, who had too haſtily publiſhed what he hath ſince moſt ingenuouſly retracted. And for the Biſhop's Omiſſions, I ſuppoſe his more weighty Buſineſs and Want of Time, made him paſs over many things without that due examination, which my better Leiſure, my Diligence, and my accidental Advantages, have made known unto me.*

And now for my-ſelf, I can ſay, I hope, or rather know, there are no Material Miſtakes in what I here preſent to you, that ſhall become my Reader. Little things that I have received by Tradition (to which there may be too much and too little Faith given) I will not at this diſtance of Time undertake to juſtifie; for though, I have uſed great Diligence, and compared Relations and Circumſtances, and probable Reſults and Expreſſions: Yet, I ſhall not impoſe my belief upon my Reader; I ſhall rather leave him at liberty: But, if there ſhall appear any Material Omiſſion, I deſire every Lover of truth, and the Memory of Maſter Hooker*, that it may be made known unto me. And, to incline him to it, I here promiſe to acknowledge and rectifie any ſuch Miſtake in a ſecond Impreſſion, which the Printer ſays he hopes for; and by this means my weak (but faithful) Endeavours may become a better Monument, and in ſome degree more worthy the memory of this Venerable Man.*

I confeſs, that when I conſider the great Learning and Virtue of Maſter Hooker*, and what ſatisfaction and Advantages many Eminent Scholars and Admirers of him have had by his Labours: I do not a little wonder that in Sixty Years no Man did undertake to tell Poſterity of the Excellencies of his Life and Learning, and the Accidents of both, and ſometimes wonder more at my-ſelf, that I have been perſwaded to it, and indeed I do not eaſily pronounce my own Pardon, nor expect that my Reader ſhall, unleſs my Introduction ſhall prove my Apology, to which I refer him.*

The Copy of a Letter writ to Mr. Walton, *by Dr.* King, *Lord Biſhop of* Chicheſter.

Honeſt ISAAC,

Though a Familiarity of Forty years continuance, and the conſtant experience of your Love, even in the worſt times, be ſufficient to indear our Friendſhip: Yet, I muſt confeſs my affection much improved, not only by evidences of private reſpect to thoſe very many that know and love you, but by your new demonſtration of a Publick Spirit, teſtified in a diligent, true and uſeful Collection of ſo many Material Paſſages, as you have now afforded me in the Life of Venerable Mr. *Hooker*; Of which, ſince deſired by ſuch a Friend as your-ſelf, I ſhall not deny to give the Teſtimony of what I know concerning him and his learned Books; but ſhall firſt here take a fair occaſion to tell you, that you have been happy in chooſing to write the Lives of three ſuch Perſons, as Poſterity hath juſt cauſe to honour; which they will do the more for the true Relation of them by your happy Pen: Of all which I ſhall give you my unfeigned Cenſure.

I ſhall begin with my moſt dear and incomparable Friend Dr. *Donne*, late Dean of St. *Pauls* Church, who not only truſted me as his Executor, but three Days before his Death delivered into my Hands thoſe excellent Sermons of his which are now made publick: Profeſſing before Dr. *Winniff*, Dr. *Montford*, and I think your-ſelf then preſent at his Bed-ſide, that it was by my reſtleſs importunity that he had prepared them for the Preſs; together with which (as his beſt Legacy) he gave me all his Sermon-Notes, and his other Papers, containing an Extract of near Fifteen-hundred Authors. Now theſe were got out of my Hands, you, who were the Meſſengers for them, and how loſt both to me and your-ſelf, is not now ſeaſonable to complain; but, ſince they did miſcarry, I am glad that the general Demonſtration of his worth was ſo fairly preſerved, and repreſented to the World by your Pen in the Hiſtory of his Life; indeed ſo well, that beſide others, the beſt Critick of our later time (Mr. *John Hales* of *Eaton* Colledge) affirmed to me, *He had not ſeen a Life written with more advantage to the Subject, or more reputation to the Writer, than that of Dr.* Donnes.

After the performance of this task for Dr. *Donne*, you undertook the like office for our Friend Sir *Henry Wotton*, betwixt which two there was a Friendſhip begun in *Oxford*, continued in their various Travels, and more confirmed in the religious Friendſhip of Age: and doubtleſs this excellent Perſon had writ the Life of Dr. *Donne*, if Death had not prevented him; by which means, his and your Pre-collections for that Work, fell to the happy manage of your Pen: A Work, which you would have declined, if imperious perſwaſions had not been ſtronger than your modeſt reſolutions againſt it. And I am thus far glad, that the firſt Life was ſo impoſed upon you, becauſe it gave an unavoidable cauſe of writing the ſecond; If not, 'tis too probable, we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all Lovers of Honour and ingenious Learning. And let me not leave my Friend Sir *Henry* without this Teſtimony added to yours, That he was a Man of as florid a Wit, and elegant a Pen, as any former, or ours, which in that kind is a moſt excellent Age, hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary obſervation of our two deceaſed Friends, I proceed to ſatisfie your deſire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. *Hooker*, who was *Schiſmaticorum Malleus*, ſo great a Champion for the Church of *England's* Rights, againſt the Factious Torrent of Separatiſts that then ran high againſt Church-Diſcipline, and in his unanſwerable Books continues ſtill to be ſo againſt the unquiet Diſciples of their Schiſm, which now under other names carry on their deſign; and (who as the proper Heirs of their Irrational Zeal) would again rake into the ſcarce-cloſed Wounds of a newly bleeding *State* and *Church*.

And firſt, though I dare not ſay I knew Mr. *Hooker*; yet, as our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory reports to the honour of *Ignatius*, that he lived in the time of St. *John*, and had ſeen him in his child-hood; ſo I alſo joy, that in my minority I have often ſeen Mr. *Hooker* with my Father, then Lord Biſhop of *London*, from whom, and others at that time, I have heard moſt of the material paſſages which you relate in the Hiſtory of his Life; and from my Father received ſuch a Character of his *Learning*, *Humility*, and other Virtues, that like Jewels of unvaluable price, they ſtill caſt ſuch a luſtre as Envy or the Ruſt of Time ſhall never darken. From my Father I have alſo heard all the circumſtances of the Plot to defame him; and how Sir *Edwin Sandys* outwitted his Accuſers, and gained their confeſſion; and could give an account of each particular of that Plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the ſame grave with the malicious Authors. I may not omit to declare, That my Father's knowledge of Mr. *Hooker* was occaſioned by the Learned Dr. *John Spencer*, who after the death of

Mr. *Hooker*, was ſo careful to preſerve his unvaluable Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Books of *ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY*, and his other Writings, that he procured *Henry Jackſon*, then of *Corpus-Chriſti* Colledge, to tranſcribe for him all Mr. *Hooker's* remaining written Papers, many of which were imperfect; for his Study had been rifled or worſe uſed by Mr. *Clark*, and another of principles too like his: But as theſe Papers were, they were endeavoured to be compleated by his dear Friend Dr. *Spencer*, who bequeathed them as a precious Legacy to my Father; after whoſe death they reſted in my hand, till Dr. *Abbot*, then Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, commanded them out of my cuſtody, authoriſing Dr. *John Barkham*, (his Lordſhips Chaplain) to require and bring them to him to *Lambeth*: At which time I have heard they were put into the Biſhops Library, and that they remained there till the Martyrdom of Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, and were then by the Brethren of that Faction given with the Library to *Hugh Peters*, as a reward for his remarkable ſervice in thoſe ſad times of the Churches confuſion: And though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them ſpeak that Language, for which the Faction then fought; which was, *To ſubject the Soveraign Power to the People.* I need not ſtrive to vindicate Mr. *Hooker* in this particular; his known Loyalty to his Prince whilſt he lived, the ſorrow expreſſed by King *James* for his Death; the value our late Soveraign (of ever-bleſſed Memory) put upon his Works, and now the ſingular Character of his worth given by you in the paſſages of his life, (eſpecially in your *Appendix* to it) do ſufficiently clear him from that imputation: And I am glad you mention how much value *Robert Stapleton*, Pope *Clement* the Eighth, and other eminent Men of the Romiſh perſwaſion, have put upon his Books, having been told the ſame in my Youth by Perſons of worth that have travelled *Italy*. Laſtly, I muſt again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you than any other Perſon, by reaſon of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy Family of the *Cranmers* (my old friends alſo) who have been Men of noted wiſdom, eſpecially Mr. *George Cranmer*, whoſe prudence added to that of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, proved very uſeful in the compleating of Mr. *Hooker's* matchleſs Books; one of their Letters I herewith ſend you to make uſe of, if you think fit. And let me ſay further, you merit much from many of Mr. *Hooker's* beſt Friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift*, of whoſe incomparable worth, with the Character of the times, you have given us a more ſhort and ſignificant account than I have received from any other Pen. You have done much for Sir *Henry Savile*, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongſt the ſurviving Monuments of whoſe Learning (give me leave to tell you ſo) two are omitted; his Edition of *Euclid*, but eſpecially his Tranſlation of King *James his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, into elegant Latin: Which flying in that dreſs as far as *Rome*, was by the Pope and Conclave ſent unto *Franciſcus Suarez* to *Salamanca* (he then reſiding there as Preſident of that Colledge) with a command to anſwer it. When he had perfected the work (which he calls *Defenſio Fidei Catholicæ*,) it was tranſmitted to *Rome* for a view of the Inquiſitors; who according to their cuſtom blotted out what they pleaſed, and (as Mr. *Hooker* hath been uſed ſince his death) added whatſoever might advance the Pope's Supremacy, or carry on their own intereſt, commonly coupling together *Deponere & Occidere*, the depoſing and killing of Princes: Which cruel and unchriſtian Language Mr. *John Saltkell* (his *Amanuenſis*, when he wrote at *Salamanca*; but ſince a Convert, living long in my Fathers Houſe) often profeſſed, the good old Man (whoſe Piety and Charity Mr. *Saltkell* magnified much) not only diſavowed, but deteſted. Not to trouble you further, your Reader (if according to your deſire my approbation of your work carries any weight) will find many juſt reaſons to thank you for it; and for this circumſtance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who is,

Chicheſter,
Novemb.
13.16.

SIR,
Your ever faithful and affectionate Old Friend,

Henry Chicheſter.

THE LIFE OF Mr. Richard Hooker.

The INTRODUCTION.

I *Have been perſwaded by a Friend, that I ought to obey, to write,* The Life of RICHARD HOOKER, *the happy Author of Five (if not more) of the Eight Learned Books of* The Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity. *And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with ſome unwillingneſs, foreſeeing that it muſt prove to me, and eſpecially at this time of my Age, a Work of much labour to enquire, conſider, reſearch, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his Life, and muſt therefore not only look back to his Death, (now Sixty four years paſt) but almoſt Fifty Years beyond that, even to his Childhood and Youth, and gather thence ſuch Obſervations and Prognoſticks, as may at leaſt adorn, if not prove neceſſary for the compleating of what I have undertaken.*

This trouble I foreſee, and foreſee alſo that it is impoſſible to eſcape Cenſures; againſt which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I conſider the Age in which I live) and ſhall therefore but intreat of my Reader a ſuſpenſion of them, till I have made known unto him ſome Reaſons, which I my ſelf would now fain believe, do make me in ſome meaſure fit for this undertaking: And if theſe Reaſons ſhall not acquit me from all Cenſures, they may at leaſt abate of their ſeverity; and this is all I can probably hope for.

My Reaſons follow.

About Forty Years paſt (for I am now in the Seventieth of my Age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer, *(now with God) Grand Nephew unto the Great Arch-Biſhop of that name; a family of noted prudence and reſolution; with him and two of his ſiſters I had an entire and free friendſhip, One of them was the Wife of Doct.* Spencer, *a Boſom-friend, and ſometime Compupil with Mr.* Hooker *in* Corpus Chriſti Colledge *in* Oxford, *and after Preſident of the ſame. I name them here, for that I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in this following Diſcourſe; as alſo* George Cranmer *their Brother, of whoſe uſeful abilities my Reader may have a more authentick teſtimony than my Pen can purchaſe for him, by that of our learned* Cambden *and others.*

This William Cranmer *and his two forenamed Siſters, had ſome affinity, and a moſt familiar friendſhip with Mr.* Hooker, *and had had ſome part of their Education with him in his Houſe, when he was Parſon of* Biſhop's-Born *near* Canterbury; *in which City their good Father then lived. They had (I ſay) a great part of their Education with him, as my ſelf ſince that time, a happy Cohabitation with them; and having ſome Years before read part of Mr.* Hooker's *Works with great liking and ſatisfaction, my affection to them made me a diligent Inquiſitor into many things that concerned him; as namely, of his Perſon, his Nature, the management of his Time, his Wife, his Family, and the fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my conſideration, and intended for the ſatisfaction of my Reader.*

I had alſo a friendſhip with the Reverend Doct. Uſher, *the late Learned Arch-Biſhop of* Armagh; *and with Doct.* Morton, *the late Learned and Charitable Biſhop of* Durham; *as alſo with the Learned* John Hales *of* Eaton Colledge; *and with them alſo (who loved the very name of Mr.* Hooker) *I have had many diſcourſes concerning him; and from them, and many others that have now put off Mortality, I might have had more Informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitneſs for what by perſwaſion I have now undertaken. But, though that full Harveſt be irrecoverably loſt, yet my Memory hath preſerved ſome Gleanings, and my diligence made ſuch Additions to them, as I hope will prove uſeful to the compleating of what I intend. In the diſcovery of which I ſhall be faithful; and with this aſſurance put a period to my Introduction.*

The LIFE.

IT is not to be doubted, but that *Richard Hooker* was born within the Precincts, or in the City of *Exeter*. A City which may juſtly boaſt that it was the Birth-place of him and Sir *Thomas Bodley*; as indeed the County may in which it ſtands, that it hath furniſhed this Nation with Biſhop *Jewel*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and many others memorable for their Valour and Learning. He was born about the Year of our Redemption One thouſand five hundred fifty and three; and of Parents, that were not ſo remarkable for their Extraction or Riches, as for their Vertue and Induſtry, and God's Bleſſing upon both: By which they were enabled to educate their Children in ſome degree of Learning, of which, our *Richard Hooker* may appear to be one fair Teſtimony: And that Nature is not ſo partial as always to give the great Bleſſings of Wiſdom and Learning, and with them the greater Bleſſings of Vertue and Government, to thoſe only that are of a more high and honourable Birth.

His Complection (if we may gueſs by him at the Age of Forty) was Sanguine, with a mixture of Choler; and yet his motion was ſlow even in his Youth, and ſo was his Speech, never expreſſing an Earneſtneſs in either of them, but a Gravity ſuitable to the Aged. And it is obſerved (ſo far as Inquiry is able to look back at this diſtance of Time) that at his being a School-boy, he was an early Queſtioniſt, quietly inquiſitive, *Why this was, and that was not, to be remembred? Why this was granted, and that denied?* This being mixt with a remarkable Modeſty, and a ſweet ſerene Quietneſs of Nature; and with them a quick Apprehenſion of many perplext parts of Learning, impoſed then upon him as a Scholar, made his Maſter and others to believe him to have an inward Bleſſed Divine Light, and therefore to conſider him to a little wonder. For in that, Children were leſs pregnant, leſs confident, and more malleable, than in this wiſer, but not better Age.

This Meekneſs and conjuncture of Knowledge, with Modeſty in his Converſation, being obſerved by his School-maſter, cauſed him to perſwade his Parents (who intended him for an Apprentice) to continue him at School till he could find out ſome means, by perſwading his rich Uncle, or ſome other charitable Perſon, to eaſe them of a part of their Care and Charge: Aſſuring them, that their Son was ſo enriched with the Bleſſings of Nature and Grace, that God ſeemed to ſingle him out as a ſpecial Inſtrument of his Glory. And the good Man told them alſo, that he would double his diligence in inſtructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other reward, than the content of ſo hopeful and happy an imployment.

This was not unwelcome news, and eſpecially to his Mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear Child; and all Parties were ſo pleaſed with this Propoſal, that it was reſolved *So it ſhould be.* And in the mean time his Parents and Maſter laid a Foundation for his future Happineſs, by inſtilling into his Soul the *Seeds of Piety*, thoſe Conſcientious principles of *Loving and fearing God*; of *an early belief, that he knows the very ſecrets of our Souls*; *that he puniſheth our Vices, and rewards our Innocence*; *that we ſhould be free from Hypocriſie, and appear to Man, what we are to God, becauſe firſt or laſt the crafty Man is catcht in his own ſnare.* Theſe Seeds of Piety were ſo ſeaſonably planted, and ſo continually watered with the daily dew of God's Bleſſed Spirit, that his Infant-vertues grew into ſuch holy Habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favour, both with God and Man; which with the great Learning that he did attain to, hath made *Richard Hooker* honoured in this, and will continue him to be ſo to ſucceeding Generations.

This good School-maſter, whoſe name I am not able to recover, (and am ſorry, for that I would have given him a better Memorial in this humble Monument, dedicated to the Memory of his Scholar) was very ſollicitous with *John Hooker*, then Chamberlain of *Exeter*, and Uncle to our *Richard*, to take his Nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one Year in the Univerſity, and in the mean time to uſe his Endeavours to procure an Admiſſion for him into ſome Colledge; ſtill urging and aſſuring him that his Charge would not continue long; for the Lad's Learning and Manners were both ſo remarkable, that they muſt of neceſſity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him ſome ſecond Patron, that would free him and his Parents from their future care and charge.

Theſe Reaſons, with the affectionate Rhetorick of his good Maſter, and God's bleſſing upon both, procured from his Uncle a faithful promiſe that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the Year following, which was performed.

This Promiſe was made about the Fourth Year of the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and the Learned *John Jewel* (after Biſhop of *Salisbury*) having been in the firſt of this Queen's Reign expelled out of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, (of which he was a Fellow) for adhering to the truth of thoſe Principles of Religion, to which he had aſſented in the Days of her Brother and Predeceſſor, *Edward* the Sixth; and he having now a juſt cauſe to fear a more heavy puniſhment than expulſion, was forced by forſaking this, to ſeek ſafety in another Nation, and with that ſafety the enjoyment of that Doctrine and Worſhip for which he ſuffered.

But the Cloud of that Perſecution and Fear ending with the Life of Queen *Mary*, the Affairs of the Church and State did then look more clear and comfortable; ſo that he, and many others of the ſame judgement, made a happy return into *England* about the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*; in which Year this *John Jewel* was ſent a Commiſſioner or Viſitor of the Churches of the Weſtern parts of this Kingdom, and eſpecially of thoſe in *Devonſhire*, in which County he was born; and then, and there he contracted a friendſhip with *John Hooker*, the Uncle of our *Richard*.

In the Third Year of her Reign, this *John Jewel* was made Biſhop of *Salisbury*; and there being always obſerved in him a willingneſs to do good and oblige his Friends, and now a power added to it: *John Hooker* gave him a viſit in *Salisbury*, *and beſought him for Charitie's ſake to look favourably upon a poor Nephew of his, whom Nature had fitted for a Scholar; but the eſtate of his Parents was ſo narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of Learning; and that the Biſhop would therefore become his Patron, and prevent him from being a Tradeſman; for he was a Boy of remarkable hopes.* And though the Biſhop knew Men do not uſually look with an indifferent Eye upon their own Children and Relations, yet he aſſented ſo far to *John Hooker*, that he appointed the Boy and his School-maſter ſhould attend him about *Eaſter* next following at that place; which was done accordingly: And then after ſome Queſtions and Obſervations of the Boy's Learning, and Gravity, and Behaviour, the Biſhop gave his School-maſter a Reward, and took order for an Annual Penſion for the Boy's Parents, promiſing alſo to take him into his care for a future preferment; which was performed. For, about the Fourteenth Year of his Age, which was *Anno* 1567. he was by the Biſhop appointed to remove to *Oxford*, and there to attend Doct. *Cole*, then Preſident of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge: Which he did, and Doct. *Cole* had (according to a promiſe made to the Biſhop) provided for him both a Tutor (which was ſaid to be the Learned Doct. *John Reynolds*) and a Clerk's place in that Colledge: Which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his Uncle, and the continued Penſion of his Patron, the good Biſhop, gave him a comfortable ſubſiſtence. And in this condition he continued unto the Eighteenth year of his age, ſtill increaſing in Learning and Prudence, and ſo much in *Humility* and *Piety*, that he ſeemed to be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and even like St. *John Baptiſt*, to be ſanctified from his Mother's Womb, who did often bleſs the Day in which ſhe bore him.

About this time of his age, he fell into a dangerous Sickneſs, which laſted two Months: All which time, his Mother having notice of it, did in her hourly Prayers as earneſtly beg his life of God, as the Mother of Saint *Auguſtine* did, that he might become a true Chriſtian: And their Prayers were both ſo heard, as to be granted. Which Mr. *Hooker* would often mention with much Joy, *and pray that he might never live to occaſion any ſorrow to ſo good a Mother, whom he would often ſay, he loved ſo dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her ſake, as for his own.*

As ſoon as he was perfectly recovered from his Sickneſs, he took a Journey from *Oxford* to *Exeter*, to ſatisfie and ſee his good Mother, being accompanied with a Country-man and Companion of his own Colledge, and both on foot; which was then either more in faſhion, or want of Money, or their Humility made it ſo: But on foot they went, and took *Salisbury* in their way, purpoſely to ſee the good Biſhop, who made Mr. *Hooker* and his Companion dine with him at his own Table; which Mr. *Hooker* boaſted of with much joy and gratitude when he ſaw his Mother and Friends: And at the Biſhop's parting with him, the Biſhop gave him good Counſel, and his Benediction, but forgot to give him Money; which when the Biſhop had conſider'd, he ſent a Servant in all haſte to call *Richard* back to him: And at *Richard*'s return, the Biſhop ſaid to him, *Richard, I ſent for you back to lend you a Horſe which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much eaſe.* And preſently delivered into his hand a Walking-ſtaff, with which he profeſſed he had travelled through many parts of *Germany*. And he ſaid, *Richard, I do not give, but lend you my Horſe; be ſure you be honeſt, and bring my Horſe back to me at your return this way to* Oxford. *And I do now give you Ten Groats to bear your charges to* Exeter; *and here are Ten Groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your Mother, and tell her, I ſend her a Biſhop's Benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her Prayers for me. And if you bring my Horſe back to me, I will give you Ten Groats more to carry you on foot to the Colledge: And ſo God bleſs you, good Richard.*

And this, you may believe, was performed by both Parties. But alas! the next news that followed Mr. *Hooker* to *Oxford* was, That his Learned and Charitable Patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for that as he lived, ſo he died, in devout Meditation and Prayer; and in both ſo zealouſly, that it became a Religious queſtion, *Whether his laſt Ejaculations, or his Soul, did firſt enter into Heaven?*

And now Mr. *Hooker* became a Man of Sorrow and Fear: Of Sorrow, for the loſs of ſo dear and comfortable a Patron; and of Fear, for his future ſubſiſtence. But Mr. *Cole* raiſed his ſpirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his Studies, and aſſuring him that he ſhould neither want Food nor Raiment, (which was the utmoſt of his hopes) for he would become his Patron.

And ſo he was for about Nine Months, or not much longer; for about that time this following accident did befall Mr. *Hooker*.

Edwin Sandys (then Biſhop of *London*, and after Archbiſhop of *York*) had alſo been in the Days of Queen *Mary* forced, by forſaking this, to ſeek ſafety in another Nation; where for many Years, Biſhop *Jewel* and he were Companions at Bed and Board in *Germany*; and, where in this their Exile, they did often eat the Bread of Sorrow, and by that means they there began ſuch a Friendſhip, as time did not blot out, but laſted till the Death of Biſhop *Jewel*, which was One thouſand five hundred ſeventy and one. A little before which time the two Biſhops meeting, *Jewel* began a ſtory of his *Richard Hooker*, and in it gave ſuch a Character of his Learning and manners, that though Biſhop *Sandys* was educated in *Cambridge*, where he had obliged, and had many Friends: Yet his reſolution was, that his Son *Edwin* ſhould be ſent to *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, and by all means be Pupil to Mr. *Hooker*, though his Son *Edwin* was then almoſt of the ſame age: For the Biſhop ſaid, *I will have a Tutor for my Son, that ſhall teach him Learning by Inſtruction, and Vertue by Example; and my greateſt care ſhall be of the laſt, and (God willing) this* Richard Hooker *ſhall be the Man, into whoſe Hands I will commit my* Edwin. And the Biſhop did ſo about Twelve Months after this reſolution.

And doubtleſs, as to theſe two, a better choice could not be made: For, Mr. *Hooker* was now in the Nineteenth Year of his age; had ſpent five in the Univerſity; and had by a conſtant unwearied diligence, attained unto a Perfection in all the Learned Languages: By the help of which, an excellent Tutor, and his unintermitted Study, he had made the ſubtilty of all the Arts eaſie and familiar to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcovery of ſuch Learning as lay hid from common Searchers. So that by theſe added to his great Reaſon, and his Induſtry added to both, *He did not only know more of Cauſes and Effects; but what he knew, he knew better than other Men.* And with this Knowledge he had a moſt bleſſed and clear Method of Demonſtrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his Pupils, (which in time were many) but eſpecially to his two firſt, his dear *Edwin Sandys*, and his as dear *George Cranmer*, of which there will be a fair Teſtimony in the enſuing Relation.

This for his Learning. And for his Behaviour, amongſt other Teſtimonies, this ſtill remains of him, That in four Years he was but twice abſent from the Chappel-Prayers; and that his Behaviour there was ſuch as ſhewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worſhipped and prayed to; giving all outward Teſtimonies that his Affections were ſet on Heavenly things. This was his Behaviour towards God; and for that to Man, it is obſervable, That he was never known to be angry, or paſſionate, or extream in any of his deſires; never heard to repine or diſpute with Providence, but by a quiet gentle ſubmiſſion and reſignation of his will to the Wiſdom of his Creator, bore the burthen of the Day with patience; never heard to utter an uncomely Word: And by this and a grave behaviour, which is a Divine Charm, he begot an early Reverence unto his Perſon, even from thoſe that at other times, and in other Companies, took a Liberty to caſt off that ſtrictneſs of Behaviour and Diſcourſe that is required in a Collegiate Life. And when he took any liberty to be pleaſant, his Wit was never blemiſhed with ſcoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of looſeneſs in his Hearers. Thus innocent and exemplary was his Behaviour in his Colledge; and thus this good Man continued till his Death; ſtill increaſing in *Learning*, in *Patience* and *Piety*.

In this Nineteenth Year of his Age, he was choſen, *December* 24. 1573. to be one of the Twenty Scholars of the *Foundation*; being elected and admitted as born in *Devonſhire*, (out of which County a certain number are to be elected in Vacancies by the Founder's Statutes.) And now he was much encouraged; for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved Colledge, which was then noted for an eminent Library, ſtrict Students, and remarkable Scholars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Biſhop *Jewel*, Dr. *John Reynolds*, and Dr. *Thomas Jackſon*, of that *Foundation*. The firſt, famous by his Learned Apology for the Church of *England*, and his Defence of it againſt *Harding*. The ſecond, for the learned and wiſe Menage of a publick Diſpute with *John Hart*, of the *Roman* perſwaſion, about the Head and Faith of the Church, then Printed by conſent of both parties. And the third, for his moſt excellent Expoſition of the Creed, and for his other Treatiſes; all ſuch as have given the greateſt ſatiſfaction to Men of the greateſt Learning. Nor was this Man more eminent for his Learning, than for his ſtrict and pious Life, teſtified by his abundant Love and Charity to all Men.

In the Year 1576. *February* 23. Mr. *Hooker's* Grace was given him for *Inceptor* of Arts; Dr. *Herbert Weſtphaling*, a Man of noted Learning, being then Vice-Chancellor, and the Act following he was compleated Maſter, which was *Anno* 1577. His Patron Dr. *Cole* being that Year Vice-Chancellor, and his dear Friend *Henry Savil* of *Merton* Colledge, then one of the Proctors. It was that *Henry Savil*, who was afterwards Sir *Henry Savil*, Warden of *Merton* Colledge, and Provoſt of *Eaton*: He who founded in *Oxford* two famous Lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir *Henry Savil* that tranſlated and enlightned the Hiſtory of *Cornelius Tacitus*, with a moſt excellent Comment; and enriched the World by his laborious and chargeable collecting the ſcattered pieces of St. *Chryſoſtom*, and the Publication of them in one entire Body in *Greek*; in which Language he was a moſt judicious Critick. It was this Sir *Henry Savil* that had the happineſs to be a Contemporary, and a moſt familiar Friend to our *Richard Hooker*, and let poſterity know it.

And in this Year of 1577. he was choſen Fellow of the Colledge: Happy alſo in being the Contemporary and Friend of Dr. *John Reynolds*, of whom I have lately ſpoken, and of Dr. *Spencer*; both which were after, and ſucceſſively, made Preſidents of his Colledge: Men of great Learning and Merit, and famous in their Generations.

Nor was Mr. *Hooker* more happy in his Contemporaries of his Time and Colledge, than in the Pupillage and Friendſhip of his *Edwin Sandys* and *George Cranmer*, of whom my Reader may note, That this *Edwin Sandys* was after Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and as famous for his *Speculum Europæ*, as his Brother *George* for making Poſterity beholden to his Pen by a Learned Relation and Comment on his dangerous and remarkable *Travels*; and for his harmonious Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* of *David*, the Book of *Job*, and other Poetical parts of Holy Writ, into moſt high and elegant Verſe. And for *Cranmer*, his other Pupil, I ſhall refer my Reader to the Printed Teſtimonies of our Learned Maſter *Cambden*, the Lord *Tottenes*, *Fines*, *Moriſon*, and others.

This Cranmer, *whoſe Chriſten-name was* George, *was a Gentleman of ſingular hopes, the eldeſt Son of* Thomas Cranmer, *Son of* Edward Cranmer, *the Arch-Biſhop's Brother: He ſpent much of his Youth in* Corpus-Chriſti *Colledge in* Oxford, *where he continued Maſter of Arts for many Years before he removed, and then betook himſelf to Travel, accompanying that worthy Gentleman Sir* Edwin Sandys *into* France, Germany *and* Italy, *for the ſpace of three Years; and, after their happy return, he betook himſelf to an employment under Secretary* Daviſon: *After whoſe fall, he went in place of Secretary with Sir* Henry Killegrew *in his Embaſſage into* France; *and after his death, he was ſought after by the moſt Noble Lord* Mount-Joy, *with whom he went into* Ireland, *where he remained, until in a Battle againſt the Rebels near* Carlingford, *an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him.*

Betwixt Mr. *Hooker*, and theſe his two Pupils, there was a ſacred Friendſhip; a Friendſhip made up of Religious Principles, which increaſed daily by a ſimilitude of Inclinations to the ſame Recreations and Studies; a Friendſhip elemented in Youth, and in an Univerſity, free from ſelf-ends, which the Friendſhips of Age uſually are not. In this ſweet, this bleſſed, this Spiritual Amity they went on for many Years: and, as the Holy Prophet ſaith, ſo *they took ſweet counſel together, and walked in the Houſe of God as Friends.* By which means they improved it to ſuch a degree of Amity, as bordered upon Heaven; a Friendſhip ſo ſacred, that when it ended in this World, it began in the next, where it ſhall have no end.

And, though this World cannot give any degree of pleaſure equal to ſuch a Friendſhip; yet obedience to Parents, and a deſire to know the Affairs, and Manners, and Laws, and Learning of other Nations, that they might thereby become the more ſerviceable unto their own, made them put off their Gowns and leave Mr. *Hooker* to his Colledge: Where he was daily more aſſiduous in his Studies, ſtill enriching his quiet and capacious Soul with the precious Learning of the Philoſophers, Caſuiſts, and Schoolmen; and with them the Foundation and Reaſon of all Laws, both Sacred and Civil; and with ſuch other Learning as lay moſt remote from the Track of Common Studies. And as he was diligent in theſe; ſo he ſeemed reſtleſs in ſearching the ſcope and intention of God's Spirit revealed to mankind in the Sacred Scripture: For the underſtanding of which, he ſeemed to be aſſiſted by the ſame Spirit with which they were written: He that regardeth truth in the inward parts, making him to underſtand Wiſdom ſecretly. And the good Man would often ſay, *The Scripture was not writ to beget Pride, and Diſputations, and Oppoſition to Government; but Moderation, and Charity, and Humility, and Obedience, and Peace, and Piety in Mankind; of which, no good Man did ever repent himſelf upon his Death-bed.* And that this was really his Judgement, did appear in his future Writings, and in all the Actions of his Life. Nor was this excellent Man a ſtranger to the more light and airy parts of Learning, as Muſick and Poetry; all which he had digeſted, and made uſeful: And of all which, the Reader will have a fair Teſtimony in what follows.

Thus he continued his Studies in all quietneſs for the ſpace of three or more Years; about which time he entred into Sacred Orders, and was made both Deacon and Prieſt; and not long after, in obedience to the Colledge-Statutes, he was to Preach either at St. *Peter's*, *Oxford*, or at St. *Paul's* Croſs, *London*, and the laſt fell to his Allotment.

In order to which Sermon, to *London* he came, and immediately to the *Shunamites* Houſe; which is a Houſe ſo called, for that, beſides the ſtipend paid the Preacher, there is Proviſion made alſo for his Lodging and Diet two Days before, and one Day after his Sermon. This Houſe was then kept by *John Churchman*, ſometimes a Draper of good note in *Watling-Street*, upon whom, after many Years of Plenty, Poverty had at laſt come like an armed Man, and brought him into a neceſſitous condition: Which though it be a Puniſhment, is not always an Argument of God's diſfavour, for he was a virtuous Man: I ſhall not yet give the like Teſtimony of his Wife, but leave the Reader to judge by what follows. But to this Houſe Mr. *Hooker* came ſo wet, ſo weary, and weather-beaten, That he was never known to expreſs more Paſſion, than againſt a Friend that diſſwaded him from footing it to *London*, and for hiring him no eaſier an Horſe, (ſuppoſing the Horſe Trotted when he did not;) and at this time alſo, ſuch a faintneſs and fear poſſeſt him, that he would not be perſwaded two Days quietneſs, or any other means could be uſed to make him able to Preach his Sunday's Sermon; but a warm Bed, and Reſt, and Drink proper for a Cold given him by Miſtreſs *Churchman*, and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the Office of the Day, which was in or about the Year One thouſand five hundred eighty and one.

And in this firſt publick appearance to the World, he was not ſo happy as to be free from Exceptions againſt a point of Doctrine delivered in his Sermon, which was, *That in God there were two Wills; an Antecedent, and a Conſequent Will: His firſt Will, That all Mankind ſhould be ſaved; but his ſecond Will was, That thoſe only ſhould be ſaved that did live anſwerable to that degree of Grace, which he had offered or afforded them.* This ſeemed to croſs a late opinion of Mr. *Calvin's*, and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and hath been ſince by Dr. *Jackſon*, Dr. *Hammond*, and others of great Learning, who believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the Honour and Juſtice of our Merciful God. How he juſtified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted againſt (as Mr. *Hooker* declares in an Occaſional Anſwer to Mr. *Travers*) by *John Elmer*, then Biſhop of *London*; at this time one of his Auditors, and at laſt one of his Advocates too, when Mr. *Hooker* was accuſed for it.

But the juſtifying of this Doctrine did not prove of ſo bad conſequence, as the kindneſs of Miſtreſs *Churchman's* curing him of his late diſtemper and cold; for that was ſo gratefully apprehended by Mr. *Hooker*, that he thought himſelf bound in Conſcience to believe all that ſhe ſaid: So that the good Man came to be perſwaded by her, *That he was a Man of a tender conſtitution*; and, *that it was beſt for him to have a Wife, that might prove a Nurſe to him*; *ſuch an one as might both prolong his Life, and make it more comfortable*; *and ſuch a one, ſhe could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to Marry.* And he not conſidering, that *the Children of this World are wiſer in their Generation than the Children of Light*: But, like a true *Nathanael*, feared no guile, becauſe he meant none; did give her ſuch a power as *Eleazar* was truſted with, when he was ſent to chooſe a Wife for *Iſaac*; for even ſo he truſted her to chooſe for him: Promiſing upon a fair Summons to return to *London*, and accept of her Choice; and did ſo in that, or the Year following. Now, the Wife provided for him was her Daughter *Joan*, who brought him neither Beauty nor Portion; and, for her Conditions, they were too like that Wife's, which is by *Solomon* compared to a Dripping Houſe: So that he had no reaſon to *rejoice in the Wife of his Youth*, but rather to ſay with the Holy Prophet, *Wo is me that I am conſtrained to have my habitation in the Tents of* Kedar!

This choice of Mr. *Hooker*'s (if it were his choice) may be wonder'd at; but let us conſider that the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſays, *There is a Wheel within a Wheel*; a ſacred Wheel of Providence (eſpecially in Marriages) guided by his Hand that *allows not the Race to the ſwift*, nor *Bread to the wiſe*, nor good Wives to good Men: And he that can bring good out of evil, (for Mortals are blind to ſuch Reaſons) only knows why this Bleſſing was deny'd to patient *Job*, and (as ſome think) to meek *Moſes*, and to our as meek and patient Mr. *Hooker*. But ſo it was; and let the Reader ceaſe to wonder, for *Affliction is a Divine Diet*, which though it be not pleaſing to Mankind, yet Almighty God hath often, very often, impoſed it as good, though bitter Phyſick to thoſe Children whoſe Souls are deareſt to him.

And by this means the good Man was drawn from the tranquillity of his Colledge: From that Garden of Piety, of Pleaſure, of Peace, and a ſweet Converſation, into the Thorny Wilderneſs of a buſie World; into thoſe corroding cares that attend a Married Prieſt, and a Country Parſonage; which was *Draiton Beauchamp* in *Buckinghamſhire*, (not far from *Aleſbury*, and in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*;) to which he was preſented by *John Cheny* Eſquire (then Patron of it) the Ninth of *December*, 1584. where he behaved himſelf ſo, as to give no occaſion of evil, but (as St. *Paul* adviſeth a Miniſter of God) *in much patience, in afflictions, in anguiſhes, in neceſſities, in poverty, and no doubt in long-ſuffering*; yet troubling no Man with his diſcontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a Year; in which time his two Pupils, *Edwin Sandys*, and *George Cranmer*, were returned from Travel, and took a journey to *Draiton* to ſee their Tutor; where they found him with a Book in his Hand (it was the *Odes* of *Horace*) he being then tending his ſmall allotment of Sheep in a common Field; which he told his Pupils he was forced to do, for that his Servant was then gone home to Dine, and aſſiſt his Wife to do ſome neceſſary houſhold buſineſs. When his Servant returned and releaſed him, his two Pupils attended him unto his Houſe, where their beſt entertainment was his quiet Company, which was preſently denied them; for, *Richard* was called to rock the Cradle; and the reſt of their welcome was ſo like this, that they ſtaid but till next morning, which was time enough to diſcover and pity their Tutor's condition: And having in that time remembred and paraphraſed on many of the innocent Recreations of their younger Days, and by other ſuch like diverſions, given him as much preſent pleaſure as their acceptable company and diſcourſe could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his Wife, and ſeek themſelves a quieter lodging. But at their parting from him, Mr. *Cranmer* ſaid, *Good Tutor, I am ſorry your lot is faln in no better Ground, as to your Parſonage: And more ſorry your Wife proves not a more comfortable Companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your reſtleſs Studies.* To whom the good Man replied, *My dear* George, *if Saints have uſually a double ſhare in the Miſeries of this Life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my Wiſe Creator hath appointed for me*; *but labour, as indeed I do daily, to ſubmit to his Will, and poſſeſs my Soul in Patience and Peace,*

At their return to *London*, *Edwin Sandys* acquaints his Father, then Biſhop of *London*, and after Arch-Biſhop of *York*, with his Tutor's ſad condition, and ſollicites for his removal to ſome Benefice that might give him a more comfortable ſubſiſtence: Which his Father did moſt willingly grant him, when it ſhould next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the Year One thouſand five hundred eighty and five, Mr. *Alvy* (Maſter of the *Temple*) died, who was *a Man of a ſtrict Life, of great Learning, and of ſo venerable Behaviour, as to gain ſuch a degree of love and reverence from all Men that knew him, that he was generally known by the name of* Father Alvy. At the *Temple* Reading, next after the Death of this *Father Alvy*, the Arch-Biſhop of *York* being then at Dinner with the Judges, the Reader and Benchers of that Society, he met there with a Condolement for the Death of *Father Alvy*, an high commendation of his Saint-like Life, and of his great merit both to God and Man: And as they bewailed his Death, ſo they wiſh'd for a like Pattern of Virtue and Learning to ſucceed him. And here came in a fair occaſion for the Biſhop to commend Mr. *Hooker* to *Father Alvy*'s Place, which he did with ſo effectual an earneſtneſs, and that ſeconded with ſo many other Teſtimonies of his worth, that Mr. *Hooker* was ſent for from *Draiton Beauchamp* to *London*, and there the Maſterſhip of the Temple propoſed unto him by the Biſhop, as a greater freedom from his Country-Cares, the advantage of a better Society, and a more liberal Penſion than his Parſonage did afford him. But theſe Reaſons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wiſh was rather to gain a better Country-Living where he might *be free from Noiſe*, (ſo he expreſt the deſire of his Heart) and eat that Bread which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietneſs. But, notwithſtanding this averſneſs, he was at laſt perſwaded to accept of the

Biſhop's Propoſal; and was by * Patent for Life made Maſter of the *Temple* the 17th of *March*, 1585. He being then in the 34th Year of his Age.

And here I ſhall make a ſtop; and, that the Reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a Character of the Times, and Temper of the People of this Nation, when Mr. *Hooker* had his Admiſſion into this Place. A Place which he accepted, rather than deſired; and yet here he promiſed himſelf a virtuous quietneſs: that bleſſed Tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that ſo he might in Peace bring forth the Fruits of Peace, and glorifie God by uninterrupted Prayers and Praiſes: for this he always thirſted; and yet this was denied him. For his Admiſſion into this Place was the very beginning of thoſe Oppoſitions and Anxieties, which till then this Good Man was a ſtranger to, and of which the Reader may gueſs by what follows.

In this Character of the Times, I ſhall, by the Readers favour, and for his information, look ſo far back as to the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; a time in which *the many pretended Titles to the Crown, the frequent Treaſons, the Doubts of her Succeſſour, the late Civil War, and the ſharp Perſecution that had raged to the effuſion of ſo much Blood in the Reign of Queen Mary*, were freſh in the memory of all Men; and theſe begot fears in the moſt Pious and Wiſeſt of this Nation, leſt the like days ſhould return again to them or their preſent Poſterity. The apprehenſion of which Dangers begot an earneſt deſire of a Settlement in the Church and State; believing there was no other probable way left to make them ſit quietly under their own *Vines* and *Fig-trees*, and enjoy the deſired Fruit of their Labours. But *Time*, and *Peace*, and *Plenty*, begot *Self-ends*; and thoſe begot *Animoſities*, *Envy*, *Oppoſition* and *Unthankfulneſs* for thoſe bleſſings for which they lately thirſted: being then the very utmoſt of their Deſires, and even beyond their Hopes.

This was the temper of the Times in the beginning of her Reign; and thus it continued too long: For thoſe very People that had enjoyed the deſires of their hearts in a Reformation from the Church of *Rome*, became at laſt ſo like the Grave, as never to be ſatisfied; but were ſtill thirſting for more and more: neglecting to pay that Obedience to Government, and perform thoſe Vows to God, which they made in their days of Adverſities and Fear: ſo that in ſhort time there appeared three ſeveral Intereſts, each of them fearleſs and reſtleſs in the proſecution of their Deſigns; they may for diſtinction be called, The *active Romaniſts*, The *reſtleſs Non-conformiſts* (of which there were many ſorts) and The paſſive *peaceable Proteſtant*. The Counſels of the firſt conſidered and reſolved on in *Rome*: the ſecond in *Scotland*, in *Geneva*, and in divers ſelected, ſecret, dangerous Conventicles, both there, and within the boſom of our own Nation: the third pleaded and defended their Cauſe by Eſtabliſht Laws, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from deſtroying what was by thoſe known Laws happily eſtabliſht to them and their Poſterity.

I ſhall forbear to mention the very many and as dangerous Plots of the Romaniſts againſt the Church and State: becauſe, what is principally intended in this Digreſſion, is an account of the Opinions and Activity of the Non-conformiſts; againſt whoſe judgement and practice, Mr. *Hooker* became at laſt, but moſt unwillingly, to be engaged in a Book-war; a War, which he maintained not as againſt an Enemy, but with the ſpirit of Meekneſs and Reaſon.

In which number of Non-conformiſts, though ſome might be ſincere and well-meaning Men, whoſe indiſcreet Zeal might be ſo like Charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of Errors, yet of this Party there were many that were poſſeſt with an high degree of Spiritual wickedneſs; I mean with an innate reſtleſs radical Pride and Malice; I mean not thoſe leſſer ſins that are more viſible and more properly Carnal, and ſins againſt a Man's ſelf, as Gluttony, and Drunkenneſs, and the like (from which good Lord deliver us;) but ſins of an higher nature; becauſe more unlike to the nature of God, which is *Love*, and *Mercy*, and *Peace*; and more like the Devil: (who is not a glutton, nor can be drunk; and yet, is a Devil:) thoſe wickedneſſes of Malice, and Revenge, and Oppoſition, and a Complacence in working and beholding Confuſion (which are more properly his work, who is the Enemy and Diſturber of mankind, and greater ſins, though many will not believe it;) Men, whom a furious Zeal and Prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing Reaſon, or adhering to the ways of Peace; Men, whom Pride and Self-conceit had made to overvalue their own Wiſdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold fooliſh and unmannerly diſputes againſt thoſe Men whom they ought to Reverence, and thoſe Laws which they ought to obey; Men, that laboured and joyed to *ſpeak evil of Government*, and then to be the Authors of Confuſion (of Confuſion, as it is Confuſion:) whom Company, and Converſation, and Cuſtom had blinded, and made inſenſible that theſe were Errors: and at laſt became ſo reſtleſs, and ſo hardned in their opinions, that like thoſe which periſht in the gain-ſaying of *Core*, ſo theſe died without repenting theſe ſpiritual wickedneſſes, of which *Coppinger* and *Hacket*, and their adherents are too ſad teſtimonies.

And in theſe times which tended thus to Confuſion, there were alſo many others that pretended to Tenderneſs of Conſcience, refuſing to ſubmit to Ceremonies, or to take an Oath before a lawful Magiſtrate: And yet theſe very Men did in their ſecret Conventicles, Covenant and Swear to each other, to be aſſiduous and faithful in uſing their beſt endeavours to ſet up a Church-Government that they had not agreed on. To which end, there were many Select parties that wandred up and down, and were active in ſowing Diſcontents and Sedition, by venomous and ſecret Murmurings, and a Diſperſion of ſcurrilous Pamphlets and

Libels

* This you may find in the Temple Records. *Will. Ermſtead* was Maſter of the Temple at the Diſſolution of the Priory, and died 2 *Eliz.* Richard Alvy *Bat. Divinity, pat.* 13. Feb. 2 Eliz. *Magiſter ſive Cuſtos Domûs & Eccleſiæ novi Templi*; died 27 Eliz. *Richard Hooker* ſucceeded that year by Patent *in terminis* as *Alvy* had it, and he left it, 33 *Eliz.* That year Dr. *Balgey* ſucceeded *Richard Hooker*.

Libels againſt the Church and State; but eſpecially againſt the Biſhops: by which means, together with very bold, and as indiſcreet Sermons, the Common People became ſo Phanatick, as St. *Peter* obſerved, there were in his time, *ſome that wreſted the Scripture to their own deſtruction:* ſo by theſe men, and this means many came to believe *the Biſhops to be Antichriſt,* and the only Obſtructers of God's Diſcipline; and many of them were at laſt given over to ſuch deſperate deluſions, as to find out a Text in the *Revelation of* St. *John,* that *Antichriſt was to be overcome by the Sword,* which they were very ready to take into their hands. So that thoſe very Men, that began with tender *meek Petitions,* proceeded to Print publick *Admonitions*; and then to *Satyrical Remonſtrances*; and at laſt, (having like *David* numbred who was not, and who was, for their Cauſe,) they got a ſuppoſed Certainty of ſo great a Party, that they durſt threaten *firſt the Biſhops,* and not long after, both *the Queen and Parliament*; to all which they were ſecretly encouraged by the *Earl of Leiceſter,* then in great favour with her Majeſty, and the reputed Cheriſher and Patron-general of theſe Pretenders to Tenderneſs of Conſcience; whom he uſed as a ſacrilegious ſnare to further his Deſign, which was by their means to bring ſuch an *odium* upon the *Biſhops,* as to procure an Alienation of their Lands, and a large proportion of them for himſelf: which Avaritious deſire had at laſt ſo blinded his Reaſon, that his ambitious and greedy Hopes had almoſt flattered him into preſent poſſeſſion of *Lambeth-houſe.*

And to theſe ſtrange and dangerous Undertakings, the Non-conformiſts of this Nation were much encouraged and heightned by a Correſpondence and Confederacy with that Brother-hood in *Scotland*; ſo that here they became ſo bold, that one told the Queen openly in a * Sermon, *She was like an untamed Heyfer, that would not be ruled by God's People, but obſtructed his Diſcipline.* And in *Scotland* they were more confident, for there † they declared Her an Atheiſt, and grew to ſuch an height, as not to be accountable for any thing ſpoken againſt Her; *No, nor for Treaſon againſt their own King, if ſpoken in the Pulpit:* Shewing at laſt ſuch a diſobedience even to Him, that his Mother being in *England,* and then in diſtreſs, and in Priſon, and in danger of Death, the Church denied the King their Prayers for her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of Feaſting, their Church declared for a general Faſt, in oppoſition to his Authority.

* Mr. *Dering.*

† See Biſhop *Spotſwood's* Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland.*

To this height they were grown in both Nations, and by theſe means there was diſtilled into the minds of the common People ſuch other venomous and turbulent Principles, as were inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the Church and State: And theſe, vented ſo daringly, that, beſide the loſs of Life and Limbs, the Church and State were both forced to uſe ſuch other ſeverities as will not admit of an excuſe, if it had not been to prevent Confuſion, and the perillous conſequences of it; which, without ſuch prevention, would in ſhort time have brought unavoidable ruin and miſery to this numerous Nation.

Theſe Errors and Animoſities were ſo remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious *Italian,* who being about this time come newly into this Nation, writ ſcoffingly to a Friend in his own Country; *That the common People of* England *were wiſer than the wiſeſt of his Nation; for here the very Women and Shop-keepers were able to judge of Predeſtination, and determine what Laws were fit to be made concerning Church-Government; then, what were fit to be obeyed or aboliſhed. That they were more able (or at leaſt thought ſo) to raiſe and determine perplexed Caſes of Conſcience, than the moſt Learned Colledges in* Italy. *That Men of the ſlighteſt Learning, and the moſt ignorant of the common People, were mad for a new, or* Super-*or* Re-Reformation *of Religion; and that in this* they appeared like that Man, who would never ceaſe to whet, and whet his Knife, till there was no Steel left to make it uſeful. And he concluded his Letter with this Obſervation, *That thoſe very Men that were moſt buſie in Oppoſitions, and Diſputations, and Controverſies, and finding out the faults of their Governours, had uſually the leaſt of Humility and Mortification, or of the Power of Godlineſs.*

And to heighten all theſe diſcontents and dangers, there was alſo ſprung up a Generation of Godleſs-Men; Men, that had ſo long given way to their own Luſts and Deluſions; and had ſo often, and ſo highly oppoſed the Bleſſed Motions of his Bleſſed Spirit, and the inward Light of their own Conſciences, that they had thereby ſinned themſelves, to a belief of what they would, but were not able to believe: Into a belief, which is repugnant even to Humane nature (for the Heathens believe there are many Gods;) but theſe had ſinned themſelves into a belief, that there is no God: And ſo finding nothing in themſelves but what is worſe than nothing, began to wiſh what they were not able to hope for, *That they ſhould be like the Beaſts that periſh*; and, in wicked company (which is the Atheiſt's Sanctuary) were ſo bold, as to ſay ſo: Though the worſt of mankind, when he is left alone at midnight, may wiſh, but cannot then think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then ſinned themſelves.

And now! When the Church was peſtered with them, and with all theſe other Irregularities; when her Lands were in danger of Alienation, her Power at leaſt neglected, and her Peace torn to pieces by ſeveral Schiſms, and ſuch Hereſies as do uſually attend that ſin: When the common People ſeemed ambitious of doing thoſe very things which were attended with moſt dangers, that thereby they might be puniſhed, and then applauded and pitied: When they called the Spirit of Oppoſition a Tender Conſcience, and complained of Perſecution, becauſe they wanted power to perſecute others: When the giddy multitude raged, and became reſtleſs to find out miſery for themſelves and others; and the rabble would herd themſelves together, and endeavour to govern and act in ſpight of Authority. In this extremity, fear and danger of the Church and State, when to ſuppreſs the growing evils of both, they needed a Man of Prudence and Piety, and of an high and fearleſs Fortitude; they were bleſt in all by *John Whitgift*, his being made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; of whom ingenious Sir *Henry Wotton* (that knew him well) hath left this true Character, *That he was a Man of a Reverend and Sacred Memory; and of the Primitive temper: A Man of ſuch a temper, as when the Church by lowlineſs of Spirit did flouriſh in higheſt examples of Vertue.*

And though I dare not undertake to add to his Character, yet I ſhall neither do right to this Diſcourſe, nor to my Reader, if I forbear to give him a further and ſhort account of the life and manners of this excellent Man; and it ſhall be ſhort, for I long to end this digreſſion, that I may lead my Reader back to Mr. *Hooker*, where we left him at the *Temple*.

John Whitgift was born in the County of *Lincoln*, of a Family that was ancient, and noted to be prudent and affable, and gentle by nature: He was educated in *Cambridge*; much of his Learning was acquired in *Pembrook-Hall* (where Mr. *Bradford* the Martyr was his Tutor:) From thence he was removed to *Peter-houſe*; from thence to be Maſter of *Pembrook-Hall*; and from thence to the Maſterſhip of *Trinity*-Colledge. About which time the Queen made him her Chaplain; and not long after Prebend of *Ely*, and then Dean of *Lincoln*; and having for many Years paſt looked upon him with much reverence and favour, ſhe gave him a fair teſtimony of both, by giving him the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and (which was not a uſual favour) forgiving him his Firſt-fruits; then by conſtituting him Vice-Preſident of the Principality of *Wales*. And having for ſeveral Years experimented his Wiſdom, his Juſtice, and Moderation in the menage of Her affairs, in both theſe places, She in the Twenty ſixth Year of Her Reign, made him Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and not long after, of Her Privy-Council; and truſted him to manage all Her Eccleſiaſtical Affairs and Preferments. In all which Removes, he was like the Ark, which left a Bleſſing upon the place where it reſted; and in all his Imployments, was like *Jehoiada*, that did good unto *Iſrael*.

Theſe were the ſteps of this Biſhop's Aſcenſion to this place of Dignity and Cares; in which place (to ſpeak Mr. *Cambdens* very words in his *Annals*) *He devoutly conſecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labours to the good of his Church.* And yet in this place he met with many oppoſitions in the regulation of Church-Affairs, which were much diſordered at his entrance, by reaſon of the age and remiſneſs of Biſhop *Grindal* (his immediate Predeceſſor) the activity of the Non-conformiſts, and their chief aſſiſtant, the Earl of *Leiceſter*; and indeed, by too many others of the like Sacrilegious Principles. With theſe he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage nor a good cauſe, yet he foreſaw, that without a great meaſure of the Queen's favour, it was impoſſible to ſtand in the Breach that was made into the Lands and Immunities of the Church, or to maintain the remaining Rights of it. And therefore by juſtifiable Sacred Inſinuations, ſuch as St. *Paul* to *Agrippa*, (*Agrippa, believeſt thou? I know thou believeſt*) he wrought himſelf into ſo great a degree of favour with Her, as by his pious uſe of it, hath got both of them a greater degree of Fame in this World, and of Glory in that, into which they are now entred.

His merits to the Queen, and Her Favours to him were ſuch, that *ſhe called him Her little black Husband, and called His Servants Her Servants*: And She ſaw ſo viſible and bleſſed a ſincerity ſhine in all his cares and endeavours for the Churches, and for Her good, that She was ſuppoſed to truſt him with the very ſecrets of Her Soul, and to make him Her Confeſſor: Of which She gave many fair teſtimonies; and of which, one was, That *She would never eat fleſh in Lent without obtaining a Licence from Her little black Husband*: And would often ſay, *She pityed him, becauſe She truſted him, and had eaſed Her ſelf by laying the burthen of all Her Clergy-cares upon his ſhoulders, which She was certain he managed with Prudence and Piety.*

I ſhall not keep my ſelf within the promiſed Rules of Brevity in this account of his Intereſt with Her Majeſty, and his care of the Churches Rights, if in this digreſſion I ſhould enlarge to particulars; and therefore my deſire is, that one example may ſerve for a teſtimony of both. And that the Reader may the better underſtand it, he may take notice, that not many Years before his being made Arch-Biſhop, there paſſed an Act or Acts of Parliament intending the better preſervation of Church-Lands, by recalling a Power which was veſted in others to Sell or Leaſe them, by lodging and truſting the future care and protection of them only in the Crown: And amongſt many that made a bad uſe of this Power or Truſt of the Queen's, the *Earl of Leiceſter* was one; and the good Biſhop having by his Intereſt with Her Majeſty put a ſtop to the Earls Sacrilegious deſigns, they two fell to an open Oppoſition before her; after which they both quitted the Room, not Friends in appearance. But the Biſhop made a ſudden and a ſeaſonable return to Her Majeſty, (for he found Her alone) and ſpake to Her with great Humility and Reverence, and to this purpoſe.

I beſeech your Majeſty to hear me with patience, and to believe that yours and the Churches Safety are dearer to me than my Life, but my Conſcience dearer than both: and therefore give me leave to do my Duty, and tell you that Princes are deputed Nurſing Fathers of the Church, and owe it a Protection; and therefore God forbid that you ſhould be ſo much as Paſſive in her Ruines, when you may prevent it; or that I ſhould behold it without horror and deteſtation; or ſhould forbear to tell your Majeſty of the Sin and Danger. And though you and my ſelf are born in an Age of Frailties, when the Primitive Piety and Care of the Churches Lands and Immunities are much decayed; yet (Madam) let me beg that you will but firſt conſider, and then you will believe there are ſuch ſins as Prophaneneſs and Sacriledge; for if there were not, they could not have Names in Holy Writ: and particularly in the New-Teſtament. And I beſeech you to conſider, that though *our Saviour ſaid,* He judged no Man; *and to teſtifie it, would not judge nor divide the Inheritance betwixt the two Brethren, nor would judge the Woman taken in Adultery; yet, in this point of the Churches Rights, he was ſo zealous, that he made himſelf both the Accuſer, and the Judge, and the Executioner to puniſh theſe ſins; witneſſed, in that he himſelf made the whip to drive the Prophaners out of the Temple; overthrew the Tables of the Money-changers, and drove them out of it. And conſider that it was* St. Paul *that ſaid to theſe Chriſtians of his time that were offended with Idolatry, yet* Thou that abhorreſt Idols, doſt thou commit Sacriledge? *Suppoſing, I think, Sacriledge to be the greater ſin. This may occaſion your Majeſty to conſider that there is ſuch a ſin as Sacriledge; and to incline you to prevent the Curſe that will follow it, I beſeech you alſo, to conſider that* Conſtantine *the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, and* Helena *his Mother; that* King Edgar, *and* Edward the Confeſſor, *and indeed many others of your Predeceſſors, and many private Chriſtians, have alſo given to God and to his Church, much Land, and many Immunities, which they might have given to thoſe of their own Families, and did not; but gave them as an abſolute Right and Sacrifice to God: And with theſe Immunities and Lands they have entailed a Curſe upon the Alienators of them; God prevent your Majeſty from being liable to that Curſe.*

And, to make you that are truſted with their Preſervation, the better to underſtand the danger of it; I beſeech you forget not, that, beſides theſe Curſes, the Churches Land and Power have been alſo endeavoured to be reſerved, as far as Humane Reaſon and the Law of this Nation have been able to preſerve them, by an immediate and moſt ſacred Obligation on the Conſciences of the Princes of this Realm. For they that conſult Magna Charta *ſhall find, that as all your Predeceſſors were at their Coronation, ſo you alſo were ſworn before all the Nobility and Biſhops then preſent, and in the preſence of God, and in his ſtead to him that anointed you,* to maintain the Church-Lands, and the rights belonging to it; *and this teſtified openly at the holy Altar, by laying your Hands on the Bible then lying upon it. And not only* Magna Charta, *but many Modern Statutes have denounced a Curſe upon thoſe that break* Magna Charta. *And now what account can be given for the breach of this Oath at the laſt Great Day, either by your Majeſty, or by me, if it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know not.*

And therefore, good Madam, let not the late Lords Exceptions againſt the failings of ſome few Clergy-men, prevail with you to puniſh Poſterity, for the Errors of this preſent Age; let particular Men ſuffer for their particular Errors, but let God and his Church have their right; And though I pretend not to propheſie, yet I beg Poſterity to take notice of what is already become viſible in many Families; That Church-land added to an ancient inheritance, hath proved like a Moth fretting a Garment, and ſecretly conſumed both: *Or like the Eagle that ſtole a Coal from the Altar, and thereby ſet her Neſt on fire, which conſumed both her young Eagles, and her ſelf that ſtole it. And, though I ſhall forbear to ſpeak reproachfully of your Father: yet, I beg you to take notice, that a part of the Churches Rights, added to the vaſt Treaſure left him by his Father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable Conſumption upon both, notwithſtanding all his diligence to preſerve it.*

And conſider, that after the violation of thoſe Laws, to which he had ſworn in Magna Charta, *God did ſo far deny him his Reſtraining Grace, that he fell into greater ſins than I am willing to mention.* Madam, Religion is the Foundation and Cement of Humane Societies: *And when they that ſerve at Gods Altar ſhall be expoſed to Poverty, then Religion to ſelf will be expoſed to ſcorn, and become contemptible; as you may already obſerve in too many poor Vicaridges in this Nation. And therefore, as you are by a late Act or Acts entruſted with a great Power to preſerve or waſte the Churches Lands; yet, diſpoſe of them for Jeſus ſake as the Donors intended: Let neither falſhood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwiſe, and put a ſtop (I beſeech you) to the approaching ruines of God's Church; as you expect comfort at the laſt great day;* For Kings muſt be judged. *Pardon this affectionate plainneſs, my moſt dear Soveraign, and let me beg to be ſtill continued in your Favour; and the Lord ſtill continue you in his.*

The Queens patient hearing this affectionate Speech, and Her future care to preſerve the Churches Rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair Teſtimony, that he made Hers and the Churches good, the chiefeſt of his cares, and that She alſo thought ſo. And of this, there were ſuch daily Teſtimonies given, as begot betwixt them ſo mutual a joy and confidence, that they ſeemed born to believe and do good to each other: She not doubting his Piety to be more than that of all his oppoſers, which were many, and thoſe powerful too; nor his Prudence equal to that of the chief of Her Council, who were then as remarkable for active Wiſdom, as thoſe dangerous times did require, or this Nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued Twenty Years, in which time he ſaw ſome flowings, but many more ebbings of Her Favour towards all Men that oppoſed him, eſpecially the Earl of *Leiceſter*: So that God ſeemed ſtill to keep him in Her Favour, that he might preſerve the remaining Church-Lands and Immunities from Sacrilegious Alienations. And this good Man deſerved all the honour and power with which She truſted him; for he was a pious Man, and naturally of Noble and Grateful Principles: He eaſed Her of all Her Church-Cares by his wiſe menage of them; he gave Her faithful and prudent Counſels in all the extremities and dangers of Her Temporal Affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the chief comfort of Her life in Her declining age; to be then moſt frequently with Her, and Her aſſiſtant at Her private Devotions; to be the greateſt comfort of Her Soul upon Her Death-bed; to be preſent at the expiration of Her laſt breath; and to behold the cloſing of thoſe eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection,

affection. And let this alſo be added, That he was the Chief Mourner at Her ſad Funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after Her death, he was the happy Proclaimer that King *James* (Her Peaceful Succeſſor) was Heir to the Crown.

Let me beg of my Reader, that he allow me to ſay a little, and but a little more of this good Biſhop, and I ſhall then preſently lead him back to Mr. *Hooker*; and, becauſe I would haſten, I will mention but one part of the Biſhop's Charity and Humility; but this of both. He built a large Alms-houſe near to his own Palace at *Croydon* in *Surry*, and endowed it with maintenance for a Maſter and Twenty eight poor Men and Women; which he viſited ſo often, that he knew their Names and Diſpoſitions; and was ſo truly humble, that he called them Brothers and Siſters: And whenſoever the Queen deſcended to that lowlineſs, to Dine with him at his Palace in *Lambeth*, (which was very often) he would uſually the next Day ſhew the like lowlineſs to his poor Brothers and Siſters at *Croydon*, and Dine with them at his Hoſpital; at which time, you may believe there was joy at the Table.

And at this place he built alſo a fair Free-School, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the Maſter and Scholars. Which gave juſt occaſion for *Boyſe Siſi*, then Ambaſſador for the *French* King, and Reſident here, at the Biſhop's death, to ſay, *The Biſhop had publiſhed many Learned Books, but a Free-School to train up Youth, and an Hoſpital to lodge and maintain aged and poor People, were the beſt evidences of Chriſtian Learning that a Biſhop could leave to Poſterity.* This good Biſhop lived to ſee King *James* ſettled in Peace, and then fell ſick at *Lambeth*; of which, the King having Notice, went to viſit him, and found him in his Bed in a declining condition, and very weak; and after ſome ſhort diſcourſe, the King aſſured him, *He had a great affection for him, and high value for his Prudence and Vertues, which were ſo uſeful for the Church, that he would earneſtly beg his life of God*: To which he replied, *Pro Eccleſia Dei, Pro Eccleſia Dei*: Which were the laſt Words he ever ſpoke; therein teſtifying, that as in his Life, ſo at his Death, his chiefeſt care was of God's Church.

This *John Whitgift* was made Arch-Biſhop in the Year One thouſand five hundred eighty and three. In which buſie place, he continued Twenty years and ſome months, and in which time you may believe he had many Tryals of his Courage and Patience; but his Motto was, *Vincit, qui Patitur*: and he made it good. Many of his many Tryals were occaſion'd by the then powerful Earl of *Leiceſter*, who did ſtill (but ſecretly) raiſe and cheriſh a faction of non-conformiſts to oppoſe him; eſpecially one *Thomas Cartwright*; a Man of noted Learning; ſometime Contemporary with the Biſhop in *Cambridge*, and of the ſame Colledge, of which the Biſhop had been Maſter: In which place there began ſome Emulations, (the particulars I forbear) and at laſt open and high oppoſitions betwixt them; and, in which you may believe Mr. *Cartwright* was moſt faulty, if his expulſion out of the univerſity can incline you to it.

And in this diſcontent, after the Earls death (which was One thouſand five hundred eighty and eight) Mr. *Cartwright* appeared a chief Cheriſher of a Party that were for the *Geneva* Church-Government; and to effect it, he ran himſelf into many dangers, both of Liberty and Life; appearing at laſt to juſtiſie himſelf and his Party in many Remonſtrances which he cauſed to be Printed; and to which, the Biſhop made a firſt Anſwer, and *Cartwright* Replied upon him; and then the Biſhop having rejoyned to his Reply, Mr. *Cartwright* either was, or was perſwaded to be ſatisfied; for he wrote no more, but left the Reader to be judge which had maintained their Cauſe with moſt Charity and Reaſon.

After ſome ſilence, Mr. *Cartwright* received from the Biſhop many Perſonal Favours, and retired himſelf to a more Private Living, which was at *Warwick*, where he was made Maſter of an Hoſpital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and, where the Biſhop gave him a Licence to Preach, upon promiſe not to meddle with Controverſies, but incline his Hearers to Piety and Moderation: And this promiſe he kept during his life, which ended One thouſand ſix hundred and two, the Biſhop ſurviving him but one year, each ending his Days in perfect charity with the other.

And now after this long digreſſion made for the information of my Reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. *Hooker*, where we left him in the *Temple*, and where we ſhall find him as deeply engaged in a Controverſie with *Walter Travers*, a Friend and Favorite of Mr. *Cartwright's*, as the Biſhop had ever been with Mr. *Cartwright* himſelf; and of which I ſhall proceed to give this following account.

And firſt this; That though the Pens of Mr. *Cartwright* and the Biſhop were now at reſt, yet there was ſprung up a new Generation of reſtleſs Men, that by Company and Clamors became poſſeſt of a Faith which they ought to have kept to themſelves, but could not: Men that were become poſitive in aſſerting, *That a Papiſt cannot be ſaved*: Inſomuch, that about this time, at the Execution of the Queen of *Scots*, the Biſhop that Preached Her Funeral Sermon (which was Dr. *Howland*, then Biſhop of *Peterborough*) was reviled for not being poſitive for her Damnation. And beſides this boldneſs of their becoming Gods, ſo far as to ſet limits to his Mercies; there was not only *Martin Mar-Prelate*, but other venomous Books daily Printed and diſperſed: Books that were ſo abſurd and ſcurrilous, that the Graver Divines diſdained them an Anſwer. And yet theſe were grown into high eſteem with the common People, till *Tom Naſh* appeared againſt them all, who was a Man of a ſharp wit, and the Maſter of a ſcoffing Satyrical merry Pen, which he imployed to diſcover the abſurdities of thoſe blind malicious ſenſleſs Pamphlets and Sermon as ſenſleſs as they. *Naſh* his Anſwers being like his Books, which bore theſe Titles. *An Almond for Parrot. A Fig for my God-Son. Come crack me this Nut*, and the like: So that this merry Wit made ſuch a diſcovery of their abſurdities, as (which is ſtrange) he put a greater ſtop to theſe malicious Pamphlets, than a much wiſer Man had been able.

And now the Reader is to take notice, That at the Death of Father *Alvy*, who was Maſter of the *Temple*, this *Walter Travers* was Lecturer there for the Evening Sermons, which he Preached with great approbation, eſpecially of the younger Gentlemen of that Society; and for the moſt part approved by Mr. *Hooker* himſelf, in the midſt of their oppoſitions. For he continued Lecturer a part of his time; Mr. *Travers* being indeed a Man of competent Learning, of a winning behaviour, and of a blameleſs Life. But he had taken Orders by the Presbytery in *Antwerp*, and if in any thing he was tranſported, it was with an extream deſire to ſet up that Government in this Nation: For the promoting of which, he had a correſpondence with *Theodore Beza* at *Geneva*, and others in *Scotland*; and was one of the chiefeſt aſſiſtants to Mr. *Cartwright* in that deſign.

Mr. *Travers* had alſo a particular hope to ſet up this Government in the *Temple*, and to that end, uſed his endeavours to be Maſter of it; and his being diſappointed by Mr. *Hooker*'s admittance, proved ſome occaſion of oppoſition betwixt them in their Sermons. Many of which were concerning the Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Ceremonies of this Church; inſomuch, that as St. *Paul* withſtood St. *Peter* to his Face, ſo did they. For as one hath pleaſantly expreſt it, *The Forenoon Sermon ſpake* Canterbury; *and the Afternoon*'s Geneva.

In theſe Sermons there was little of Bitterneſs, but each party brought all the Reaſons he was able, to prove his Adverſaries Opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppoſitions became ſo high, and the conſequences ſo dangerous, eſpecially in that Place, That the Prudent Arch-Biſhop put a Stop to Mr. *Travers* his Preaching, by a Poſitive Prohibition; againſt which Mr. *Travers* appealed and petitioned her Majeſty and her Privy-Council to have it recalled, where he met with many aſſiſting powerful Friends; but they were not able to prevail with or againſt the Arch-Biſhop, whom the Queen had intruſted with all Church-Power; and he had received ſo fair a Teſtimony of Mr. *Hooker*'s Principles and of his Learning and Moderation, that he withſtood all Solicitations. But the denying this Petition of Mr. *Travers* was unpleaſant to divers of his Party, and the reaſonableneſs of it became at laſt to be ſo magnified by them and many others, as never to be anſwered: So that intending the Biſhop's and Mr. *Hooker*'s diſgrace, they procured it to be privately Printed and ſcattered abroad; and then Mr. *Hooker* was forced to appear as publickly, and Print an anſwer to it, which he did, and dedicated it to the Arch-Biſhop; and it proved ſo full an Anſwer, to have in it ſo much of clear Reaſon, and writ with ſo much Meekneſs and Majeſty of ſtyle, that the Biſhop began to wonder at the Man, to rejoyce that he had appear'd in his Cauſe, and diſdained not earneſtly to beg his Friendſhip; even a familiar Friendſhip with a Man of ſo much quiet Learning and Humility.

To enumerate the many particular Points, in which Mr. *Hooker* and Mr. *Travers* diſſented (all or moſt of which I have ſeen written) would prove at leaſt tedious; and therefore I ſhall impoſe upon my Reader no more than two, which ſhall immediately follow; and by which, he may judge of the reſt.

Mr. *Travers* excepted againſt Mr. *Hooker*, for that in one of his Sermons he declared, *That the aſſurance of what we believe by the Word of God, is not to us ſo certain as that which we perceive by Senſe*. And Mr. *Hooker* confeſſeth he ſaid ſo, and endeavours to juſtifie it by the Reaſons following.

Firſt, *I taught, that the things which God promiſes in his Word, are ſurer to us than what we touch, handle, or ſee: But are we ſo ſure and certain of them? If we be, Why doth God ſo often prove his promiſes to us as he doth, by Arguments drawn from our ſenſible experience?* For we muſt be ſurer of the proof, than of the things proved; otherwiſe it is no proof. *For example, How is it that many Men looking on the Moon at the ſame time, every one knoweth it to be the Moon as certainly as the other doth? But many believing one and the ſame Promiſe, have not all one and the ſame fulneſs of perſwaſion. For how falleth it out that Men being aſſured of any thing by Senſe, can be no ſurer of it than they are; when as the ſtrongeſt in Faith that liveth upon the Earth, hath always need to labour, ſtrive and pray, that his aſſurance concerning Heavenly and Spiritual things, may grow, increaſe, and be augmented?*

The Sermon that gave him the cauſe of this his Juſtification, makes the caſe more plain, by declaring, *That there is beſides this certainty of Evidence, a certainty of Adherence.* In which, having moſt excellently demonſtrated what the *Certainty of Adherence* is, he makes this comfortable uſe of it: *Comfortable* (he ſays) *as to weak Believers, who ſuppoſe themſelves to be faithleſs, not to believe, when notwithſtanding they have their Adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh ſecretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward Teſtimony of it.*

Tell this to a Man that hath a mind too much dejected by a ſad ſence of his Sin; to one that by a too ſevere judging of himſelf, concludes that he wants Faith, becauſe he wants the comfortable Aſſurance of it; and his Anſwer will be, *Do not perſwade me againſt my knowledge, againſt what I find and feel in my ſelf: I do not, I know I do not believe.* (Mr. *Hooker*'s own words follow) *Well then, to favour ſuch Men a little in their weakneſs, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to God*'s *promiſes, but are faithleſs, and without belief: But are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confeſs they are; Do they not wiſh it might, and alſo ſtrive that it may be otherways? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a ſecret love and liking, that they have of thoſe things believed? For,* no Man can love thoſe things which in his own opinion are not; *And, if they think thoſe things to be, which they ſhew they love, when they deſire to believe them; then muſt it be, that by deſiring to believe, they prove themſelves true Believers: For,* without Faith no Man thinketh that things believed are: *Which Argument all the Subtilties of Infernal Powers will never be able to diſſolve.* This is an Abridgement of Part of the Reaſons he gives for his Juſtification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted againſt by Mr. *Travers*.

Mr. *Hooker* was alſo accuſed by Mr. *Travers*, for that he in one of his Sermons had declared, *That he doubted not but that God was merciful to ſave many of our Forefathers living heretofore in Popiſh Superſtition, for as much as they ſinned ignorantly*: And Mr. *Hooker* in his Anſwer profeſſeth it to be his Judgment, and declares his Reaſons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But firſt he ſtates the Queſtion about *Juſtification* and *Works*, and how the *Foundation of Faith is overthrown*; and then he proceeds to diſcover that way which *Natural Men* and ſome others have miſtaken to be the way by which they hope to attain true and everlaſting Happineſs: And having diſcovered the miſtaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, Everlaſting Life and Bleſſedneſs is attainable. And, theſe two ways he demonſtrates thus, (they be his own Words that follow) *That, the way of Nature; This, the way of Grace; the end of that way, Salvation merited, preſuppoſing the Righteouſneſs of Mens works: Their Righteouſneſs, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodneſs of God which created them in ſuch perfection. But the end of this way, Salvation beſtowed upon Men as a gift: Preſuppoſing not their Righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of their Unrighteouſneſs, Juſtification; their Juſtification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty ſorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whoſe ſake not doers are accepted,* which is their *Vocation; their Vocation, the Election of God, taking them out of the number of loſt Children; their Election, a Mediator in whom to be elect: This Mediation, inexplicable Mercy; this Mercy, ſuppoſing their miſery for whom he vouchſafed to die, and make himſelf a Mediator.*

And he alſo declareth, *There is no meritorious cauſe for our Juſtification, but Chriſt; no effectual, but his Mercy*; and ſays alſo, *We deny the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we abuſe, diſannul, and annihilate the benefit of his Paſſion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlaſting life, or can be worthy of it.* This Belief (he declareth) is to deſtroy the very Eſſence of our Juſtification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this, to be very dangerous. *Yet nevertheleſs*, (and for this he was accuſed) *conſidering how many vertuous and juſt Men, how many Saints and Martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongſt which this was one, That they hoped to make God ſome part of amends, by voluntary puniſhments which they laid upon themſelves*: Becauſe by this, or the like erroneous opinions, which do by conſequent overthrow the Merits of Chriſt, ſhall Man be ſo bold as to write on their Graves, *Such Men are damned, there is for them no Salvation?* St. *Auſtin* ſays, *Errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe nolo.* And except we put a difference betwixt them that err ignorantly, and them that obſtinately perſiſt in it, how is it poſſible that any Man ſhould hope to be ſaved? Give me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himſelf, whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with a love of Chriſt and his Goſpel; whoſe Eyes are willingly open to ſee the Truth, and his Mouth ready to renounce all Error, this one opinion of Merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his Hands; and becauſe he wanteth, trembleth, and is diſcouraged, and yet can ſay, *Lord, cleanſe me from all my ſecret Sins!* Shall I think becauſe of this, or a like Error, ſuch Men touch not ſo much as the Hem of Chriſt's Garment? If they do, wherefore ſhould I doubt, but that Vertue may proceed from Chriſt to ſave them? No, I will not be afraid to ſay to ſuch a one, *You err in your opinion, but be of good Comfort, you have to do with a Merciful God, who will make the beſt of that little which you hold well, and not with a captious Sophiſter, who gathereth the worſt out of every thing in which you are miſtaken.*

But it will be ſaid, *The admittance of Merit in any degree, overthroweth the Foundation, excludeth from the hope of Mercy, from all poſſibility of Salvation.* (And now Mr. *Hooker*'s own words follow.)

What though they hold the truth ſincerely in all other parts of Chriſtian Faith? Although they have in ſome meaſure all the Vertues and Graces of the Spirit? Although they have all other Tokens of God's Children in them? Although they be far from having any proud opinion, that they ſhall be ſaved by the worthineſs of their Deeds? Although the only thing that troubleth and moleſteth them, be a little too much dejection, ſomehwat too great a fire ariſing from an erroneous conceit, That God will require a worthineſs in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themſelves? Although they be not obſtinate in this Opinion? Although they be willing, and would be glad to forſake it, if any one Reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſprove it? Although the only cauſe why they do not forſake it e're they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be diſproved? Although the cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not to remove it? Let me die (ſays Mr. *Hooker*) *if it be ever proved, That ſimply an Error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in ſuch a caſe utterly from hope of life.* Surely, I muſt confeſs, That if it be an Error to think that God may be merciful to ſave Men, even when they Err; my greateſt comfort is, my Error: Were it not for the love I bear to this Error, I would never wiſh to ſpeak or to live.

I was willing to take notice of theſe two points, as ſuppoſing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they may prove uſeful to my Reader; as alſo for that the Anſwers be Arguments of Mr. *Hooker*'s great and clear Reaſon, and equal Charity. Other Exceptions were alſo made againſt him, as, *That he prayed before and not after his Sermons; that in his Prayers he named Biſhops; that he kneeled, both when he Prayed, and when he received the Sacrament*; and (ſays Mr. *Hooker* in his Defence) *other Exceptions ſo like theſe, as but to name, I ſhould have thought a greater fault than to commit them.*

And 'tis not unworthy the noting, that in the menage of ſo great a Controverſie, a ſharper reproof than this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy Pen of this humble Man. That like it, was upon a like occaſion of Exceptions, to which his Anſwer was, *Your next*

Argument conſiſts of Railing and of Reaſons; to your Railing I ſay nothing, to your Reaſons I ſay what follows. And I am glad of this fair occaſion, to teſtifie the Dove-like temper of this meek, this matchleſs Man; and doubtleſs, if Almighty God had bleſt the Diſſenters from the Ceremonies and Diſcipline of this Church, with a like meaſure of Wiſdom and Humility, inſtead of their pertinacious Zeal, then Obedience and Truth had kiſſed each other; then Peace and Piety had flouriſhed in our Nation, and this Church and State had been bleſt like *Jeruſalem, that is at unity with it ſelf*; but that can never be expected, till God ſhall bleſs the common people with a belief, *That Schiſm is a ſin, and that there may be offences taken which are not given; and that Laws are not made for private Men to diſpute, but to obey.*

And this alſo may be worthy of noting, That theſe Exceptions of Mr. *Travers* againſt Mr. *Hooker*, were the cauſe of his tranſcribing ſeveral of his Sermons, which we now ſee Printed with his Books; of his Anſwer to Mr. *Travers* his Supplication; and of his moſt learned and uſeful Diſcourſe of *Juſtification*, of *Faith*, and *Works*; and by their Tranſcription, they fell into the hands of others, that have preſerved them from being loſt, as too many of his other matchleſs Writings have been; and from theſe I have gathered many obſervations in this Diſcourſe of his Life.

After the publication of his Anſwer to the Petition of Mr. *Travers*, Mr. *Hooker* grew daily into great repute with the moſt Learned and Wiſe of the Nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the *Temple* that were zealous for Mr *Travers*, and for his Church-Diſcipline; inſomuch, that though Mr. *Travers* left the place, yet the Seeds of Diſcontent could not be rooted out of that Society, by the great Reaſon, and as great Meekneſs of this humble Man: For though the Chief Benchers gave him much Reverence and Incouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppoſitions by thoſe of Mr. *Travers's* judgement; inſomuch, that it turned to his extream grief: And that he might unbeguile and win them, he deſigned to write a deliberate ſober Treatiſe of the Churches power to make Canons for the uſe of Ceremonies, and by Law to impoſe an obedience to them, as upon Her Children; and this he propoſed to do in *Eight Books of the Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity*; intending therein to ſhew ſuch Arguments, as ſhould force an aſſent from all Men, if Reaſon, delivered in ſweet Language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it: And that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large *Preface* or *Epiſtle* to the Diſſenting Brethren, wherein there were ſuch Bowels of *Love*, and ſuch a Commixture of that *Love* with *Reaſon*, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ; and particularly, by that of Saint *Paul* to his dear Brother and Fellow-Laborer *Philemon*: Than which, none ever was more like this Epiſtle of Mr. *Hookers*. So that his dear Friend and Companion in his Studies, Doctor *Spencer*, might after his Death juſtly ſay, *What admirable height of Learning, and depth of Judgement, dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble Man, great in all wiſe Mens eyes except his own: With what gravity and majeſty of Speech his Tongue and Pen uttered Heavenly Myſteries; whoſe eyes in the Humility of his Heart, were always caſt down to the ground: How all things that proceeded from him, were breathed as from the Spirit of Love; as if he, like the Bird of the Holy Ghoſt the Dove, had wanted Gall: Let thoſe that knew him not in his Perſon, judge by theſe living Images of his Soul, his Writings.*

The Foundation of theſe Books was laid in the *Temple*; but he found it no fit place to finiſh what he had there deſigned; and therefore ſolicited the Arch-Biſhop for a remove, to whom he ſpake to this purpoſe; *My Lord, When I loſt the freedom of my Cell, which was my Colledge; yet, I found ſome degree of it in my quiet Country-Parſonage: But I am weary of the noiſe and oppoſitions of this place; and indeed, God and Nature did not intend me for Contentions, but for Study and Quietneſs. And, My Lord, my particular Conteſts here with Mr.* Travers, *have proved the more unpleaſant to me, becauſe I believe him to be a good Man; and that belief hath occaſioned me to examine mine own Conſcience concerning his opinions; and, to ſatisfie that, I have conſulted the holy Scripture, and other Laws, both Humane and Divine, Whether the Conſcience of him, and others of his Judgement, ought to be ſo far complied with by us, as to alter our Frame of Church-Government, our manner of Gods worſhip, our praiſing and praying to him, and our eſtabliſhed Ceremonies, as often as their tender Conſciences ſhall require us. And, in this Examination, I have not only ſatisfied my ſelf; but have begun a Treatiſe, in which I intend the ſatisfaction of others, by a demonſtration of the reaſonableneſs of our Laws of* Eccleſiaſtical Polity; *and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the Churches Peace; and, ſo as not to provoke your Adverſary Mr.* Cartwright, *nor Mr.* Travers, *whom I take to be mine (but not my enemy) God knows this to be my meaning. To which end, I have ſearched many Books, and ſpent many thoughtful hours; and I hope not in vain; for I write to reaſonable Men. But, My Lord, I ſhall never be able to finiſh what I have begun, unleſs I be removed into ſome quiet Country Parſonage, where I may ſee Gods Bleſſings ſpring out of my Mother Earth, and eat mine own Bread in peace and privacy. A place where I may without diſturbance, Meditate my approaching Mortality, and that great account, which all fleſh muſt at the laſt great day, give to the God of all Spirits. This is my deſign; and, as theſe are the deſires of my heart, ſo they ſhall by Gods aſſiſtance be the conſtant indeavours of the uncertain remainder of my life. And therefore if your Grace can think me and my poor labours, worthy ſuch a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun: which is a bleſſing I cannot hope for in this place.*

About the time of this requeſt to the Biſhop, the Parſonage or Rectory of *Boſcum*, in the Dioceſs of *Sarum*, and ſix miles from that City, became void. The Biſhop of *Sarum* is Patron of it, but in the vacancy of that See (which was three years betwixt the death of Biſhop *Pierce*, and Biſhop *Caldwells* admiſſion into it) the diſpoſal of that and all Benefices belonging to it, during the time of this ſaid vacancy, came to be diſpoſed of by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and he preſented *Richard Hooker* to it in the year 1591. And *Richard Hooker* was alſo in the ſaid year Inſtituted, (*July* 17.) to be a minor Prebendary of *Salisbury*, the Corps to it being *nether-Haviny*, about ten miles from that City; which Prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that Church. In this *Boſcum* he continued till he had finiſhed four of his eight propoſed Books of the Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, and theſe were entred into the Regiſter-Book in Stationers-Hall the 9th of *March* 1592. but not printed till the year 1594. and then with the before-mentioned large and affectionate Preface, which he directs *to them that ſeek* (*as they term it*) *the Reformation of the laws and orders Eccleſiaſtical in the Church of England*; of which Books I ſhall yet ſay nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finiſh the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter) but at *Boſcum* he finiſht and publiſht but only the firſt four, being then in the 39th year of his Age.

He left *Boſcum* in the year 1595. by a ſurrender of it into the hands of Biſhop *Caldwell*, and he preſented *Benjamin Ruſſel*, who was Inſtituted into it, 23 of *June*, in the ſame year.

The Parſonage of *Biſhops Borne* in *Kent*, three miles from *Canterbury*, is in that Arch-Biſhops gift, but in the latter end of the year 1594. Dr. *William Redman* the Rector of it was made *Biſhop of Norwich*, by which means the power of preſenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and ſhe preſented *Richard Hooker*, whom ſhe loved well, to this good living of *Borne* the 7th of *July* 1595. in which Living he continued till his Death, without any addition of Dignity or Profit.

And now having brought our *Richard Hooker* from his Birth-place, to this where he found a Grave, I ſhall only give ſome account of his Books, and of his behaviour in this Parſonage of *Borne*, and then give a reſt both to my ſelf and my Reader.

His firſt four Books and large Epiſtle have been declared to be Printed at his being at *Boſcum*, *Anno* 1594. Next I am to tell that at the end of theſe four Books there is Printed this Advertiſement to the Reader; *I have for ſome cauſes thought it at this time more fit to let go theſe firſt four Books by themſelves, than to ſtay both them and the reſt, till the whole might together be publiſhed. Such generalities of the cauſe in queſtion as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiſs to conſider a-part, by way of Introduction unto the Books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time the Reader is requeſted to mend the Printers errors, as noted underneath.*

And I am next to declare that his fifth Book (which is larger than his firſt four) was firſt alſo Printed by it ſelf *Anno* 1597. and dedicated to his Patron (for till then he choſe none) the Arch-Biſhop. Theſe Books were read with an admiration of their excellency in This, and their juſt fame ſpread it ſelf into forreign Nations. And I have been told more than forty years paſt, that Cardinal *Aken*, or learned Dr. *Stapleton* (both Engliſh-men, and in *Italy* when Mr. *Hookers* four Books were firſt Printed) meeting with this general fame of them, were deſirous to read an Author, that both the Reformed and the Learned of their own Church did ſo much magnifie, and therefore cauſed them to be ſent for; and, after reading them, boaſted to the Pope (which then was *Clement* the eighth) *that though he had lately ſaid he never met with an Engliſh Book whoſe Writer deſerved the name of an Author*; yet there now appeared a wonder to them, and it would be ſo to his Holineſs, if it were in Latin; for *a poor obſcure Engliſh Prieſt had writ four ſuch Books of Laws, and Church-Polity, and in a Style that expreſt ſo Grave and ſuch Humble Majeſty with clear demonſtration of Reaſon, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him*; and this begot in the Pope an earneſt deſire that Dr. *Stapleton* ſhould bring the ſaid four Books, and looking on the Engliſh, read a part of them to him in Latin, which Dr. *Stapleton* did, to the end of the firſt Book; at the concluſion of which, the Pope ſpake to this purpoſe; *There is no Learning that this Man hath not ſearcht into, nothing too hard for his underſtanding: This Man indeed deſerves the name of an Author; his Books will get Reverence by Age, for there is in them ſuch ſeeds of Eternity, that if the reſt be like this, they ſhall laſt till the laſt Fire ſhall conſume all Learning.*

Nor was this high, the only teſtimony and commendation given to his Books; for at the firſt coming of King *James* into this Kingdom, he inquired of the Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift* for his friend Mr. *Hooker* that writ the Books of Church-Polity; to which the anſwer was, that he died a year before Queen *Elizabeth*, who received the ſad news of his Death with very much Sorrow; to which the King replied, *and I receive it with no leſs, that I ſhall want the deſired happineſs of ſeeing and diſcourſing with that Man, from whoſe Books I have received ſuch ſatisfaction: Indeed, my Lord, I have received more ſatisfaction in reading a Leaf, or Paragraph in Mr.* Hooker, though it were but about the *faſhion* of *Churches, or Church-Muſick*, or the like, but eſpecially *of the Sacraments, than I have had in the reading particular large Treatiſes written but of one of thoſe ſubjects by others, though very Learned Men*; and, I obſerve *there is in Mr.* Hooker *no affected Language; but a grave, comprehenſive, clear manifeſtation of Reaſon; and that backt with the Authority of the* Scripture, *the* Fathers *and* School-men, *and with all* Law *both* Sacred *and* Civil. *And, though many others write well, yet in the next Age they will be forgotten; but doubtleſs there is in every page of Mr.* Hookers *Book, the Picture of a Divine Soul, ſuch Pictures of* Truth *and* Reaſon, *and drawn in ſo ſacred colours, that they ſhall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the Author.* And it is ſo truly true, that the King thought what he ſpake;

that, as the moſt Learned of the Nation have and ſtill do mention Mr. *Hooker* with Reverence: ſo he alſo did never mention him but with the Epithet of *Learned*, or *Judicious*, or *Reverend*, or *Venerable* Mr. *Hooker*.

Nor did his Son our late King *Charles* the firſt, ever mention him but with the ſame Reverence, enjoyning his Son our now gracious King, to be ſtudious in Mr. *Hooker*'s Books. And our learned Antiquary Mr. *Cambden* * mentioning the Death, the Modeſty, and other Vertues of Mr. *Hooker*, and magnfying his Books, wiſht, *that for the Honour of this, and the benefit of other Nations, they were turned into the Univerſal* Language. Which work though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary and forſaken it; but the Reader may now expect it, having been long ſince begun, and lately finiſht, by the happy Pen of Dr. *Earl*, now Lord Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, of whom I may juſtly ſay (and let it not offend him, becauſe it is ſuch a truth as ought not to be concealed from Poſterity, or thoſe that now live and yet know him not) that ſince Mr. *Hooker* died, none have lived whom God hath bleſt with more innocent Wiſdom, more ſanctified Learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive Temper: ſo that this excellent Perſon ſeems to be only like himſelf and our venerable *Richard Hooker*; and only fit to make the learned of all Nations happy in knowing what hath been too long confined to the language of our little Iſland.

* In his Annals of *Eliz.* 1599.

There might be many more and juſt occaſions taken to ſpeak of his Books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and haſten to an account of his Chriſtian behaviour and Death at *Borne*; in which Place he continued his cuſtomary rules of Mortification and Self-Denial; was much in Faſting, frequent in Meditation and Prayers, enjoying thoſe bleſſed Returns, which only Men of ſtrict lives feel and know; and of which Men of looſe and Godleſs lives cannot be made ſenſible; for ſpiritual things are ſpiritually diſcerned.

At his entrance into this Place, his Friendſhip was much ſought for by Dr. *Hadrian Saravia*, then one of the Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, a German by Birth, and ſometimes a Paſtor both in *Flanders* and *Holland*, where he had ſtudied and well conſidered the controverted points concerning Epiſcopacy and Sacriledge, and in *England* had a juſt occaſion to declare his Judgment concerning both, unto his Brethren Miniſters of the Low-Countrys, which was excepted againſt by *Theodore Beza* and others; againſt whoſe exceptions he rejoyned, and thereby became the happy Author of many Learned Tracts, writ in Latin, eſpecially of three; one of the *Degrees of Miniſters*, and *of the Biſhops Superiority above the Presbytery*; a ſecond againſt *Sacriledge*; and a third of *Chriſtian Obedience to Princes*; the laſt being occaſion'd by *Gretzerus* the Jeſuit. And it is obſervable, that when in a time of Church tumults, *Beza* gave his reaſons to the Chancellor of *Scotland*, for the abrogation of Epiſcopacy in that Nation, partly by Letters, and more fully in a Treatiſe of a three-fold Epiſcopacy (which he calls *Divine*, *Humane* and *Satanical*) this Dr. *Saravia* had by the help of Biſhop *Whitgift* made ſuch an early diſcovery of their intentions, that he had almoſt as ſoon anſwered that Treatiſe as it became publick; and therein diſcovered how *Beza*'s opinion did contradict that of *Calvins*, and his adherents, leaving them to interfere with themſelves in point of Epiſcopacy; but of theſe Tracts it will not concern me to ſay more, than that they were moſt of them dedicated to his and the Church of *England*'s watchful Patron *John Whitgift* the Arch-Biſhop; and Printed about the Year in which Mr. *Hooker* alſo appeared firſt to the World in the Publication of his four Books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

This friendſhip being ſought for by this Learned Doctor, you may believe, was not denied by Mr. *Hooker*, who was by fortune ſo like him as to be engaged againſt Mr. *Travers*, Mr. *Cartwright*, and others of their Judgement in a controverſie too like Dr. *Saravia*'s; So that in this Year 1595. and in this Place of *Borne*, theſe two excellent Perſons began a Holy Friendſhip, increaſing daily to ſo high and mutual affections, that their two wills ſeemed to be but one and the ſame; and deſigns both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church; ſtill aſſiſting and improving each others vertues, and the deſired comforts of a peaceable Piety; which I have willingly mentioned, becauſe it gives a foundation to ſome things that follow.

This Parſonage of *Borne*, is from *Canterbury* three miles, and near to the common Road that leads from that City to *Dover*; in which Parſonge Mr. *Hooker* had not been twelve months, but his Books, and the Innocency and Sanctity of his Life became ſo remarkable, that many turned out of the Road, and others (Scholars eſpecially) went purpoſely to ſee the Man, whoſe Life and Learning were ſo much admired; and alaſs, as our Saviour ſaid of St. *John Baptiſt*, *What went they out to ſee! a Man Cloathed in Purple and fine Linnen?* no indeed; but an *obſcure harmleſs Man; a Man in Poor Cloathes, his Loyns uſually girt in a coarſe Gown or Canonical Coat; of a mean Stature, and ſtooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his Soul; his body worn out, not with Age, but Study and Holy Mortifications; his Face full of Heat-Pimples, begot by his unactivity and ſedentary life.* And to this true Character of his Perſon, let me add this of his Diſpoſition and Behaviour; God and Nature bleſt him with ſo bleſſed a baſhfulneſs, that as in his younger Days, his Pupils might eaſily look him out of Countenance; ſo neither then, nor in his Age, *did he ever willingly look any Man in the Face: and was of ſo mild and humble a Nature, that his poor Pariſh-Clerk and he did never talk but with both their Hats on, or both off at the ſame time*; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind, yet he was ſhort or weak-ſighted; and where he fixt his eyes at the beginning of his Sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the Reader has a Liberty to believe that his Modeſty and Dim-ſight were ſome of the reaſons why he truſted *Miſtreſs Churchman* to chooſe a Wife for him.

This Pariſh Clerk lived till the third or fourth Year of the late long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. *Hooker*'s Death, there had come many to ſee the Place of his Burial, and the Monument dedicated to his memory by Sr. *William Cooper*, (who ſtill lives) and the poor Clerk had many rewards for ſhewing Mr. *Hooker*'s Grave-place, and his ſaid Monument, and did always hear Mr. *Hooker* mentioned with Commendations and Reverence; to all which he added his own Knowledge and Obſervations of his Humility and Holineſs: in all which Diſcourſes, the poor Man was ſtill more confirmed in his opinion of Mr. *Hooker*'s Vertues and Learning; but it ſo fell out, that about the ſaid third or fourth Year of the long Parliament, the preſent Parſon of *Borne* was Sequeſtred (you may gueſs why) and a *Genevian* Miniſter put into his good living. This, and other like Sequeſtrations, made the Clerk expreſs himſelf in a wonder, and ſay, *They had Sequeſtred ſo many good Men, that he doubted if his good Maſter Mr.* Hooker *had lived till now, they would have Sequeſtred him too.*

It was not long before this intruding Miniſter had made a party in and about the ſaid Pariſh, that were deſirous to receive the Sacrament as in *Geneva*; to which end, the Day was appointed for a Select Company, and Forms and Stools ſet about the Altar or Communion-Table for them to ſit and Eat and Drink on; but when they went about this work, there was a want of ſome Joyn'd-Stools, which the Miniſter ſent the Clerk to fetch, and then to fetch Cuſhions. When the Clerk ſaw them begin to ſit down, he began to wonder; but the Miniſter bad him *ceaſe wondering, and lock the Church-Door*: To whom he replyed, *Pray take you the Keys and lock me out, I will never come more into this Church; for all Men will ſay my Maſter* Hooker *was a good Man, and a good Scholar, and I am ſure it uſed not to be thus in his Days*: And report ſays, The old Man went preſently home, and died; I do not ſay he died immediately, but within a few Days after.

But let us leave this grateful Clerk in his quiet Grave, and return to Mr. *Hooker* himſelf, continuing our obſervations of his Chriſtian behaviour in this Place, where he gave a holy Valediction to all the pleaſures and allurements of Earth; poſſeſſing his Soul in a vertuous quietneſs, which he maintained by conſtant Study, Prayers and Meditations: His uſe was to Preach once every Sunday, and he or his Curate to Catechize after the Second Leſſon in the Evening-Service: his Sermons were neither long nor earneſt, but uttered with a grave Zeal, and an humble Voice: His Eyes always fixt on one Place, to prevent his imagination from wandering; inſomuch, that he ſeemed to ſtudy as he ſpoke; the deſign of his Sermons (as indeed of all his Diſcourſes) was to ſhew Reaſons for what he ſpoke: and with theſe Reaſons ſuch a kind of Rhetorick, as did rather convince and perſwade, than frighten Men into Piety. Studying not ſo much for matter (which he never wanted) as for apt illuſtrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing Applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needleſs diſtinctions and ſub-diſtinctions to amuſe his hearers, and get glory to himſelf, but glory only to God. Which intention he would often ſay was as diſcernable in a Preacher, *as an Artificial from a natural Beauty.*

He never failed the Sunday before every *Ember*-Week, to give notice of it to his Pariſhioners, perſwading them both to faſt, and then to double their Devotions for a Learned and Pious Clergy, but eſpecially for the laſt; ſaying often, *That the life of a pious Clergy-Man was viſible Rhetorick, and ſo convincing, that the moſt godleſs Men (though they would not deny themſelves the enjoyment of their preſent Luſts) did yet ſecretly wiſh themſelves like thoſe of the ſtricteſt lives.* And to what he perſwaded others, he added his own example of Faſting and Prayer; and did uſually every *Ember* Week, take from the Pariſh Clerk the Key of the Church-Door; into which Place he retired every Day, and lockt himſelf up for many Hours; and did the like moſt Fridays, and other Days of Faſting.

He would by no means omit the cuſtomary time of Proceſſion, perſwading all, both rich and poor, if they deſired the Preſervation of Love, and their Pariſh-Rights and Liberties, to accompany him in his Perambulation, and moſt did ſo: In which Perambulation, he would uſually expreſs more pleaſant diſcourſe than at other times, and would then always drop ſome loving and facetious obſervations to be remembred againſt the next Year, eſpecially by the Boys and young People; ſtill inclining them, and all his preſent Pariſhioners, to meekneſs and mutual kindneſſes and love; becauſe *Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of Infirmities.*

He was diligent to enquire who of his Pariſh were ſick, or any way diſtreſſed, and would often viſit them unſent for; ſuppoſing that the fitteſt time to diſcover thoſe Errors, to which health and proſperity had blinded them: and having by pious Reaſons and Prayers, molded them into holy Reſolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to Confeſſion, and bewailing their ſins, with purpoſe to forſake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a ſtrengthning of thoſe holy Reſolutions; and as a Seal betwixt God and them of his Mercies to their Souls, in caſe that preſent ſickneſs did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the Sick, ſo he was as diligent to prevent Law-ſuites, ſtill urging his Pariſhioners and Neighbours, to bear with each others Infirmities, and live in love, becauſe (as St. *John* ſays) *He that lives in Love, lives in God, for God is Love.* And to maintain this holy Fire of Love, conſtantly burning on the Altar of a pure Heart, his advice was to Watch and Pray, and always keep themſelves fit to receive the Communion, and then to receive it often; for it was both a Confirming, and a Strengthning of their Graces. This was his advice; and at his entrance into or departure out of any Houſe, he would uſually ſpeak to the whole Family, and bleſs them by Name; inſomuch, that as he ſeemed in his Youth to be taught of God, ſo he ſeemed in this Place to teach his Precepts, as *Enoch* did, by walking with him, in all Holineſs and Humility; making each Day a ſtep towards a bleſſed Eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the World, ſuch examples are become rare, and almoſt incredible; yet let his memory be bleſt with this true teſtimony, becauſe he that praiſes *Richard Hooker*, praiſes God, who hath given ſuch gifts to Men; and let this humble and affectionate Relation of him, become ſuch a pattern as may invite Poſterity to imitate his Vertues.

This was his conſtant behaviour at *Borne*; thus as *Enoch*, ſo he walked with God; thus did he tread in the foot-ſteps of Primitive Piety; and yet, as that great example of meekneſs and purity, even our Bleſſed *Jeſus* was not free from falſe accuſations, no more was this Diſciple of his, this moſt humble, moſt innocent, holy Man; his was a ſlander parallel to that of chaſt *Suſanna*'s by the wicked Elders; or that againſt St. *Athanaſius*, as it is recorded in his life, (for that holy Man had Heretical Enemies) and which this age calls *Trapanning*. The particulars need not a repetition, and that it was falſe, needs no other Teſtimony than the publick puniſhment of his accuſers, and their open confeſſion of his innocency: 'Twas ſaid, that the accuſation was contrived by a Diſſenting Brother, one that indured not Church-Ceremonies, hating him for his Books ſake, which he was not able to Anſwer; and his Name hath been told me: But I have not ſo much confidence in the Relation, as to make my Pen fix a ſcandal on him to poſterity; I ſhall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of Revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accuſation, and kept it ſecret to himſelf for many Months: And, being a helpleſs Man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the Protector of the innocent gave ſuch an accidental occaſion as forced him to make it known to his two dear Friends, *Edwin Sandys* and *George Cranmer*, who were ſo ſenſible of their Tutors ſufferings, that they gave themſelves no reſt, till by their diſquiſitions and diligence they had found out the Fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accuſers did confeſs they had wronged him, and begged his pardon: To which the good Man's reply was to this purpoſe, *The Lord forgive them*; and, *The Lord Bleſs you for this comfortable news. Now I have a juſt occaſion to ſay with* Solomon, Friends are Born for the Days of Adverſity, *and ſuch you have proved to me: And to my God I ſay, as did the Mother of St.* John Baptiſt, Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the Day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among Men *And, O my God, neither my Life, nor my Reputation, are ſafe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didſt take care of me, when I yet hanged on my Mothers Breaſt. Bleſſed are they that put their truſt in thee, O Lord; for, when falſe witneſſes were riſen up againſt me; when ſhame was ready to cover my Face; when I was bowed down with an horrible dread, and went mourning all the Day long; when my Nights were reſtleſs, and my ſleeps broken with a fear worſe than Death; when my Soul thirſted for a deliverance, as the Hart panteth after the Rivers of Waters: Then, thou Lord, didſt hear my complaints, pity my condition, and art now become my Deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my Hands in this manner, and magnifie thy Mercies, who didſt not give me over as a prey to mine Enemies. O! bleſſed are they that put their truſt in thee; and no proſperity ſhall make me forget thoſe Days of ſorrow, or to perform thoſe vows that I have made to thee in the Days of my fears and affliction; for with ſuch ſacrifices, thou, O God, art well pleaſed; and I will pay them.*

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good Man's heart break forth; and 'tis obſervable, that as the invitation to this ſlander was his meek behaviour and Dove-like ſimplicity, for which he was remarkable; ſo his Chriſtian Charity ought to be imitated: For, though the Spirit of Revenge is ſo pleaſing to mankind, that it is never conquered but by a Super-natural Grace, being indeed ſo deeply rooted in Humane Nature, that to prevent the exceſſes of it (for Men would not know Moderation) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any Man, but ſays, *Vengeance is mine.* And, though this be ſaid by God himſelf, yet this revenge is ſo pleaſing, that Man is hardly perſwaded to ſubmit the menage of it to the Time, and Juſtice, and Wiſdom of his Creator, but would haſten to be his own executioner of it. And yet nevertheleſs, if any Man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleaſing Paſſion to the time and meaſure of God alone, it was this *Richard Hooker* of whom I write: For when his ſlanderers were to ſuffer, he laboured to procure their Pardon; and, when that was denied him, his Reply was, *That however he would faſt and pray, that God would give them Repentance ana Patience to undergo their Puniſhment.* And his Prayers were ſo far returned into his own boſom, that the firſt was granted, if we may believe a Penitent Behaviour, and an open Confeſſion. And it is obſervable, that after this time he would often ſay to Dr. *Saravia, O with what quietneſs, did I enjoy my Soul after I was free from the fears of my ſlander! And how much more after a conflict and victory my deſires of Revenge!*

In the Year One thouſand ſix hundred, and of his Age Forty ſix, he fell into a long and ſharp ſickneſs, occaſioned by a Cold taken in his Paſſage betwixt *London* and *Graves-end*, from the malignity of which, he never recovered; for, till his death he was not free from thoughtful days, and reſtleſs nights; but a ſubmiſſion to his Will that makes the ſick Man's bed eaſie, by giving reſt to his Soul, made his very languiſhment comfortable: And yet all this time he was ſolicitous in his Study, and ſaid often to Dr. *Saravia*, (who ſaw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life) *That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reaſon, but to live to finiſh his three remaining Books of* POLITY; *and then, Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace*, which was his uſual expreſſion. And God heard his Prayers, though he denied the benefit of them as compleated by himſelf; and 'tis thought he haſtned his own death, by haſtning to give life to his Books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in *Humility*, in *holy Thoughts* and *Reſolutions*.

About a month before his death, this good Man, that never knew, or at leaſt, never conſidered the pleaſures of the Palate, came firſt to loſe his Appetite, then to have an averſeneſs to all Food; inſomuch, that he ſeemed to live ſome intermitted weeks by the ſmell of meat only; and yet ſtill ſtudied and writ. And now his Guardian Angel ſeemed to foretel him, that his years were paſt away as a ſhadow, bidding him prepare to follow the Generation of his Fathers, for the day of his diſſolution drew near; for which his vigorous Soul appeared to thirſt.

In this time of his ſickneſs, and not many days before his death, his Houſe was robbed; of which, he having notice, his Queſtion was, *Are my Books and written Papers ſafe?* And being anſwered, *That they were.* His Reply was, *Then it matters not, for no other loſs can trouble me.*

About one day before his death, Dr. *Saravia*, who knew the very ſecrets of his Soul (for they were ſuppoſed to be Confeſſors to each other) came to him, and after a Conference of the Benefit, the Neceſſity, and Safety of the Churches Abſolution, it was reſolved the Doctor ſhould give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and after a ſhort retirement and privacy, they returned to the company; and then the Doctor gave him and ſome of thoſe friends that were with him, the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he ſaw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it laſted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return ſuddenly, and became more viſible, inſomuch, that the Doctor apprehended Death ready to ſeize him: Yet, after ſome amendment, he left him at night, with a promiſe to return early the day following, which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to diſcourſe; which gave the Doctor occaſion to require his preſent thoughts: To which he replied, *That he was meditating the number and nature of Angels, and their bleſſed Obedience and Order, without which, Peace could not be in Heaven; and oh that it might be ſo on Earth!* After which words, he ſaid, *I have lived to ſee this World is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near: And though I have by his Grace loved him in my Youth, and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a Conſcience void of offence to him, and to all Men; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extream to mark what I have done amiſs, who can abide it? And therefore, where I have failed, Lord ſhew mercy to me; for I plead not my Righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of my unrighteouſneſs, for his Merits who died to purchaſe a pardon for penitent ſinners. And ſince I owe thee a death, Lord let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time, I ſubmit to it: Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy Will be done.* With which expreſſion he fell into a dangerous ſlumber, dangerous as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to ſpeak only theſe few words, *Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily Petitions; for I am at peace with all Men, and he is at peace with me; from which bleſſed aſſurance I feel that inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me.* More he would have ſpoken, but his ſpirits failed him; and, after a ſhort conflict betwixt Nature and Death, a quiet ſigh put a period to his laſt breath, and ſo he fell aſleep.

And here I draw his Curtain, till with the moſt glorious Company of the Patriarchs and Apoſtles, the moſt noble Army of Martyrs and Confeſſors, this moſt Learned, moſt Humble, holy Man, ſhall alſo awake to receive an Eternal Tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of Glory than common Chriſtians ſhall be made partakers of; In the mean time, *Bleſs, O Lord, Lord bleſs his Brethren, the Clergy of this Nation with ardent deſires, and effectual endeavours to attain, if not to his great Learning, yet to his remarkable meekneſs, his godly ſimplicity, and his Chriſtian moderation: For theſe are praiſe-worthy; theſe bring peace at the laſt: And let the Labours of his life, his moſt excellent Writings be bleſt with what he deſigned when he undertook them: Which was Glory to thee, O God on high, Peace in thy Church, and good will to mankind.*

Amen, Amen.

AN APPENDIX TO THE LIFE OF

Mr. Richard Hooker.

AND now having by a long and Laborious ſearch ſatisfied my ſelf, and, I hope, my Reader, by imparting to him the true Relation of Mr. *Hooker's* Life: I am deſirous alſo to acquaint him with ſome Obſervations that relate to it, and which could not properly come to be ſpoken of till after his Death, of which my Reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And firſt it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty ſeventh, if not in the forty ſixth year of his Age; which I mention, becauſe many have believed him to be more aged; but I have ſo examined it, as to be confident, I miſtake not; and for the year of his death, Mr. *Cambden*, who in his Annals of Queen *Elizabeth* 1599. mentions him with a high commendation of his Life and Learning, declares him to die in the year 1599. and yet in that Inſcription of his Monument ſet up at the charge of Sir *William Cooper* in *Borne*-Church, where Mr. *Hooker* was buried, his Death is ſaid to be *Anno* 1603. but doubtleſs both are miſtaken; for I have it atteſted under the hand of *William Somner* the Arch-Biſhop's Regiſter for the Province of *Canterbury*, that *Richard Hooker's* Will bears date *October* the 26. in *Anno* 1600. and that it was proved the third of *December* following. And this atteſted alſo that at his Death he left four Daughters, *Alice*, *Cicily*, *Jane* and *Margaret*, that he gave to each of them a hundred pound, that he left *Jone* his Wife his ſole Executrix, and that by his Inventory his Eſtate (a great part of it being in Books) came to 1092*l*. 9*s*. 2*d*. which was much more than he thought himſelf worth; and, which was not got by his Care, much leſs by the good Huſwifery of his Wife, but ſaved by his truſty Servant *Thomas Lane*, that was wiſer than his Maſter in getting Money for him, and more frugal than his Miſtreſs in keeping it; of which Will I ſhall ſay no more, but that his dear Friend *Thomas*, the Father of *George Cranmer*, of whom I have ſpoken, and ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, was one of the Witneſſes to it.

One of his elder Daughters was married to one *Chalinor*, ſometime a School-maſter in *Chicheſter*, and both dead long ſince. *Margaret* his youngeſt Daughter was married unto *Ezekiel Chark*, Batchelor in Divinity, and Rector of St. *Nicholas* in *Harbledown* near *Canterbury*, who died about 16 years paſt, and had a Son *Ezekiel*, now living, and in Sacred Orders, being at this time Rector of *Waldron* in *Suſſex*; ſhe left alſo a Daughter, with both whom I have ſpoken not many months paſt, and find her to be a Widow in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding; and theſe two atteſted unto me, that *Richard Hocker* their Grand-father had a Siſter, by name *Elizabeth Harvey*, that lived to the Age of 121 years, and died in the month of *September*, 1663.

For his other two Daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were Marriageable; and for his Wife, ſhe was ſo unlike *Jeptha's* Daughter, that ſhe ſtaid not a comely time to bewail her Widow-hood; nor lived long enough to repent her ſecond Marriage, for which doubtleſs ſhe would have found cauſe, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. *Hooker's* and her death. But ſhe is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his Age, the year of his Death, his Eſtate, his Wife, and his Children. I am next to ſpeak of his Books, concerning which I ſhall have a neceſſity of being longer, or ſhall neither do right to my ſelf or my Reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he propoſed eight Books, and that his firſt four were Printed *Anno* 1594. and his fifth Book firſt Printed, and alone, *Anno* 1597. and that he lived to finiſh the remaining three of the propoſed eight; but, whether we have the laſt three as finiſht by himſelf, is a juſt and Material Queſtion; concerning which I do declare, That I have been told almoſt forty years paſt, by one that very well knew Mr. *Hooker*, and the affairs of his Family, that about a month after the death of Mr. *Hooker*, Biſhop *Whitgift*, then Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſent one of his Chaplains to enquire of Mrs. *Hooker*, for the three remaining Books of Polity, writ by her Husband; of which, ſhe would not, or could not give any account; and I have been told that about three months after the Biſhop procured her to be ſent for to *London*, and then by his procurement ſhe was to be examined, by ſome of her Majeſties Council, concerning the diſpoſal of thoſe Books! but by way of preparation for the next days examination, the Biſhop invited her to *Lambeth*, and, after ſome friendly queſtions, ſhe confeſſed to him, *that one Mr.* Charke *and another Miniſter that dwelt near* Canterbury, *came to her, and deſired that they might go into her Husband's Study, and look upon ſome of his Writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, aſſuring her that they were writings not fit to be ſeen, aud that ſhe knew nothing more concerning them.* Her lodging was then in *King-ſtreet* in *Weſtminſter*, where ſhe was found next morning dead in her Bed, and her new Husband ſuſpected and queſtioned for it; but he was declared innocent of her Death.

And I declare alſo, that Dr. *John Spencer* (mentioned in the Life of Mr. *Hooker*) who was of Mr. *Hooker's* Colledge, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was ſo friendly a friendſhip, that they continually adviſed together in all their Studies, and particularly in what concerned theſe Books of Polity: this Dr. *Spencer*, the three firſt Books being loſt, had delivered into his hands (I think by Biſhop *Whitgift*) the imperfect Books, or firſt rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. *Hooker*'s hand-writing, and was beſt acquainted with his intentions. And a fair Teſtimony of this may appear by an Epiſtle firſt and uſually Printed before Mr. *Hooker*'s five Books (but omitted, I know not why, in the laſt impreſſion of the eight Printed together in *Anno* 1662. in which the Publiſhers ſeem to impoſe the three doubtful, as the undoubted Books of Mr. *Hooker*) with theſe two Letters *J. S.* at the end of the ſaid Epiſtle, which was meant for this *John Spencer*; in which Epiſtle the Reader may find theſe very words, which may give ſome Authority to what I have here written.

And though Mr. Hooker *haſtned his own Death by haſtning to give Life to his Books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold theſe* Benjamins, *theſe Sons of his Right-Hand, though to him they proved* Benonies, *Sons of pain and ſorrow: But, ſome evil diſpoſed minds, whether of Malice, or Covetouſneſs, or wicked blind Zeal, it is uncertain, as ſoon as they were born, and their Father dead, ſmothered them, and, by conveying the perfect Copies, left unto us nothing but the old imperfect mangled draughts diſmembred into pieces, no favour, no grace, not the ſhadow of themſelves remaining in them; had the Father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them* Benonies, *the Sons of Sorrow; but being the learned will not ſuffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world ſhall ſee them as they are: the learned will find in them ſome ſhadows and reſemblances of their Fathers Face. God grant, that as they were with their Brethren dedicated to the Church for meſſengers of Peace; ſo, in the ſtrength of that little breath of Life that remaineth in them, they may proſper in their work, and that by ſatisfying the Doubts of ſuch as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of theſe our Civil Wars.*

J. S.

And next the Reader may note, that this Epiſtle of Dr. *Spencer's* was writ and firſt Printed within four years after the death of Mr. *Hooker*, in which time, all diligent ſearch had been made for the perfect Copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore indeavoured to be compleated out of Mr. *Hooker's* rough draughts, as is expreſt by the ſaid Dr. *Spencer*, ſince whoſe death it is now fifty years.

And I do profeſs by the Faith of a Chriſtian, that Dr. *Spencer's* Wife (who was my Aunt, and Siſter to *George Cranmer* of whom I have ſpoken) told me forty years ſince, in theſe, or in words to this purpoſe, *that her Husband had made up or finiſht Mr.* Hooker's *laſt three Books; and that upon her Husband's Death-bed, or in his laſt ſickneſs, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they ſhould not be ſeen by any Man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *which was Dr.* Abbot, *or unto Dr.* King, *Biſhop of* London; *and that ſhe did as he injoyned her.*

I do conceive, that from Dr. *Spencer's* and no other Copy, there have been divers Tranſcripts, that were to be found in ſeveral places, as namely in Sir *Thomas Bodlies* Library, in that of Dr. *Andrews* late Biſhop of *Winton*, in the late Lord *Conwayes*, in the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburies*, and in the Biſhop of *Armaghs*, and in many others, and moſt of theſe pretended to be the Authors own hand, but much diſagreeing, being indeed altered and finiſht as Men have thought fitteſt to make Mr. *Hooker*'s Judgement ſuit with their Fancies; or give authority to their corrupt deſigns; and for proof of a part of this, take theſe following teſtimonies.

Dr. *Barnard*, ſometime Chaplain to Dr. *Uſher*, late Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Armagh*, hath declared in a late Book called *Clavi Trabales*, Printed by *Richard Hodgkinſon*, *Anno* 1661. that in his ſearch and examination of the ſaid Biſhop's Manuſcripts, he there found the three written Books, which were the ſuppoſed ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth of Mr. *Hooker's* Book of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; and, that in the ſaid three Books (now Printed as Mr. *Hooker's*) there are ſo many Omiſſions that they amount to many Paragraphs, which cauſe many incoherencies; the Omiſſions are by him ſet down at large in the ſaid Printed Book, to which I refer the Reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to inſert this following ſhort part of them.

Firſt, *As there could be in Natural Bodies no motion of any thing, unleſs there were ſome firſt which moved all things, and continued Unmoveable; even ſo in Politick Societies, there muſt be ſome unpuniſhable, or elſe no Man ſhall ſuffer puniſhment; for, ſith puniſhments proceed always from Superiours to whom the adminiſtration of Juſtice belongeth, which adminiſtration muſt have neceſſarily a Fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, (becauſe otherwiſe the courſe of Juſtice ſhould go infinitely in a Circle, every Superiour having his Superiour without end, which cannot be;) therefore, a well-ſpring, it followeth, there is, a Supream head of Juſtice whereunto all are ſubject, but it ſelf in ſubjection to none. Which kind of Preheminency if ſome ought to have in a Kingdom, who but the King ſhall have it? Kings therefore, or no Man can have lawful power to Judge.*

If Private Men offend, there is the Magiſtrate over them which Judgeth; if Magiſtrates, they have their Prince; if Princes, there is Heaven, a Tribunal, before which they ſhall appear: on Earth they are not accomptable to any. Here ſays the Doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And I have theſe words alſo atteſted under the hand of Mr. *Fabian Phillips*, a Man of note for his uſeful Books. *I will make Oath, if I ſhall be required, that Dr.* Sanderſon *the late Biſhop of* Lincoln *did a little before his Death affirm to me he had ſeen a Manuſcript, affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr.* Richard Hooker, *in which there was no mention of the King or Supream Governours being accomptable to the People; this I will make Oath that that good Man atteſted to me.*

Fabian Phillips.

So that there appears to be both Omiſſions and Additions in the ſaid laſt three Printed Books; and this may probably be one Reaſon why Doctor *Sanderſon*, the ſaid Learned Biſhop (whoſe writings are ſo highly and juſtly valued) gave a ſtrict charge near the time of his Death, or in his laſt Will, *that nothing of his that was not already Printed, ſhould be Printed after his Death.*

It is well known how high a value our Learned King *James* put upon the Books writ by Mr. *Hooker*, as alſo that our late King *Charles* (the Martyr for the Church) valued them the ſecond of all Books, teſtified by his commending them to the reading of his Son *Charles*, that now is our Gracious King; and you may ſuppoſe that this *Charles* the Firſt was not a ſtranger to the pretended three Books, becauſe in a diſcourſe with the Lord *Say*, when the ſaid Lord required the King to grant the truth of his Argument, becauſe it was the Judgement of Mr. *Hooker*, (quoting him in one of the three written Books,) the King replied, *they were not allowed to be Mr.* Hooker's *Books*; but, however *he would allow them to be Mr.* Hooker's, *and conſent to what his Lordſhip propoſed to prove out of thoſe doubtful Books, if he would but conſent to the Judgement of Mr.* Hooker *in the other five that were the undoubted Books of Mr.* Hooker.

In this Relation concerning theſe three doubtful Books of Mr. *Hooker's*, my purpoſe was to enquire, then ſet down what I obſerved and know, which I have done, not as an engaged Perſon, but indifferently, and now leave my Reader to give Sentence, for their Legitimation, as to himſelf, but ſo, as to leave others the ſame Liberty of believing, or diſbelieving them to be Mr. *Hooker's*; and 'tis obſervable, that as Mr. *Hooker* adviſed with Dr. *Spencer*, in the deſign and menage of theſe Books, ſo alſo, and chiefly with his dear Pupil *George Cranmer* (whoſe Siſter was the Wife of Dr. *Spencer*) of which this following Letter may be a Teſtimony; and doth alſo give authority to ſome things mentioned both in this Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. *Hooker*, and is therefore added.

George

Additions *to this* Account *by Mr.* John Strype.

To be Added to Pag. 7, *after* Line 2.

Endeavours for *Travers* to be Maſter of the *Temple*.

[Before any mention was made of Mr. *Hooker* for the Maſterſhip of the *Temple*, two other Divines were nominated to ſucceed *Alvey*; whereof Mr. *Walter Travers*, a Diſciplinarian in his Judgment and Practice, and Preacher here in the Afternoons, was chief, and recommended by *Alvey* himſelf on his Death bed, to be Maſter after him: And no marvel, for *Alvey*'s and *Travers*'s Principles did ſomewhat correſpond. And many Gentlemen of the Houſe deſired him; which deſire the Lord Treaſurer *Burghley* was privy to, and by their Requeſt, and his own Inclination towards him, being a good Preacher, he moved the Queen to allow of him: for the diſpoſal of the Place was in her. But Archbiſhop *Whitgift* knew the Man, and his hot Temper and Principles, from the time he was Fellow of *Trinity-Colledge*, and had obſerved his ſteps ever after: He knew how turbulently he had carried himſelf at the Colledge, how he had diſowned the *Engliſh* eſtabliſhed Church, and Epiſcopacy, and went to *Geneva*, and afterwards to *Antwerp*, to be ordained Miniſter, as he was by *Villers* and *Cartwright*, and others the Heads of a Congregation there: and ſo came back again more confirm'd for the Diſcipline. And knowing alſo how much the Doctrine and Converſe of the Maſter to be placed here, would influence the Gentlemen, and their Influence and Authority prevail in all parts of the Realm, where their Habitations and Eſtates were, that careful Prelate made it his endeavour to ſtop *Travers*'s coming in; and had a Learned Man in his view, and of Principles more conformable and agreeable to the Church, namely, one Dr. *Bond*, the Queen's Chaplain, and well known to her. She well underſtanding the Importance of this Place, and knowing by the Archbiſhop what *Travers* was, by a Letter he timely writ to her Majeſty upon the Vacancy, gave particular Order to the Treaſurer to diſcourſe with the Archbiſhop about it.

Oppoſed by the Archbiſh.

The Lord Treaſurer, hereupon, in a Letter, conſulted with the ſaid Archbiſhop, and mentioned *Travers* to him, as one deſired by many of the Houſe. But the Archbiſhop, in his Anſwer, plainly ſignified to his Lordſhip, that he judged him altogether unfit, for the Reaſons mentioned before; and that he had recommended to the Queen Dr. *Bond*, as a very fit Perſon. But, however, ſhe declined him, fearing his bodily Strength to perform the Duty of the Place, as ſhe did *Travers* for other Cauſes. And by laying both aſide, ſhe avoided giving diſguſt to either of thoſe Great Men. This Dr. *Bond* ſeems to be that Dr. *Nicholas Bond* that afterwards was Preſident of *Magdalen-Colledge, Oxon*, and that was much abuſed by *Martin Mar-Prelate*.

Theſe Particulars I have collected from a Letter of the Archbiſhop to the Queen, and other Letters that paſſed between the Archbiſhop and the Lord Treaſurer about this Affair, while the Maſterſhip was vacant. The Paſſages whereof taken *Verbatim* out of their ſaid Letters, may deſerve here to be ſpecified for the ſatisfaction of the Readers.

And firſt, in the Month of *Auguſt*, upon the Death of the former Maſter, the Archbiſhop wrote this Letter unto the Queen.

The Archbiſhop to the Queen, concerning the Vacancy of the *Temple*.

It may pleaſe Your Majeſty to be advertiſed, That the Maſterſhip of the Temple is vacant by the Death of Mr. Alvey. *The Living is not great, yet doth it require a Learned, Diſcreet, and Wiſe Man, in reſpect of the Company there: Who being well directed and taught may do much good elſewhere in the Commonwealth, as otherwiſe alſo they may do much harm. And becauſe I hear there is ſuit made to Your Highneſs for one Mr.* Travers, *I thought it my Duty to ſignify unto Your Majeſty, that the ſaid* Travers *hath been, and is one of the chief and principal Authors of Diſſenſion in this Church, a Contemner of the Book of Prayers, and of other Orders by Authority eſtabliſhed; an earneſt ſeeker of Innovation; and either in no Degree of the Miniſtry at all, or elſe ordered beyond the Seas, not according to the Form in this Church of* England *uſed. Whoſe placing in that Room, eſpecially by your Majeſty, would greatly animate the reſt of that Faction, and do very much harm in ſundry reſpects.*

Your Majeſty hath a Chaplain of your own, Dr. Bond, *a Man in my Opinion very fit for that Office, and willing alſo to take pains therein, if it ſhall pleaſe Your Highneſs to beſtow it upon him. Which I refer to Your own moſt Gracious Diſpoſition: Beſeeching Almighty God long to bleſs, proſper, and preſerve Your Majeſty to His Glory, and all our Comforts.*

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful

From *Croyden*, the —— of *Auguſt*, 1584.

Servant and Chaplain,

Jo. Cantuar.

The Archbi. to the Lord Treaſurer.

Next, In a Letter of the Archbiſhop to the Lord Treaſurer, dated from Lambeth, *Sept.* 14. 1584. he hath theſe words: *I beſeech your Lordſhip to help ſuch an one to the Maſterſhip of the Temple as is known to be conformable to the Laws and Orders eſtabliſhed; and a Defender,* *not*

not a Depraver of the preſent State and Government. He that now Readeth there is nothing leſs, as I of mine own Knowledge and Experience can teſtify. Dr. Bond *is deſirous of it, and I know not a fitter Man.*

The Lord Treaſurer to the Archbiſh.

The Lord Treaſurer in a Letter to the Archbiſhop, dated from *Oatlands*, (where the Queen now was) *Sept.* 17. 1584. thus wrote. *The Queen hath aſked me what I thought of* Travers *to be Maſter of the* Temple. *Whereunto I anſwered, That at the Requeſt of* Dr. Alvey *in his Sickneſs, and a number of honeſt Gentlemen of the Temple, I had yielded my Allowance of him to the Place, ſo as he would ſhew himſelf conformable to the Orders of the Church. Whereunto I was informed, that he would ſo be. But Her Majeſty told me, that your Grace did not ſo allow of him. Which, I ſaid, might be for ſome things ſuppoſed to be written by him [in a Book] Intituled,* De Diſciplina Eccleſiaſtica. *Whereupon Her Majeſty commanded me to write to your Grace, to know your Opinion, which I pray your Grace to ſignify unto Her, as God ſhall move you. Surely it were great pity, that any Impediment ſhould be occaſion to the contrary; for he is well Learned, very Honeſt, and well allowed, and loved of the generality of that Houſe. Mr.* Bond *told me, that your Grace liked well of him; and ſo do I alſo, as of one well Learned and Honeſt; but, as I told him, if he came not to the Place with ſome Applauſe of the Company, he ſhall be weary thereof. And yet I commended him unto Her Majeſty, if* Travers *ſhould not have it. But Her Majeſty thinks him not fit for that Place, becauſe of his Infirmities. Thus wiſhing your Grace aſſiſtance of God's Spirit, to govern your Charge unblameable.*

From the Court at *Oatlands*,
the 27. *Sept.* 1584.

Your Grace's to Command,
Will. Burghley.

Part of the Archbiſhop's Letter in Anſwer to this, was to this Tenour;

The Archb. in Anſwer to the Letter of the Lord Treaſurer.

Mr. Travers, *whom your Lordſhip names in your Letter, is to no Man better known, I think, than to my ſelf: I did elect him Fellow of* Trinity-College, *being before rejected by* Dr. Beaumont *for his intolerable Stomach; whereof I had alſo afterwards ſuch experience, that I was forced by due Puniſhment ſo to weary him, till he was fain to Travel, and depart from the College to* Geneva, *otherwiſe he ſhould have been expelled for his want of Conformity towards the Orders of the Houſe, and for his Pertinacy. Neither was there ever any under our Government, in whom I found leſs Submiſſion and Humility than in him. Nevertheleſs, if Time and Years have now altered that Diſpoſition, (which I cannot believe, ſeeing yet no Token thereof, but rather the contrary) I will be as ready to do him good as any Friend he hath. Otherwiſe I cannot in Duty but do my endeavour to keep him from that Place, where he may do ſo much harm, and do little or no good at all. For howſoever ſome commend him to your Lordſhip and others, yet I think that the greater and better Number of both the Temples have not ſo good an Opinion of him. Sure I am, that divers grave, and of the beſt affected of them, have ſhewed their miſliking of him to me; not only out of reſpect of his Diſorderlineſs in the Manner of the Communion, and Contempt of the Prayers, but alſo of his Negligence in Reading. Whoſe Lectures, by their Report, are ſo barren of Matter, that his Hearers take no Commodity thereby.*

The Book De Diſciplina Eccleſiaſtica, *by common Opinion, hath been reputed of his Penning, ſince the firſt publiſhing of it. And by divers Arguments I am moved to make no doubt thereof. The Drift of which Book is wholly againſt this State and Government. Wherein alſo, among other things, he condemneth the taking and paying of Firſt-fruits, Tenths,* &c. *And therefore, unleſs he will teſtify his Conformity by Subſcription, as all others do, which now enter into Eccleſiaſtical Livings; and make proof unto me, that he is a Miniſter ordered according to the Laws of this Church of* England, *as I verily believe he is not, becauſe he forſook his Place in the College upon that Account, I can by no means yield my Conſent to the placing him there, or elſewhere, in any Function of this Church.]*

To be Added to Page 11, *after* Line 49.

['Tis true, the Archbiſhop treated *Cartwright* with ſuch a Civility as gained much upon him, and made him declare unto his Patron, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, how much the Archbiſhop's Humane Carriage had endeared him to him; and withal ſhewed his Deſire that he might have liberty ſometimes to have acceſs to him; profeſſing that he would ſeek to perſwade all with whom he had Concern and Converſe, to keep up an Union with the Church of *England*. This, I ſay, is certain; but it is not ſo certain, that the Archbiſhop gave *Cartwright* a Licence to Preach. It appears, that in the Year 1585, he refuſed to grant it him, however ſolicited by *Leiceſter*'s own Letter to do it: And notwithſtanding *Cartwright*'s Promiſes, he required more ſpace of Time to be ſatisfied of his Conformity. For the Elucidation whereof, and ſome further Light into this Matter, let both theſe Letters be read and conſidered; the former, of the Earl to the Archbiſhop; the latter, of the Archbiſhop to the Earl.

My

The Earl of Leiceſter to the Archbiſh. concerning M. Cartwright.

My good Lord,

I Moſt heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous Uſage of Mr. Cartwright, *who hath ſo exceeding kindly taken it alſo, as, I aſſure your Grace, he cannot ſpeak enough of it. I truſt it ſhall do a great deal of good. And he proteſteth and profeſſeth to me, to take no other Courſe, but to the drawing of all Men to the Unity of the Church. And that Your Grace hath ſo dealt with him, as no Man ſhall ſo Command him, and diſpoſe of him, as You ſhall. And doth mean to let this Opinion publickly be known, even in the Pulpit; (if Your Grace ſo permit him) what he himſelf [will,] and would all others ſhould do, for obedience to the Laws eſtabliſhed. And if any little ſcruple be, it is not great, and eaſie to be reformed by Your Grace; whom I do moſt heartily entreat to continue Your Favour and Countenance towards him, with ſuch Acceſs ſometimes as Your Leiſure may permit. For I perceive he doth much deſire and crave it, &c. Thus, my good Lord, praying to God to bleſs his Church, and to make his Servants conſtant and faithful, I bid Your Grace Farewel.*

Your Grace's very aſſured Friend,

At the Court, this 14th of *July*.

Rob. Leiceſter.

To which Letter the Archbiſhop returned this Anſwer.

The Archbiſhop to the Earl.

My ſingular good Lord,

M*R.* Cartwright *ſhall be welcome to me at all times, and uſing himſelf quietly, as becomes him, and as I hope he will, he ſhall find me willing to do him any good; but to grant unto him, as yet, my Licence to Preach, without longer Tryal, I cannot; eſpecially ſeeing he proteſteth himſelf to be of the ſame Mind he was at the writing of his Book, for the Matter thereof, tho' not for the Manner; my ſelf alſo, I Thank God, not altered in any Point by me ſet down, to the contrary; and knowing many things [in his Book] to be very dangerous. Wherefore, notwithſtanding, I am content and ready to be at peace with him, ſo long as he liveth peaceably; yet doth my Conſcience and Duty forbid me to give unto him any further publick Approbation, until I be better perſwaded of his Conformity. And ſo being bold to uſe my accuſtomed plainneſs with Your good Lordſhip, I commit You to the Tuition of Almighty God; this,* 17*th of* July, 1585.]

To be Added to Page 14, *after* Line 10.

The Articles of falſe Doctrine objected by *Travers* to *Hooker*.

[Before we paſs from theſe unhappy Diſceptations between *Hooker* and *Travers*, as we have heard two Articles of pretended Falſe Doctrine objected by the one to the other, ſo it is pity the reſt ſhould be wholly loſt, and for ever buried in ſilence: Therefore, for the making this conſiderable part of the Reverend Man's Life and Hiſtory compleat, and to retrieve whatſoever may be gotten of the Pen and Mind of ſo Learned and Judicious a Perſon, take this further Account, not only of Two, but of all the Articles that his beforementioned Adverſary had Marſhalled up againſt him, collected from a Sermon or Sermons he had heard him Preach at the *Temple*; together with his endeavoured Confutation of them: And likewiſe *Hooker*'s own Vindication of himſelf to each of thoſe Articles. Theſe Articles ſeem to have been delivered by *Travers* to the Lord Treaſurer. The ſame Lord delivered them to *Hooker*, to conſider of and to make his Reply to. And of theſe Articles the Archbiſhop alſo was privy, and briefly declared his Judgment and Determination of. I ſhall ſet all down exactly from an Authentick Manuſcript.

Doctrines delivered by Mr. *Hooker*, as they were ſet down and ſhewed by Mr. *Travers*, *Mar.* 30. 1585. under this Title:

A ſhort Note of ſundry unſound Points of Doctrine, at divers times delivered by Mr. Hooker *in his publick* Sermons.

1. The Church of *Rome*, is a true Church of Chriſt, and a Church ſanctified by Profeſſion of that Truth which God revealed unto us by his Son; tho' not a pure and perfect Church.
2. The Fathers which lived and died in Popiſh Superſtition were ſaved, becauſe they ſinned ignorantly.
3. They which are of the Church of *Rome* may be ſaved by ſuch a Faith as they have in Chriſt, and a general Repentance of all their Sins.

4. The Church of *Rome* holdeth all Men Sinners, even the Bleſſed Virgin, tho' ſome of them think otherwiſe of her.

5. The Church of *Rome* teacheth Chriſt's Righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious Cauſe of taking away Sin.

6. The *Galatians* which joined with Faith in Chriſt, Circumciſion, as neceſſary unto Salvation, notwithſtanding be ſaved.

7. Neither the Church of *Rome*, nor the *Galatians*, deny the Foundation directly, but only by conſequent: And therefore may be ſaved. Or elſe neither the *Lutherans*, nor whoſoever hold any Error (for every Error by conſequent denieth the Foundation) may be ſaved.

8. An Additament taketh not away that whereunto it is added, but confirmeth it. As he that ſaith of any, that he is a Righteous Man, ſaith, that he is a Man: except it be Privative; as when he ſaith, he is a *dead* Man, then he denieth him to be a Man: And of this ſort of [Privative] additaments neither are *Works* which are added to Chriſt by the Church of *Rome*; nor *Circumciſion*, added to him by the *Galatians*.

9. The *Galatians* Caſe is harder than the Caſe of the Church of *Rome*; for they added to Chriſt, *Circumciſion*, which God had forbidden and aboliſhed: But that which the Church of *Rome* addeth are *Works*, which God hath commanded.

10. No one Sequel urged by the Apoſtle againſt the *Galatians*, for joining Circumciſion with Chriſt, but may be as well enforced againſt the *Lutherans* holding Ubiquity.

11. A Biſhop or Cardinal of the Church of *Rome*, yea, the Pope himſelf denying all other Errors of Popery, notwithſtanding his Opinion of Juſtification by Works, may be ſaved.

12. Predeſtination is not of the *Abſolute* Will of God, but *Conditional*.

13. The Doings of the Wicked are not of the Will of God *Poſitive*, but only *Permiſſive*.

14. The Reprobates are not rejected, but for the evil Works which God did foreſee they would commit.

15. The Aſſurance of Things which we believe by the *Word*, is not ſo ſure, as of thoſe which we perceive by Senſe.

Here follows an Account, given in by Mr. Hooker *himſelf, of what he preached* March 28. 1585. *And then of what* Travers *in his Lectures excepted thereunto. And laſtly, Of* Hooker's *Reply and Vindication of himſelf and his Sermons.*

Hooker's own relation of his Aſſertions and vindication of them againſt *Travers.*

'I Doubted not but that God was merciful to Thouſands of our Fathers, which lived in Popiſh Superſtition: For that they ſinned ignorantly. But we have the light of the Truth.

'Which Doctrine was withſtood, becauſe we are commanded to depart out of *Babylon*, elſe we ſhall be partakers of thoſe Plagues there denounced againſt ſuch as repent not of their Superſtitions: which they cannot who know them not.

'I anſwered, That there were Thouſands in our Days who hate Sin, deſiring to walk according to the Will of God; and yet committing Sin which they know not to be Sin: I think that they that deſire Forgiveneſs of Secret Sins, which they know not to be Sins, and that are ſorry for Sins, that they know not to be Sins [ſuch] do repent.

Travers his own Anſwer.

Salvation belongeth to the Church of Chriſt. We may not think, that they could be capable of it, which lived in the Errors held and maintained in the Church of Rome, *that Seat of Antichriſt. Wherefore to his People God ſpeaketh in this ſort,* Go out of *Babylon* my People, go out of her, that you be not partaker of her Sins, and that you taſte not of her Plagues. *The* Galatians *thinking that they could not be ſaved by Chriſt, except they were Circumciſed, did thereby exclude themſelves from Salvation. Chriſt did profit them nothing. So they which join their own Works with Chriſt.*

'It is replied, That without Faith there is no Repentance. Our Fathers deſiring Mercy, did but as divers Pagans. And had no true Repentance.

'They thought they could not be ſaved by Chriſt, without Works, as the *Galatians* did: And ſo they denied the Foundation of Faith.

'I anſwered, Altho' the Propoſition were true, that he who thinketh that he cannot be ſaved by Chriſt without Works, overthroweth the Foundation; yet we may perſwade our ſelves, that our Forefathers might be ſaved. 1. Becauſe many of them were ignorant of the dogmatical Poſitions of the Church of *Rome*. 2. Albeit they had divers Poſitions

‘ of that Church, yet it followeth not that they had this. 3. Although they did generally hold this Poſition, yet God might be merciful unto them. No exception hath been taken againſt any one of theſe Aſſertions. 4. I add, That albeit all thoſe of whom we ſpeak, did not only hold this generally, but as the Scholars of *Rome* hold this Poſition now, of joining Works with Chriſt, whether doth that Poſition overthrow the Foundation directly, or only by Conſequence? If it doth overthrow the Foundation directly, *&c.* To make all plain, theſe Points are to be handled. *Firſt*, What is meant by the Foundation. *Secondly*, What it is to deny the Foundation directly. *Thirdly*, Whether the Elect may be ſo deceived, that they may come to this, to deny the Foundation directly. *Fourthly*, Whether the *Galatians* did directly deny it. *Fifthly*, Whether the Church of *Rome*, by joining Works with Chriſt in the Matter of Salvation, do directly deny it.

I. To the firſt I anſwer. ‘ The Foundation is, that which *Peter*, *Nathaniel*, and the *Samaritan* confeſſed; and that which the Apoſtles expreſly [affirm] *Acts* iv. *There is none other Name under Heaven given among Men, whereby we muſt be ſaved.* It is, in fine, this, *Salvation is by Chriſt only.* This word *only*, what doth it exclude? [As when we ſay,] This Judge ſhall *only* determine this Matter: This *Only* doth not exclude all other things, beſides the Perſon of the Judge; as neceſſary Witneſſes, the Equity of the Cauſe, *&c.* but all Perſons. And not all Perſons from being preſent, but from determining the Cauſe. So when we ſay, Salvation *only* is by Chriſt, we do not exclude all other things. For then how could we ſay, that Faith were neceſſary. We exclude therefore, not thoſe Means whereby the Benefits of Chriſt are applied to us; but all other Perſons, from working any thing for our Redemption.

II. To the ſecond Point, ‘ We are ſaid to deny the Foundation directly, when plainly and expreſly we deny, that Chriſt only doth ſave. By conſequence we deny the Foundation, when any ſuch thing is defended, whereby it may be inferred, that Chriſt doth not *only* ſave.

III. To the third, ‘ The Elect of God cannot ſo err, that they ſhould deny directly the Foundation. For that Chriſt doth keep them from that extremity. And there is no Salvation to ſuch as deny the Foundation directly. Therefore it is ſaid, that they ſhall worſhip the Beaſt, whoſe Names are not found in the Book of Life. Antichriſt may prevail much againſt them, [*viz.* the Elect,] and they may receive the Sign of the Beaſt in the ſame degree, but not ſo that they ſhould directly deny the Foundation.

IV. To the fourth, ‘ Albeit the *Galatians* fell into Error, yet not ſo that they loſt Salvation. If they had died before they had known the Doctrine of *Paul*, being before deceived by thoſe that they thought did teach the Truth; What do you think? Should they have been damned? This we are taught, that ſuch Errors [as are damning] ſhall not take hold, but on thoſe that love not the Truth. The *Galatians* had embraced the Truth; and for it had ſuffered many things, *&c.* There came among them Seducers, that required Circumciſion. They being moved with a Religious Fear, thought it to be the Word of God, that they ſhould be Circumciſed. The beſt of them might be brought into that Opinion; and dying before they could be otherwiſe Inſtructed, they may not for that be excluded from Salvation. Circumciſion being joined with Chriſt, doth only by Conſequence overthrow the Foundation. To hold the Foundation with an Additament is not to deny the Foundation, unleſs the Additament be a privative. He is a juſt Man, therefore a Man: But this followeth not; He is a dead Man, therefore he is a Man. In the 15*th* Chapter of the *Acts* they are called *Credentes*, [*i. e.* ſuch as believed] that taught the Neceſſity of Circumciſion. That Name could not have been given unto them, if directly they had denyed the Foundation. That which the Apoſtle doth urge againſt the *Galatians*, in reſpect of Circumciſion, may be urged againſt the ***Lutherans***, in reſpect of their Conſubſtantiation. But they do not directly deny the Foundation. So neither did the *Galatians* directly deny it.

V. *Laſtly*, ‘ Neither doth the Church of *Rome* directly deny the Foundation, by joining Chriſt and Works. There is great difference between the Papiſts and the *Galatians*: For Circumciſion, which the *Galatians* joined with Chriſt, was forbidden, and taken away by Chriſt. But Works are commanded, which the Church of *Rome* doth join with Chriſt. So that there is greater repugnancy to join Circumciſion with Chriſt, than to join Works with Him. But let them be equal. As the *Galatians* only by Conſequent denied the Foundation, ſo do the Papiſts. *Zanchy*, *Calvin*, *Mornay*; I need not go ſo far as ſome of theſe. But this I think, if the Pope, or any of the Cardinals, ſhould forſake all other their Corruptions, and yield up their Souls, holding the Foundation again but by a ſlender Thread, and did but as it were touch the Hem of Chriſt's Gar-

'ment, being that which the Church of *Rome* doth in this Point of Doctrine, they may 'obtain Mercy. For they have to deal with God, who is no captious Sophiſter, and will 'not examine them in *Quiddities*, but accept them, if they plainly hold the Foundation.

'This Error is my only Comfort, as touching the Salvation of our Fathers: I follow 'Mr. *Martyr*. I know *Ignorantia non excuſat in toto*, but, *in tanto*. It maketh not a Fault 'to be no Fault, but that which is a Fault to be a leſs one.

The Archbps. Judgment of theſe Controverſies.

At length, thus did the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* diſcreetly and warily correct and moderate theſe Articles between them both.

I. Papiſts, living and dying Papiſts, may notwithſtanding be ſaved. The Reaſon; Ignorance excuſed them. As the Apoſtle alledgeth, 1 *Tim.* I. 13. *I obtained Mercy, becauſe I did it ignorantly.*

The Archbiſhop's Judgment.

Not *Papiſts*, but *our Fathers*. Nor they *All*, but *Many* of them. Nor living and dying *Papiſts*, but living *in Popiſh Superſtitions*. Nor ſimply *might*, but might, *by the Mercy of God*, be ſaved. Ignorance did not excuſe the Fault, to make it no Fault: But the leſs their Fault was, in reſpect of Ignorance, the more Hope we have, that God was merciful to them.

II. Papiſts hold the Foundation of Faith: So that they may be ſaved, notwithſtanding their Opinion of *Merit*.

Archbiſhop. And Papiſts overthrow the Foundation of Faith, both by their Doctrine of Merit, and otherwiſe many ways. So that if they have, as their Errors deſerve, I do not ſee how they ſhould be ſaved.

III. General Repentance may ſerve to their Salvation, tho' they confeſs not their Error of *Merit*.

Archbiſhop. General Repentance will not ſerve any but the Faithful Man: Nor him, for any Sin, but for ſuch Sins only as he doth not mark, nor know to be Sin.

IV. The Church of *Rome* is within the New Covenant.

Archbiſhop. The Church of *Rome* is not as the Aſſemblies of *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Painim*

V. The *Galatians* joining the Law with Chriſt might have been ſaved, before they received the Epiſtle.

Archbiſhop. Of the *Galatians*, before they were told of their Error, what letteth us to think, as of our Fathers, before the Church of *Rome* was admoniſhed of her Defection from the Truth?]

George

GEORGE CRANMER'S

LETTER

UNTO

Mr. Richard Hooker.

February 1598.

WHat Poſterity is likely to judge of theſe matters concerning Church-Diſcipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own Age, within few years, upon better Experience, hath already judged concerning the ſame. It may be remembred, that at firſt the greateſt part of the Learned in the Land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The Books then written for the moſt part ſavoured of the Diſciplinary Stile: it ſounded every where in Pulpits, and in common phraſe of Men's ſpeech: the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong courſe; many which impugned the Diſcipline, yet ſo impugned it, not as not being the better form of Government, but as not being ſo convenient for our State, in regard of dangerous Innovations thereby like to grow; * one Man alone there was, to ſpeak of, (whom let no ſuſpicion of flattery deprive of his deſerved Commendation,) who in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, ſtood in the gap, and gave others reſpite to prepare themſelves to the defence, which by the ſudden eagerneſs and violence of their Adverſaries had otherwiſe been prevented; wherein God hath made good unto him his own Impreſs, *Vincit qui patitur*; for what contumelious indignities he hath at their Hands ſuſtained, the World is witneſs, and what reward of Honour above his Adverſaries God hath beſtowed upon him, themſelves (though nothing glad thereof) muſt needs confeſs. Now of late years the heat of Men towards the Diſcipline is greatly decayed, their Judgements begin to ſway on the other ſide: the Learned have weighed it, and found it light; wiſe Men conceive ſome fear, leſt it prove not only not the beſt kind of Government, but the very bane and deſtruction of all Government. The cauſe of this Change in Mens Opinions may be drawn from the general nature of Error, diſguiſed and Cloathed with the name of Truth; which is mightily and violently to poſſeſs Men at firſt, but afterwards, the weakneſs thereof being by time diſcovered, to loſe that reputation, which before it had gained; as by the outſide of an Houſe the paſſers by are oftentimes deceived, till they ſee the conveniency of the Rooms within: ſo by the very Name of Diſcipine and Reformation, Men were drawn at firſt to caſt a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themſelves only to paſs by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed Houſe; they have entred in, even at the ſpecial requeſt of Maſter-workmen, and chief Builders thereof; they have peruſed the Rooms, the Lights, the Conveniences, they find them not anſwerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived: So as now the Diſcipline which at firſt triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

* *John Whitgift*, the Arch-Biſhop.

This cauſe of change in opinion concerning the Diſcipline, is proper to the Learned, or to ſuch as by them have been inſtructed; another cauſe there is more open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the courſe of Practice, which the Reformers have had with us from the beginning; the firſt degree was only ſome ſmall difference about Cap and Surplice, but not ſuch as either bred diviſion in the Church, or tended to the ruin of the Government eſtabliſhed. This was peaceable; the next degree more ſtirring. *Admonitions* were directed to the Parliament in peremptory ſort againſt our whole Form of Regiment; in defence of them, Volumes were publiſhed in Engliſh, and in Latin; yet this was no more than Writing. Devices were ſet on foot to erect the Practice of the Diſcipline without Authority: yet herein ſome regard of Modeſty, ſome moderation was uſed; Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, firſt in writing by *Martin*, in whoſe kind of dealing theſe things may be obſerved; firſt that whereas *T. C.* and others his great Maſters had always before ſet out the Diſcipline as a Queen, and as the Daughter of God; he contrariwiſe, to make her more acceptable to the People, brought her forth as a Vice upon the Stage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be ſuppoſed) upon this rare Polity, that ſeeing the Diſcipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in ſecret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open rayling (which to the vulgar is commonly moſt plauſible) the State Eccleſiaſtical might have been drawn into ſuch contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof ſhould have been moſt grateful to all Men, and in manner deſired of the common People. 3. It may be noted (and this I know my ſelf to be true) how ſome of them, although they could not for ſhame approve ſo lewd an Action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cauſe, acknowledging therein the ſecret judgements of God againſt the Biſhops, and hoping that ſome good might be wrought thereby for his Church, as indeed there was, though not according to their Conſtruction. For, 4. Contrary to their expectation, that railing Spirit did not only not further, but extremely diſgrace and prejudice their Cauſe, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction at firſt, to what outrage of Contumely and Slander they at length proceeded; and were alſo likely further to proceed.

A further degree of outrage was thus in fact; Certain * Prophets did ariſe, who deeming it not poſſible that God ſhould ſuffer that to be undone, which they did ſo fiercely deſire to have done, Namely, that his holy Saints, the Favourers and Fathers of the Diſcipline, ſhould be enlarged, and delivered from perſecution; and ſeeing no means of deliverance Ordinary, were fain to perſwade themſelves that God muſt needs raiſe ſome Extraordinary means; and being perſwaded of none ſo well as of themſelves, they forthwith muſt needs be the Inſtruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themſelves an aſſured hope that upon their Preaching out of a Peaſe-Cart, all the multitude would have preſently joyned unto them, and in amazement of Mind have asked them, *Viri fratres, quid agemus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an anſwer far unlike to that of St. *Peter, Such and ſuch are Men unworthy to govern, pluck them down; Such and ſuch are the dear Children of God, let them be advanced.* Of two of theſe Men, it is meet to ſpeak with all Commiſeration, yet ſo that others by their examples may receive Inſtruction, and withal ſome light may appear what ſtirring affections the Diſcipline is like to inſpire, if it light upon apt and prepared Minds.

* *Hacket* and *Coppinger.*

Now if any Man doubt of what Society they were, or if the Reformers diſclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let theſe points be conſider'd. 1. *Whoſe aſſociates were they before they entred into this frantick Paſſion? whoſe Sermons did they frequent? whom did they admire?* 2. *Even when they were entring into it, whoſe advice did they require?* And when they were in, *whoſe approbation? whom advertiſed they of their purpoſe? whoſe Aſſiſtance by Prayers did they requeſt?* But we deal injuriouſly with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they diſcloſe it to the Magiſtrate, that it might be ſuppreſſed? or were they not rather content to ſtand aloof off, and ſee the end of it, and loth to quench the Spirit? No doubt theſe mad practitioners were of their ſociety with whom before, and in the practice of their madneſs they had moſt affinity. Hereof, read Doctor *Bancrofts* Book.

A third inducement may be to diſlike of the Diſcipline, if we conſider not only how far the Reformers themſelves have proceeded, but what others upon their Foundations have built. Here come the *Browniſts* in the firſt rank, their lineal deſcendants, who have ſeized upon a number of ſtrange opinions; whereof although their Anceſtors, the Reformers, were never actually Poſſeſſed, yet by right and intereſt from them derived, the *Browniſts* and *Barrowiſts* have taken poſſeſſion of them: For if the Poſitions of the Reformers be true, I cannot ſee how the main and general Concluſions of *Browniſm* ſhould be falſe; for upon theſe two points, as I conceive, they ſtand.

1. *That becauſe we have no Church, they are to ſever themſelves from us.*
2. *That without Civil Authority, they are to erect a Church of their own.*

And if the former of theſe be true, the latter, I ſuppoſe, will Follow: for if above all things, Men be to regard their Salvation; and if out of the Church there be no Salvation; it followeth, that if we have no Church, we have no means of Salvation: And therefore Separation from us, in that reſpect, is both lawful and neceſſary. As alſo, that Men ſo ſeparate from the falſe and counterfeit Church, are to aſſociate themſelves unto ſome Church; not to ours; to the Popiſh much leſs; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all theſe inferences being this, [*That in our Church, there is no means of Salvation*] is out of the Reformers Principles moſt clearly to be proved. For whereſoever any Matter of Faith unto Salvation neceſſary is denied, there can be no means of Salvation: but in the Church of *England*, the Diſcipline by them accounted a Matter of Faith, and neceſſary to Salvation, is not only denied, but impugned, and the profeſſors thereof oppreſſed. *Ergo.*

Again, (but this Reaſon perhaps is weak) Every true Church of Chriſt acknowledgeth the whole Goſpel of Chriſt: The Diſcipline in their opinion, is a part of the Goſpel, and yet by our Church reſiſted. *Ergo.*

Again, the Diſcipline is eſſentially united to the Church: By which term *Eſſentially*, they muſt mean either an eſſential part or an eſſential property. Both which ways it muſt needs be, That where that Eſſential Diſcipline is not, neither is there any Church. If therefore between them and the *Browniſts*, there ſhould be appointed a Solemn Diſputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes ſo earneſt challengers: It doth not yet appear what other anſwer they could poſſibly frame to theſe and the like Arguments, wherewith they might be preſſed, but fairly to deny the Concluſion (for all the Premiſſes are their own) or rather ingenuouſly to reverſe their own Principles before laid, whereon ſo foul abſurdities have been ſo firmly built.

What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the Diſcipline, I leave to your better remembrance: But above all points, I am deſirous this one ſhould be ſtrongly inforced againſt them, becauſe it wringeth them moſt of all, and is of all others (for ought I ſee) the moſt unanſwerable; you may notwithſtanding ſay, That you would be heartily glad theſe their Poſitions might ſo be ſalved, as the *Browniſts* might not appear to have iſſued out of their Loyns; but until that be done, they muſt give us leave to think, *that they have caſt the Seed whereout theſe Tares are grown.*

Another ſort of Men there are, which have been content to run on with the Reformers for a time, and to make them poor Inſtruments of their own deſigns. Theſe are a ſort of Godleſs Politicks, who perceiving the Plot of Diſcipline to conſiſt of theſe two parts, The overthrow of Epiſcopal, and erection of Presbyterial Authority; and that this latter can take no place till the former be removed, are content to joyn with them in the Deſtructive part of Diſcipline, bearing them in Hand, that in the other alſo, they ſhall find them as ready. But when time ſhall come, it may be they would be as loth to be yoaked with that kind of Regiment, as now they are willing to be releaſed from this. Theſe Mens ends in all their actions, is Diſtraction; their pretence and colour, Reformation. Thoſe things which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary faction they have kept the Clergy always in awe; and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their Peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of Equality among Miniſters, they have made way to their own purpoſes for devouring Cathedral-Churches, and Biſhops Livings. 3. By exclaming againſt abuſes in the Church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the Civil ſtate more covertly; for ſuch is the nature of the multitude, that they are not able to apprehend many things at once, ſo as being poſſeſſed with a diſlike or liking of any one thing, many other, in the mean time, may eſcape them, without being perceived. 4. They have ſought to diſgrace the Clergy, in entertaining a conceit in Mens minds, and confirming by continual practice, that Men of Learning, and eſpecially of the Clergy, which are imployed in the chiefeſt kind of Learning, are not to be admitted, or ſparingly admitted to Matters of State; contrary to the practice of all well-governed Common-wealths, and of our own, till theſe late Years.

A third ſort of Men there are, though not deſcended from the Reformers, yet in part raiſed and greatly ſtrengthned by them, namely, the curſed crew of *Atheiſts*. This alſo is one of thoſe Points which I am deſirous you ſhould handle moſt effectually, and ſtrain your ſelf therein to all points of motion and affection, as in that of the *Browniſts*, to all ſtrength and ſinews of Reaſon. This is a ſort moſt damnable, and yet by the general ſuſpicion of the World at this Day moſt common. The cauſes of it, which are in the parties themſelves, although you handle in the beginning of the Fifth Book, yet here again they may be touched; but the occaſions of help and furtherance, which by the Reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two, *Senſeleſs Preaching and diſgracing of the Miniſtry*: For how ſhould not Men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of Reaſon, nor by Authority of Perſons is maintained? But in the parties themſelves, theſe two cauſes I conceive of *Atheiſm*, 1. More abundance of Wit than Judgement, and of Witty than Judicious Learning, whereby *they are more inclined to contradict any thing, than willing to be informed of the truth.* They are not therefore Men of ſound Learning for the moſt part, but Smatterers; neither is their kind of Diſpute ſo much by force of Argument, as by Scoffing: Which humour of Scoffing, and turning Matters moſt ſerious into Merriment, is now become ſo common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by the *Seat of Scorners*, nor what the Apoſtles by fore-telling of *Scorners to come*; our own Age hath verified their ſpeech unto us; which alſo may be an Argument againſt theſe Scoffers and Atheiſts themſelves, ſeeing it hath been ſo many ages ago foretold, That ſuch Men the latter Days of the World ſhould afford, which cou'd not be done by any other Spirit, ſave that whereunto *things future and preſent are alike.* And even for the main queſtion of the Reſurrection, whereat they ſtick ſo mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that Men ſhould in the latter times ſay, *Where is the promiſe of his coming*? Againſt the Creation, the Ark, and divers other points, exceptions are ſaid to be taken; the ground whereof is ſuperfluity of Wit, without ground of Learning and Judgement.

A ſecond cauſe of *Atheiſm*, is *Senſuality*, which maketh Men deſirous to remove all ſtops and impediments of their wicked life; amongſt which, becauſe Religion is the chiefeſt, ſo as neither in this Life without ſhame they can perſiſt therein, nor (if that be true) without Torment in the Life to come; they whet their Wits to annihilate the Joys of Heaven, wherein they ſee (if any ſuch be) they can have no part; and likewiſe the pains of Hell, wherein their portion muſt needs be very great. They labour therefore, not that they may not deſerve thoſe pains, but that deſerving them there may be no ſuch pains to ſeize upon them: But what conceit can be imagined more baſe, than that Man ſhould ſtrive to perſwade himſelf, even againſt the ſecret inſtinct (no doubt) of his own Mind, that his Soul is as the Soul of a Beaſt, Mortal and Corruptible with the Body? Againſt which barbarous Opinion, their own *Atheiſm* is a very ſtrong Argument; *For were not the Soul a Nature ſeparable from the Body, how could it enter into diſcourſe of things meerly Spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the Body? Surely, the Soul were not able to conceive any thing of Heaven, no not ſo much as to diſpute againſt Heaven, and againſt God if there were not in it ſomewat Heavenly and derived from God.*

The laſt which hath received ſtrength and encouragement from the Reformers, are *Papiſts*; againſt whom, altho' they are moſt bitter Enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any Enemy rather deſire, than the breach and diſſention of thoſe which are Confederates againſt him ? wherein they are to remember, that if our Communion with *Papiſts* in ſome few Ceremonies do ſo much Strengthen them, as is pretended, How much more doth this Diviſion and Rent among our ſelves, eſpecially ſeeing it is maintained to be, not in light Matters only, but even in Matters of Faith and Salvation ? Which over-reaching Speech of theirs, becauſe it is ſo open to advantage for the *Barrowiſt* and the *Papiſt*, we are to wiſh and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been ſpoken rather in heat of affection, than with ſoundneſs of Judgement ; and that through their exceeding love to that Creature of Diſcipline which themſelves have bred, nouriſhed and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her did ſoon overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to your ſelf) to another Diſcourſe, which I think very meet to be handled, either here or elſewhere at large ; the parts whereof may be theſe.

1. That in this cauſe between them and us, Men are to ſever the proper and eſſential Points in Controverſie, from thoſe which are accidental. The moſt eſſential and proper are theſe two ; Overthrow of *Epiſcopal*, *Erection* of *Presbyterial Authority*. But in theſe two points whoſoever joyneth with them, is accounted of their number ; whoſoever in all other Points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the *Authority of Biſhops* not unlawful, and of *Elders* not neceſſary, may juſtly be ſevered from their retinue. Thoſe things therefore which either in the Perſons, or in the Laws and Orders themſelves are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended ; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpoſe : For what if all Errors by them ſuppoſed in our *Liturgy* were amended, even according to their own hearts deſire ; if *Non-Reſidence*, *Pluralities*, , and the like, were utterly taken away ; are their *Lay-Elders* therefore preſently authoriſed, or their *Soveraign Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction* eſtabliſhed ?

But even in their complaining againſt the outward and accidental Matters in Church-Government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propoſe to themſelves. For in declaiming againſt abuſes, their meaning is not to have them redreſſed, but by diſgracing the preſent State to make way for their own Diſcipline. As therefore in *Venice*, if any Sanator ſhould diſcourſe againſt the Power of their Senate, as being either too Soveraign or too weak in Government, with purpoſe to draw their Authority to a Moderation, it might well be ſuffered ; but not ſo, if it ſhould appear he ſpake with purpoſe to induce another State by depraving the preſent : So in all Cauſes belonging either to Church or Common-wealth, we are to have regard, what mind the Complaining part doth bear, whether of Amendment or Innovation, and accordingly, either to ſuffer or ſuppreſs it. Their Objection therefore is frivolous, *Why may not Men ſpeak againſt Abuſes ?* Yes ; but with deſire to cure the part affected, and not to deſtroy the Whole. 2. A ſecond fault is in their manner of Complaining, not only becauſe it is for the moſt part in bitter and reproachful terms, but alſo it is to the common People, *Who are Judges incompetent and inſufficient, both to determine any thing amiſs ; and for want of skill and authority, to amend it.* Which alſo diſcovereth their intent and purpoſe to be rather deſtructive than corrective. 3. Thirdly, thoſe very Exceptions which they take, are frivolous and impertinent. Some things indeed they accuſe as impious, which if they may appear to be ſuch, God forbid they ſhould be maintained.

Againſt the reſt it is only alledged, That they are idle Ceremonies without uſe, and that better and more profitable might be deviſed, wherein they are doubly deceived : For neither is it a ſufficient Plea to ſay, This muſt give Place, becauſe a better may be deviſed ; becauſe in our judgements of better and worſe, we oftentimes conceive amiſs, when we compare thoſe things which are in device, with thoſe which are in practice : *For the imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and tryal they be diſcovered* ; the others are already manifeſt and open to all. But laſt of all, (which is a point in my Opinion of great regard, and which I am deſirous to have enlarged) they do not ſee that for the moſt part when they ſtrike at the *State Eccleſiaſtical*, they ſecretly wound the *Civil-State* : For Perſonal Faults, *What can be ſaid againſt the Church, which may not alſo agree to the Common-wealth ?* In both, Stateſmen have always been, and will be always, Men, ſometimes blinded with Error, moſt commonly perverted by Paſſions : Many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. And as for abuſes which they pretend to be in the Laws themſelves, when they inveigh againſt *Non-Reſidence*, do thay take it as a matter lawful or expedient in the *Civil-State*, for a Man to have a great and gainful Office in the *North*, and himſelf continually remaining in the *South ? He that hath an Office, let him attend his Office.* When they condemn *Plurality* of *Livings Spiritual* to the Pit of Hell ; what think they of *Infinite* of *Temporal Promotions ?* By the *Great Philoſopher*, *Pol. lib.* 2. *cap.* 9. it is forbidden as a thing moſt dangerous to Common-wealths, that by the ſame Man many great Offices ſhould be exerciſed. When they deride our Ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their Exceptions, even to thoſe Civil Ceremonies which at the *Coronation*, in *Parliament*, and all *Courts of Juſtice* are uſed ? Were it hard to argue, even againſt *Circumciſion*, the *Ordinance of God*, as being a cruel Ceremony ? Againſt the *Paſſover*, as being ridiculous, that Men ſhould be girt, with a ſtaff in their Hand, to eat a *Lamb*.

To conclude, You may exhort the *Clergy*, (or, what if you direct your Concluſion not to the *Clergy* in general, but only to the Learned in or of both *Univerſities* ?) You may exhort them to a due conſideration of all things, and to a right eſteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to ſtand : *For it oftentimes falleth out, that what Men have either deviſed themſelves, or greatly delighted in ; the price and the excellency thereof, they do admire above deſert.* The chiefeſt labour of a *Chriſtian* ſhould be to know ; of a *Miniſter*, to *Preach Chriſt crucified* :

In regard whereof, not only Worldly things, but things otherwiſe precious, even the ***Diſcipline*** it ſelf, is vile and baſe. Whereas now, by the heat of Contention and violence of Affection, the Zeal of Men towards the one, hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to ***Preach Chriſt crucified***, the ***Mortification of the Fleſh***, the ***Renewing of the Spirit***; not thoſe things which in time of Strife ſeem precious, but (Paſſions being allayed) are vain and childiſh.

GEO. CRANMER.

* * *

This *Epitaph* was long ſince preſented to the World in Memory of Mr. *Hooker*, by Sir *William Cooper*; who alſo built him a fair Monument in *Borne-Church*, and acknowledges him to have been his *Spiritual Father*.

Though nothing can be ſpoke worthy his Fame,
Or the remembrance of that precious Name,
Judicious Hooker; *though this coſt be ſpent*
On him that hath a Laſting Monument
In his own Books; yet ought we to expreſs,
If not his worth, yet our Reſpectfulneſs.
Church-Ceremonies he maintain'd: Then why
Without all Ceremony ſhould he die?
Was it becauſe his Life and Death ſhould be
Both equal Patterns of Humility?
Or, that perhaps this only glorious one
Was above all, to ask, Why had he none?
Yet he that lay ſo long obſcurely low,
Doth now preferr'd to greater Honours go.
Ambitious Men, learn hence to be more wiſe;
Humility is the true way to riſe:
And God in me this Leſſon did inſpire
To bid this humble Man, Friend ſit up higher.

TO

TO THE
Moſt Reverend Father in God,
my very good Lord, the Lord Arch-Biſhop of
CANTERBURY his Grace,
PRIMATE & METROPOLITAN
OF ALL
ENGLAND.

The cauſe of Writing this General Diſcourſe.

MOST Reverend in Chriſt, the long continued, and more than ordinary favour, which hitherto your Grace hath been pleaſed to ſhew towards me, may juſtly claim at my hands ſome thankful acknowledgement thereof. In which conſideration, as alſo for that I embrace willingly the ancient received courſe, and conveniency of that Diſcipline, which teacheth inferiour Degrees and Orders in the Church of God, to ſubmit their Writings to the ſame Authority, from which their allowable dealings whatſoever, in ſuch affairs, muſt receive approbation, I nothing fear but that your accuſtomed clemency will take in good worth, the offer of theſe my ſimple and mean Labours, beſtowed for the neceſſary juſtification of Laws heretofore made queſtionable, becauſe, as I take it, they were not perfectly underſtood: For ſurely, I cannot find any great cauſe of juſt complaint, that good Laws have ſo much been wanting unto us, as we to them. To ſeek Reformation of evil Laws, is a commendable endeavour; but for us the more neceſſary, is a ſpeedy redreſs of our ſelves. We have on all ſides loſt much of our firſt fervency towards God; and therefore concerning our own degenerated ways, we have reaſon to exhort with St. Greg. Naz. *Gregory*, ὁπὲρ ἦμεν γινώμεθα, *Let us return again unto that which we ſome time were*; but touching the exchange of Laws in Practice, with Laws in Device, which, they ſay, are better for the State of the Church, if they might take place, the farther we examine them, the greater cauſe we find to conclude μένωμεν ὁπὲρ ἐσμέν, *although we continue the ſame we are, the harm is not great:* The fervent Reprehenders of things eſtabliſhed by Publick Authority, are always confident and bold-ſpirited Men. But their confidence for the moſt part riſeth from too much credit given to their own wits, for which cauſe they are ſeldom free from Error. The Errors which we ſeek to reform in this kind of Men, are ſuch as both received at your own hands their firſt wound, and from that time to this preſent, have been proceeded in with that Moderation, which uſeth by Patience to ſuppreſs boldneſs, and to make them conquer that ſuffer. Wherein conſidering the nature and kind of theſe Controverſies, the dangerous ſequels whereunto they were likely to grow, and how many ways we have been thereby taught Wiſdom, I may boldly aver concerning the firſt, that as the weightieſt conflicts the Church hath had, were thoſe which touched the Head, the Perſon of our Saviour Chriſt; and the next of importance, thoſe queſtions which are at this day between us and the Church of *Rome*, about the Actions of the Body of the Church of God; ſo theſe which have laſtly ſprung up from Complements, Rites, and Ceremonies of Church-Actions, are in truth, for the greateſt part, ſuch ſilly things, that very eaſineſs doth make them hard to be diſputed of in ſerious manner. Which alſo may ſeem to be the cauſe, why divers of the Reverend Prelacy, and other moſt judicious Men, have eſpecially beſtowed their pains about the matter of Juriſdiction. Notwithſtanding, led by your Graces example, my ſelf have thought it convenient to wade through the whole Cauſe, following that method which ſearcheth the Truth by the cauſes of Truth. Now if any marvel, how a thing in it ſelf ſo weak, could import any great danger, they muſt conſider not ſo much how ſmall the ſpark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it, are to take fire. Bodies Politick being ſubject as much as Natural, to diſſolution, by divers means; there are undoubtedly more eſtates overthrown through diſeaſes, bred within themſelves, than through violence from abroad;

abroad; becauſe our manner is always to caſt a more doubtful and a more ſuſpicious eye towards that, over which we know we have leaſt power: And therefore, the fear of External dangers, cauſeth forces at home to be the more united. It is to all ſorts a kind of Bridle, it maketh vertuous Minds watchful, it holdeth contrary Diſpoſitions in ſuſpence, and it ſetteth thoſe Wits on work in better things, which would be elſe imployed in worſe; whereas on the other ſide, domeſtical Evils, for that we think we can maſter them at all times, are often permitted to run on forward, till it be too late to recall them. In the mean while, the Common-wealth is not only through unſoundneſs ſo far impaired, as thoſe evils chance to prevail; but farther alſo, through oppoſition ariſing between the unſound parts and the ſound, where each endeavoureth to draw evermore contrary ways, till deſtruction in the end, bring the whole to ruin.

To reckon up how many Cauſes there are, by force whereof Diviſions may grow in a Common-wealth, is not here neceſſary. Such as riſe from variety in Matter of Religion, are not only the fartheſt ſpread, becauſe in Religion all Men preſume themſelves intereſſed alike, but they are alſo for the moſt part, hotlier proſecuted and purſued than other ſtrifes; for as much as coldneſs, which in other Contentions may be thought to proceed from moderation, is not in thoſe ſo favourably conſtrued. The part which in this preſent quarrel, ſtriveth againſt the Current and Stream of Laws, was a long while nothing feared, the wiſeſt being contented not to call to mind how Errors have their effect, many times not proportioned to that little appearance of Reaſon, whereupon they would ſeem built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is caſt towards them, and proceedeth from other Cauſes. For there are divers Motives drawing Men to favour mightily thoſe Opinions, wherein their Perſwaſions are but weakly ſettled; and if the Paſſions of the mind be ſtrong, they eaſily ſophiſticate the Underſtanding, they make it apt to believe upon very ſlender warrant, and to imagine infallible Truth, where ſcarce any probable ſhew appeareth.

Thus were thoſe poor ſeduced Creatures, ***Hacquet*** and his other two adherents, whom I can neither ſpeak nor think of, but with much commiſeration and pity, thus were they trained by fair ways firſt, accompting their own extraordinary love to his Diſcipline, a token of God's more than ordinary love towards them; from hence they grew to a ſtrong conceit, that God which had moved them to love his Diſcipline, more than the common ſort of Men did, might have a purpoſe by their means to bring a wonderful work to paſs, beyond all Mens expectation, for the advancement of the Throne of Diſcipline by ſome Tragical Execution, with the particularities whereof it was not ſafe for their Friends to be made acquainted; of whom they did therefore but covertly demand, what they thought of extraordinary Motions of the Spirit in theſe days; and withal requeſt to be commended unto God by their Prayers, whatſoever ſhould be undertaken by Men of God, in meer Zeal to his Glory, and the good of his diſtreſſed Church. With this unuſual and ſtrange courſe they went on forward, till God, in whoſe heavieſt worldly Judgments, I nothing doubt, but that there may lie hidden Mercy, gave them over to their own Inventions, and left them made, in the end, an example for Head-ſtrong and Inconſiderate Zeal, no leſs fearful than *Achitophel*, for Proud and Irreligious Wiſdom. If a ſpark of Error have thus far prevailed, falling even where the Wood was green, and fartheſt off, to all Mens thinking, from any inclination unto furious Attempts; muſt not the peril thereof be greater in Men whoſe minds are of themſelves as dry fewel, apt before-hand unto Tumults, Seditions and Broyls? But by this we ſee in a Cauſe of Religion, to how deſperate adventures, Men will ſtrain themſelves for relief of their own part, having Law and Authority againſt them.

Furthermore, Let not any Man think, that in ſuch Diviſions, either part can free it ſelf from inconveniencies ſuſtained not only through a kind of Truce, which Vertue on both ſides, doth make with Vice, during War between Truth and Error; but alſo, in that there are hereby ſo fit occaſions miniſtred for Men to purchaſe to themſelves well-willers by the colour, under which they oftentimes proſecute quarrels of Envy or Inveterate Malice, and eſpecially, becauſe Contentions were as yet never able to prevent two Evils: The one a mutual exchange of unſeemly and unjuſt diſgraces, offered by Men, whoſe Tongues and Paſſions are out of rule; the other, a common hazard of both, to be made a prey by ſuch as ſtudy how to work upon all Occurrents, with moſt advantage in private. I deny not therefore, but that our Antagoniſts in theſe Controverſies may peradventure have met with ſome, not unlike to *Ithacius*, who mightily bending himſelf by all means againſt the Hereſie of *Priſcillian*, (the hatred of which one Evil, was all the Vertue he had) became ſo wiſe in the end, That every Man, careful of Vertuous Converſation ſtudious of Scripture, and given unto any abſtinence in Diet, was ſet down in his Kalendar of ſuſpected *Priſcillianiſts*, for whom it ſhould be expedient to approve their ſoundneſs of Faith, by a more licentious and looſe behaviour. Such Proctors and Patrons the Truth might ſpare: Yet is not their groſſeneſs ſo intolerable, as on the contrary ſide, the ſcurrilous and more than Satyrical immodeſty of *Martiniſm*; the firſt publiſhed Schedules whereof, being brought to the hands of a grave and very Honourable Knight, with ſignification given, that the Book would refreſh his ſpirits, he took it, ſaw what the Title was, read over an unſavoury ſentence or two, and delivered back the Libel with this Anſwer, *I am ſorry you are of the mind to be ſolaced with theſe ſports, and ſorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own.* But as theſe ſores on all hands lie open, ſo the deepeſt wounds of the Church of God, have been more ſoftly and cloſely given. It being perceived, that the Plot of Diſcipline, did not only bend it ſelf to reform Ceremonies, but ſeek farther to erect a popular authority of Elders, and to take away Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, together with all other Ornaments and means, whereby any difference or

Sulp. Sever. Epiſt. Hiſt. Eccleſ.

inequality is upheld in the Eccleſiaſtical Order; towards this deſtructive part, they have found many helping hands, divers, although peradventure not willing to be yoked with Elderſhips, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to uphold oppoſition againſt Biſhops, nor without greater hurt to the courſe of their whole proceedings in the buſineſs of God and Her Majeſties ſervice, than otherwiſe much more weighty Adverſaries had been able by their own power to have brought to paſs. Men are naturally better contented to have their commendable actions ſuppreſt, than the contrary much divulged. And becauſe the Wits of the multitude are ſuch, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being poſſeſt with ſome notable either diſlike or liking of any one thing whatſoever, ſundry other in the mean time may eſcape them unperceived: Therefore if Men deſirous to have their Vertues noted, do in this reſpect grieve at the fame of others, whoſe glory obſcureth and darkneth theirs, it cannot be choſen, but that when the ears of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamations againſt abuſes in the Church; theſe tunes come always moſt acceptable to them, whoſe odious and corrupt dealings in ſecular affairs, both paſs by that mean the more covertly, and, whatſoever happen, do alſo the leaſt feel that ſcourge of vulgar imputation, which notwithſtanding they moſt deſerve. All this conſidered, as behoveth, the ſequel of duty on our part, is only that which our Lord and Saviour requireth, harmleſs Diſcretion, the wiſdom of Serpents tempered with the innocent meekneſs of Doves: For this World will teach them wiſdom, that have capacity to apprehend it. Our Wiſdom in this caſe muſt be ſuch, as doth not propoſe to it ſelf τὸ ἴδιον our own particular, the partial and immoderate deſire whereof, poyſoneth whereſoever it taketh place: But the ſcope and mark which we are to aim at, is τὸ κοινόν, the publick and common good of all; for the eaſier procurement whereof, our diligence muſt ſearch out all helps and furtherances of direction, which Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, Hiſtories, the Laws and Practices of all Churches, the mutual Conference of all Mens Collections and Obſervations may afford: Our induſtry muſt even anatomize every particle of that Body which we are to uphold ſound, and, becauſe be it never ſo true which we teach the world to believe, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a ſmall thing perſwadeth them to change their opinions, it behoveth that we vigilantly note and prevent by all means thoſe evils whereby the hearts of Men are loſt, which evils for the moſt part being Perſonal do arm in ſuch ſort the Adverſaries of God and His Church againſt us, that if, through our too much neglect and Security, the ſame ſhould run on, ſoon might we feel our eſtate brought to thoſe lamentable terms whereof this hard and heavy ſentence was by one of the ancients uttered upon like occaſions, *Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, ſacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit foris diu ſtare non poterit.* But the gracious providence of almighty God hath, I truſt, put theſe Thorns of Contradiction in our ſides, leſt that ſhould ſteal upon the Church in a ſlumber, which now I doubt not but through his aſſiſtance may be turned away from us, bending thereunto our ſelves with conſtancy, conſtancy in labour to do all Men good, conſtancy in prayer unto God for all Men, her eſpecially whoſe ſacred power matched with incomparable goodneſs of nature hath hitherto been Gods moſt happy inſtrument by him miraculouſly kept for works of ſo miraculous preſervation and ſafety unto others, that as, *By the word of God and Gideon*, was ſometime the cry of the People Iſrael, ſo it might deſervedly be at this Day the joyful Song of innumerable multitudes, yea the Emblem of ſome Eſtates and Dominions in the world, and (which muſt be eternally confeſt even with tears of thankfulneſs) the true inſcription, ſtile or title of all Churches as yet ſtanding within this Realm, *By the goodneſs of almighty God and his ſervant Elizabeth we are.* That God, who is able to make mortality immortal, give her ſuch future continuance, as may be no leſs glorious unto all poſterity than the Days of her Regiment paſt have been happy unto our ſelves, and for his moſt dear anointeds ſake grant them all Proſperity; whoſe labours, cares and counſels unfeignedly are referred to her endleſs welfare, through his unſpeakable mercy unto whom we all owe everlaſting praiſe. In which deſire I will here reſt, humbly beſeeching your Grace to pardon my great boldneſs and God to multiply his bleſſings upon them that fear his name.

Mat. 10. 16.

Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421.

Jud. 7. 20.

Your Graces in all Duty,

Richard Hooker.

TO THE READER.

This unhappy controverſie, about the received ceremonies and diſcipline of the Church of England, which hath ſo long time withdrawn ſo many of her Miniſters from their principal work, and imployed their ſtudies in contentious oppoſitions: hath by the unnatural growth and dangerous fruits thereof, made known to the world, that it never received bleſſing from the Father of peace. For whoſe experience doth not find, what confuſion of order, and breach of the ſacred bond of love hath ſprung from this diſſention; how it hath rent the body of the Church into divers parts, and divided her people into divers Sects; how it hath taught the Sheep to deſpiſe their Paſtors, and alienated the Paſtors from the love of their flocks: how it hath ſtrengthened the irreligious in their impieties, and hath raiſed the hopes of the Sacrilegious devourers of the remains of Chriſt's patrimony; and given way to the common adverſary of God's truth and our Proſperity, to grow great in our Land without reſiſtance; who ſeeth not how it hath diſtracted the minds of the multitude, and ſhaken their faith, and ſcandalized their weakneſs, and hath generally killed the very heart of true piety and Religious Devotion, by changing our Zeal towards Chriſt's Glory, into the fire of envy and malice, and heart-burning, and Zeal to every Man's private cauſe? This is the ſum of all the gains which the tedious contentions of ſo many Years have brought in; by the ruin of Chriſt's Kingdom, the encreaſe of Satan's, partly in ſuperſtition, and partly in impiety. So much better were it in theſe our dwellings of peace, to endure any inconvenience whatſoever in the outward frame, than in deſire of alteration, thus to ſet the whole Houſe on fire. Which moved the religious heart of this learned writer, in Zeal of Gods truth, and in compaſſion to his Church, the Mother of us all, which gave us both the firſt breath of Spiritual Life, and from her breaſts hath fed us unto this whatſoever meaſure of growth we have in Chriſt, to ſtand up, and take upon him a general defence both of her ſelf, and of her eſtabliſhed Laws; and by force of demonſtration, ſo far as the nature of the preſent matter could bear, to make known to the world, and theſe oppugners of her, that all thoſe bitter accuſations laid to her charge, are not the faults of her Laws and Orders, but either their own miſtakes in the miſunderſtanding, or the abuſes of Men in the ill execution of them. A work ſubject to manifold reprehenſions and oppoſitions, and not ſuitable to his ſoft and mild diſpoſition, deſirous of a quiet private life, wherein he might bring forth the fruits of peace in peace. But the love of God and of his country, whoſe greateſt danger grew from this diviſion, made his heart hot within him, and at length the fire kindled, and amongſt many other moſt Reverend and Learned Men, he alſo preſumed to ſpeak with his pen. And the rather, becauſe he ſaw that none of theſe ordinary objections of partialities could elevate the authority of his writing, who always affected a private ſtate, and neither enjoyed nor expected any the leaſt dignity in our Church. What admirable height of learning, and depth of judgement dwelled within the lowly mind of this truly humble Man, great in all wiſe Mens eyes, except his own; with what gravity and Majeſty of ſpeech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly myſteries, whoſe eyes in the humility of his heart were always caſt down to the ground; how all things that proceeded from him were breathed as from the ſpirit of love, as if he, like the bird of the Holy Ghoſt, the Dove, had wanted gall; let them that knew him not in his perſon, judge by theſe living Images of his Soul, his writings. For out of theſe, even thoſe who otherwiſe agree not with him in opinion, do afford him the Teſtimony of a mild and a loving Spirit: and of his learning what greater proof can we have than this, that his writings are moſt admired by thoſe who themſelves do moſt excell in judicious learning, and by them the more often they are read, the more highly they are extolled and deſired. Which is the cauſe of this ſecond edition of his former Books, and that without any addition or diminution whatſoever. For who will put a pencil to ſuch a work, from which ſuch a workman hath taken his? There is a purpoſe of ſetting forth the three laſt Books alſo, their Fathers Poſthumi. *For as, in the great declining of his body ſpent out with ſtudy, it was his ordinary petition to almighty God, that if he might live to ſee the finiſhing of theſe Books, then* Lord let thy ſervant depart in peace *(to uſe his own words) ſo it pleaſed God to grant him his deſire. For he lived till he ſaw them perfected; and though, like* Rachel, *he dyed as it were in the travel of them, and haſtened death upon himſelf, by haſtening to give them life: yet he held out to behold with his eyes theſe* partus ingenii, *theſe* Benjamins, *Sons of his right hand, though to him they were* Benonies, *Sons of pain and ſorrow. But ſome evil-diſpoſed minds, whether of malice, or covetouſneſs, or wicked blind Zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian Mid-Wives, as ſoon as they were born, and their Father dead, ſmothered them, and by conveying away the perfect Copies left unto us nothing but certain old unperfect and mangled draughts, diſmembred into pieces, and ſcattered like* Medeas Abyrtus, *no favour, no grace, not the ſhadows of themſelves almoſt remaining in them. Had the Father lived to ſee them brought forth thus defaced, he might rightfully have named them* Benonies, *the Sons of ſorrow. But ſeeing the importunities of many great and worthy perſons will not ſuffer them quietly to dye and to be buried, it is intended that they ſhall ſee them as they are. The learned and judicious eye will yet perhaps delight it ſelf in beholding the goodly lineaments of their well-ſet Bodies, and in finding out ſome ſhadows and reſemblances of their Fathers face. God grant that as they were with their brethren dedicated to the Church for meſſengers of peace: So in the ſtrength of that little breath of life that remaineth in them, they may proſper in their work; and by ſatisfying the doubts of ſuch as are willing to learn, may help to give an end to the calamities of theſe our civil Wars.*

John Spencer.

A PREFACE
to them that ſeek (as they term it) The Reformation of the LAWS and ORDERS ECCLESIASTICAL IN THE Church of England.

The Cauſe and Occaſion of handling theſe things; and what might be wiſhed in them for whoſe ſakes ſo much pains is taken.

THough for no other cauſe, yet for this, that Poſterity may know, we have not looſly through ſilence permitted things to paſs away as in a Dream, there ſhall be for Mens information extant thus much concerning the preſent ſtate of the Church of God eſtabliſhed amongſt us, and their careful endeavour which would have upheld the ſame. At your hands, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, (for in him the love which we bear unto all that would but ſeem to be born of him, it is not the Sea of your Gall and Bitterneſs that ſhall ever drown) I have no great cauſe to look for other, than the ſelf-ſame portion and lot, which your manner hath been hitherto to lay on them that concur not in opinion and ſentence with you. But our hope is that the God of Peace ſhall (notwithſtanding Man's nature, too impatient of contumelious malediction) enable us quietly, and even gladly to ſuffer all things for that work's ſake, which we covet to perform. The wonderful zeal and fervour wherewith ye have withſtood the received Orders of this Church, was the firſt thing which cauſed me to enter into conſideration, whether (as all your publiſhed Books and Writings peremptorily maintain) every Chriſtian Man fearing God, ſtand bound to joyn with you for the furtherance of that which ye term *The Lords Diſcipline*. Wherein I muſt plainly confeſs unto you, that before I examined your ſundry Declarations in that behalf, it could not ſettle in my head to think, but that undoubtedly ſuch numbers of otherwiſe right well affected and moſt religiouſly enclined minds, had ſome marvellous reaſonable inducements which led them with ſo great earneſtneſs that way. But when once, as near as my ſlender ability would ſerve, I had with travel and care performed that part of the Apoſtles advice and counſel in ſuch caſes, whereby he willeth to *try all things*, and was come at length ſo far, that there remained only the other clauſe to be ſatisfied, wherein he concludeth, that *what good is, muſt be held*: There was in my poor underſtanding no remedy, but to ſet down this as my final reſolute perſwaſion. *Surely, the preſent Form of Church-Government, which the Laws of this Land have eſtabliſhed, is ſuch, as no Law of God, nor reaſon of Man hath hitherto been alledged, of force ſufficient to prove they do ill, who, to the uttermoſt of their power, withſtand the alteration thereof.* Contrariwiſe, *The other which, inſtead of it, we are required to accept, is only by Error and miſconceipt, named the Ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt, no one proof as yet being brought forth, whereby it may clearly appear to be ſo in very deed.* The explication of which two things I have here thought good to offer into your hands; Heartily beſeeching you, even by the meekneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, whom I truſt ye love, That, as ye tender the Peace and Quietneſs of this Church, if there be in you that gracious humility which hath ever been the Crown and Glory of a Chriſtianly diſpoſed mind: if your own ſouls, hearts, and conſciences, (the ſound integrity whereof can but hardly ſtand with the refuſal of Truth in perſonal reſpects) be, as I doubt not, but they are things moſt dear and precious unto you: *Let not the Faith which ye have in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be blemiſhed with partialities,* regard not who it is which ſpeaketh, but weigh only what is ſpoken. Think not that ye read the words of one who bendeth himſelf as an Adverſary aginſt the Truth, which ye have already embraced, but the words of one, who deſireth even to embrace together with you the ſelf ſame Truth, if it be the Truth; and for that cauſe (for no other God he knoweth) hath undertaken the burthenſome labour of this painful kind of Conference. For the plainer acceſs whereunto, let it be lawful for me to rip up the very bottom, how, and by whom your Diſcipline was planted, at ſuch time as the age we live in, began to make firſt tryal thereof.

Jam. 2. 1.

2. A

The firſt Eſtabliſhment of new Diſcipline by Mr. *Calvin*'s induſtry, in the Church of *Geneva*; and the beginning of ſtrife about it amongſt our ſelves.

2. A founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wiſeſt Man that ever the French-Church did enjoy, ſince the Hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the ſtudy of the Civil-Law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading ſo much, as by teaching others. For though thouſands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none but only to God, the Author of that moſt bleſſed Fountain, *The Book of Life*, and of the admirable dexterity of Wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his Guides; till being occaſioned to leave *France*, he fell at the length upon *Geneva*. Which City, the Biſhop and Clergy thereof, had a little before (as ſome affirm) forſaken, being of likelyhood frighted with the Peoples ſudden attempt for aboliſhment of Popiſh Religion; the event of which enterprize, they thought it not ſafe for themſelves to wait for in that Place. At the coming of *Calvin* thither, the form of their Civil Regiment was popular, as it continueth at this Day: Neither King, nor Duke, nor Nobleman of any Authority or Power over them, but Officers choſen by the People out of themſelves, to order all things with publick conſent. For Spiritual Government, they had no Laws at all agreed upon, but did what the Paſtors of their Souls, by perſwaſion, could win them unto. *Calvin* being admitted one of their Preachers, and a Divinity-Reader amongſt them, conſidered how dangerous it was, that the whole eſtate of that Church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatſoever it ſelf liſteth. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other Miniſters, for more countenance of the Action (albeit the reſt were all againſt it) they moved, and in the end perſwaded, with much ado, the People to bind themſelves by ſolemn Oath, firſt, Never to admit the Papacy amongſt them again; and ſecondly, To live in obedience unto ſuch Orders concerning the exerciſe of their Religion, and the form of their Eccleſiaſtical Government, as thoſe their true and faithful Miniſters of God's Word had agreeably to Scripture ſet down for that end and purpoſe. When theſe things began to be put in ure, the people alſo (what cauſes moving them thereunto, themſelves beſt know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champ upon the Bit they had taken into their Mouths, the rather, for that they grew by means of this innovation into diſlike with ſome Churches near about them, the benefit of whoſe good friendſhip, their State could not well lack. It was the manner of thoſe times, (whether through Mens deſire, to enjoy alone the glory of their own enterpriſes, or elſe becauſe the quickneſs of their occaſions required preſent diſpatch;) ſo it was, that every particular Church did that within it ſelf, which ſome few of their own thought good, by whom the reſt were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themſelves, yet ſmall, common Conference before-hand might have eaſed them of much after-trouble. But a greater inconvenience it bred, that every later endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from Conformity with the Church of *Rome*, than the reſt before had been; whereupon grew marvellous great diſſimilitudes, and by reaſon thereof, jealouſies, heart-burnings, jarrs, and diſcords amongſt them. Which notwithſtanding might have eaſily been prevented, if the Orders which each Church did think fit and convenient for it ſelf, had not ſo peremptorily been eſtabliſhed under that high commanding Form which rendered them unto the People, as things everlaſtingly required by the Law of that Lord of Lords, againſt whoſe Statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this means it came to paſs, that one Church could not but accuſe and condemn another of diſobedience to the will of Chriſt, in thoſe things where manifeſt difference was between them; whereas the ſelf-ſame Orders allowed, but yet eſtabliſhed in more wary and ſuſpenſe manner, as being to ſtand in force till God ſhould give the opportunity of ſome General Conference, what might be beſt for them afterwards to do: This, I ſay, had both prevented all occaſion of juſt diſlike which others might take, and reſerved a greater liberty unto the Authors themſelves, of entering into farther Conſultation afterwards. Which though never ſo neceſſary, they could not eaſily now admit, without ſome fear of derogation from their credit: And therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after reſolute to maintain. *Calvin* therefore, and the other two his Aſſociates, ſtiffly refuſing to adminiſter the Holy Communion to ſuch as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, ſubmit themſelves unto the Orders which their ſolemn Oath had bound them to obey, were, in that quarrel, baniſhed the Town. A few years after, (ſuch was the levity of that People) the places of one or two of their Miniſters being faln void, they were not before ſo willing to be rid of their Learned Paſtor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and which were loth to part with him, had not unreſiſtible earneſtneſs been uſed. One of the Town-Miniſters that ſaw in what manner the people were bent for the Revocation of *Calvin*, gave him notice of their affection in this ſort. *The Senate of Two hundred being aſſembled, they all crave* Calvin. *The next Day a General Convocation, they cry in like ſort again all, we will have* Calvin, *that good and Learned Man, Chriſt's Miniſter. This*, ſaith he, *when I underſtood, I could not chuſe but praiſe God; nor was I able to Judge otherwiſe, than that this was the Lord's doing, and that it was marvellous in our Eyes*; and that *the Stone which the Builders refuſed, was now made the Head of the Corner.* The other two whom they had thrown out (together with *Calvin*) they were content ſhould enjoy their exile. Many cauſes might lead them to be more deſirous of him. Firſt, His yielding unto them in one thing, might happily put them in hope, that time would breed the like eaſineſs of condeſcending further unto them: For in his abſence he had perſwaded them, with whom he was able to prevail; that albeit, himſelf did better like of Common Bread to be uſed in the *Euchariſt*, yet the other they rather ſhould accept, than cauſe any trouble in the Church about it. Again, they ſaw that the name of *Calvin* waxed every Day greater abroad, and that together with his Fame, their infamy was ſpread, who had ſo raſhly and childiſhly ejected him. Beſides,

Epiſt. Cal. 24.

Luke 20. 17.

it was not unlikely, but that his credit in the World, might many ways ſtand the poor Town in great ſtead: As the truth is, their Miniſters Foreign eſtimation hitherto hath been the beſt ſtake in their Hedge. But whatſoever ſecret reſpects were likely to move them, for contenting of their minds, *Calvin* returned (as it had been another *Tully*) to his old Home. He ripely conſidered how groſs a thing it were for Men of his quality, wiſe and grave Men, to live with ſuch a multitude, and to be Tenants at will under them; as their Miniſters, both himſelf and others had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience, he gave them plainly to underſtand, that if he did become their Teacher again, they muſt be content to admit a compleat Form of Diſcipline, which both they and alſo their Paſtors, ſhould now be ſolemnly ſworn to obſerve for ever after: Of which Diſcipline, the main and principal parts were theſe. A ſtanding Eccleſiaſtical Court to be eſtabliſhed: Perpetual Judges in that Court to be their Miniſters; others of the People annually choſen (twice ſo many in number as they) to be Judges together with them in the ſame Court. Theſe two ſorts, to have the care of all Mens manners, power of determining of all kind of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and Authority to Convent, to Control, to Puniſh, as far as with Excommunication, whomſoever they ſhould think worthy, none either ſmall or great excepted. This device I ſee not, how the wiſeſt at that time living, could have bettered, if we duly conſider what the preſent State of *Geneva* did then require: For their Biſhop and his Clergy being (as it is ſaid) departed from them by Moon-light (or howſoever, being departed) to chuſe in his room any other Biſhop, had been a thing altogether impoſſible: And for their Miniſters to ſeek, that themſelves alone might have coercive power over the whole Church, would perhaps have been hardly conſtrued at that time. But when ſo frank an offer was made, that for every one Miniſter, there ſhould be two of the People to ſit and give voice in the Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory, what inconvenience could they eaſily find which themſelves might not be able always to remedy? Howbeit (as evermore the ſimpler ſort are, even when they ſee no apparent cauſe, jealous notwithſtanding over the ſecret intents and purpoſes of wiſer Men) this Propoſition of his did ſomewhat trouble them. Of the Miniſters themſelves which had ſtaid behind in the City when *Calvin* was gone, ſome upon knowledge of the Peoples earneſt intent to recall him to his place again, had before-hand written their Letters of Submiſſion, and aſſured him of their Allegiance for ever after, if it ſhould like him to hearken unto that Publick Suit: But yet miſdoubting what might happen, if this Diſcipline did go forward, they objected againſt it, the example of other Reformed-Churches, living quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefeſt place and countenance amongſt the Laity, profeſſed with greater ſtomach their Judgements, that ſuch a Diſcipline was little better than Popiſh Tyranny, diſguiſed and tendered unto them under a new Form. This ſort, it may be, had ſome fear that the filling up of the Seats in the Conſiſtory with ſo great a number of Lay-men, was but to pleaſe the minds of the People, to the end they might think their own ſway ſomewhat; but when things came to a tryal of practice, their Paſtors learning would be at all times of force to over-perſwade ſimple Men, who knowing the time of their own Preſidentſhip to be but ſhort, would always ſtand in fear of their Miniſters perpetual authority. And among the Miniſters themſelves, one being ſo far in eſtimation above the reſt, the voices of the reſt were likely to be given for the moſt part reſpectively with a kind of ſecret dependency and awe. So that in ſhew, a marvellous indifferently compoſed Senate Eccleſiaſtical was to govern; but in effect one only Man ſhould, as the Spirit and Soul of the reſidue, do all in all. But what did theſe vain ſurmiſes boot? Brought they were now to ſo ſtreight an iſſue, that of two things, they muſt chuſe one: Namely, Whether they would to their endleſs diſgrace, with ridiculous lightneſs diſmiſs him, whoſe reſtitution they had in ſo impotent manner deſired, or elſe condeſcend unto that demand, wherein he was reſolute, either to have it, or to leave them. They thought it better to be ſomewhat hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad diſcredited. Wherefore, in the end, thoſe Orders were on all ſides aſſented unto, with no leſs alacrity of mind, than Cities unable to hold out longer, are wont to ſhew when they take conditions, ſuch as
*An.Dom.*1541 liketh him to offer them, which hath them in the narrow ſtreights of advantage. Not many Years were overpaſſed, before theſe twice-ſworn Men adventured to give their laſt and hotteſt aſſault to the Fortreſs of the ſame Diſcipline, childiſhly granting by common conſent of their whole Senate, and that under their Town-Seal, a Relaxation to one *Bertelier*, whom the Elderſhip had Excommunicated: Further alſo decreeing, with ſtrange abſurdity, that to the ſame Senate, it ſhould belong to give final judgement in Matters of Excommunication, and to abſolve whom it pleaſeth them; clean contrary to their own former Deeds and Oaths. The report of which Decree, being forthwith brought unto *Calvin*; *Before* (ſaith he) *this Decree take place, either my Blood or Baniſhment ſhall ſign it.* Again two Days before the Communion ſhould be celebrated, his ſpeech was publickly to like effect, *Kill me if ever this Hand do reach forth the things that are Holy, to them whom THE CHURCH hath judged deſpiſers.* Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the forenamed *Bertelier* was by his Friends adviſed for that time, not to uſe the liberty granted him by the Senate, nor to preſent himſelf in the Church till they ſaw ſomewhat further what would enſue. After the Communion quietly Miniſtred, and ſome likelyhood of peaceable ending of theſe troubles, without any more ado, that very Day in the Afternoon, beſides all Mens expectation, concluding his ordinary Sermon, he telleth them, That becauſe he neither had learned nor taught to ſtrive with ſuch as are in Authority, therefore (ſaith he) *the caſe ſo ſtanding, as now it doth, let me uſe theſe words of the Apoſtle unto you, I commend you unto God, and the Word of his Grace*; and ſo bad them all heartily *Adieu*. It ſometimes cometh to paſs, that the readieſt way which a wiſe Man hath to conquer, is to fly. This voluntary and unexpected mention of ſudden departure, cauſed preſently the Senate (for according to their wonted manner they

ſtill continued only conſtant in unconſtancy) to gather themſelves together, and for a time to ſuſpend their own Decree, leaving things to proceed as before, till they had heard the judgement of Four Helvetian Cities, concerning the matter which was in ſtrife. This to have done at the firſt, before they gave aſſent unto any order, had ſhewed ſome wit and diſcretion in them; but now to do it, was as much as to ſay in effect, That they would play their parts on a ſtage. *Calvin* therefore diſpatched with all expedition his Letters unto ſome Principal Paſtor in every of thoſe Cities, craving earneſtly at their hands, to reſpect this Cauſe as a thing whereupon the whole State of Religion and Piety in that Church did ſo much depend: That God and all good Men, were now inevitably certain to be trampled under Foot, unleſs theſe four Cities by their good means, might be brought to give ſentence with the Miniſters of *Geneva*, when the cauſe ſhould be brought before them; yea, ſo to give it, that two things it might effectually contain: The one an Abſolute Approbation of the Diſcipline of *Geneva*, as conſonant unto the Word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands; the other, an earneſt Admonition not to innovate or change the ſame. His vehement requeſt herein, as touching both points, was ſatisfied. For albeit, the ſaid Helvetian Churches did never as yet obſerve that Diſcipline, nevertheleſs the Senate of *Geneva* having required their Judgement concerning theſe three queſtions: *Firſt, after what manner, by God's Commandment, according to the Scripture, and unſpotted Religion, Excommunication is to be exerciſed? Secondly, whether it may not be exerciſed ſome other way, than by the Conſiſtory? Thirdly, what the uſe of their Churches was to do in this caſe?* Anſwer was returned from the ſaid Churches, *that they had heard already of thoſe Conſiſtorial Laws, and did acknowledge them to be* godly *Ordinances*, drawing towards *the preſcript of the Word of God*; *for which cauſe that they did not think it good for the Church of* Geneva, *by innovation to change the ſame, but rather to keep them as they were.* Which anſwer, although not anſwering unto the former demands, but reſpecting what Mr. *Calvin* had judged requiſite for them to anſwer, was notwithſtanding accepted without any further Reply; in as much as they plainly ſaw, that when ſtomach doth ſtrive with wit, the match is not equal; and ſo the heat of their former contentions began to ſlake. The preſent Inhabitants of *Geneva*, I hope, will not take it in evil part, that the faultineſs of their People heretofore, is by us ſo far forth laid open, as their own learned Guides and Paſtors have thought neceſſary to diſcover it unto the World. For out of their Books and Writings it is, that I have collected this whole Narration, to the end it might thereby appear in what ſort amongſt them, that Diſcipline was planted, for which ſo much contention is raiſed amongſt our ſelves. The reaſons which moved *Calvin* herein to be ſo earneſt, was, as *Beza* himſelf teſtifieth: *For that he ſaw how needful theſe Bridles were to be put in the Jaws of that City.* That which by Wiſdom he ſaw to be requiſite for that People, was by great wiſdom compaſſed: But wiſe Men are Men, and the truth is truth. That which *Calvin* did for eſtabliſhment of his Diſcipline, ſeemeth more commendable than that which he taught for the countenancing of it eſtabliſhed. Nature worketh in us all, a love to our own Counſels: The contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that love. Our love ſet on fire to maintain that which once we have done, ſharpeneth the wit to diſpute, to argue, and by all means to reaſon for it. Wherefore a marvel it were, if a Man of ſo great capacity, having ſuch incitements to make him deſirous of all kind of furtherances unto his cauſe, could eſpy in the whole Scripture of God, nothing which might breed at the leaſt a probable opinion of likelyhood, that Divine Authority it ſelf was the ſame way ſomewhat inclinable. And all which the wit even of *Calvin* was able from thence to draw, by ſifting the very utmoſt ſentence and ſyllable, is no more than, that certain ſpeeches there are, which to him did ſeem to intimate, that all Chriſtian Churches ought to have their Elderſhips endued with power of Excommunication; and that a part of thoſe Elderſhips every where, ſhould be choſen out from amongſt the Laity, after that Form which himſelf had framed *Geneva* unto. But what Argument are ye able to ſhew, whereby it was ever proved by *Calvin*, that any one ſentence of Scripture doth neceſſarily inforce theſe things, or the reſt wherein your opinion concurreth with his againſt the Orders of your own Church? We ſhould be injurious unto Vertue it ſelf, if we did derogate from them whom their induſtry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are, which have deſervedly procured him honour throughout the World: The one his exceeding pains in compoſing the Inſtitutions of Chriſtian Religion; the other, his no leſs induſtrious travels for Expoſition of holy Scripture, according unto the ſame Inſtitutions. In which two things, whoſoever they were that after him beſtowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice againſt them, if they gain-ſaid; and of glory above them, if they conſented. His Writings, publiſhed after the queſtion about the Diſcipline was once begun, omit not any the leaſt occaſion of extolling the uſe, and ſingular neceſſity thereof. Of what account the Maſter of Sentences was in the Church of *Rome*, the ſame and more amongſt the Preachers of Reformed Churches, *Calvin* had purchaſed: So that the perfect Divines were judged they, which were skilfulleſt in *Calvin's* Writings, His Books almoſt the very Canon to judge both Doctrine and Diſcipline by: *French* Churches, both under others abroad, and at home in their own Country, all caſt according to that mold which *Calvin* had made. The Church of *Scotland* in erecting the Fabrick of their Reformation, took the ſelf-ſame pattern; till at length the Diſcipline which was at the firſt ſo weak, that without the ſtaff of their approbation, who were not ſubject unto it themſelves, it had not brought others under ſubjection, began now to challenge Univerſal Obedience, and to enter into open conflict with thoſe very Churches, which in deſperate extremity had been relievers of it. To one of thoſe Churches which lived in moſt peaceable ſort, and abounded as well with Men for their Learning in other Profeſſions ſingular, as alſo with Divines, whoſe equals were not elſewhere to be found, a Church ordered by *Gualters* Diſcipline, and not by that which *Geneva*

Epiſt. 166.

Quod eam Urbem videret omnino his frænis indigere.

neva adoreth. Unto this Church of *Heidelburgh*, there cometh one who craving leave to diſpute publickly, defendeth with open diſdain of their Government; that to *a Miniſter, with his Elderſhip, power is given by the Law of God to Excommunicate whomſoever, yea, even Kings and Princes themſelves:* Here were the ſeeds ſown of that controverſie which ſprang up between *Beza* and *Eraſtus*, about the Matter of Excommunication, whether there ought to be in all Churches an Elderſhip, having power to Excommunicate, and a part of that Elderſhip to be of neceſſity certain, choſen out from amongſt the Laity for that purpoſe. In which Diſputation they have, as to me it ſeemeth, divided very equally the Truth between them: *Beza* moſt truly maintaining the neceſſity of Excommunication; *Eraſtus* as truly, the non-neceſſity of Lay-Elders to be Miniſters thereof. Amongſt our ſelves, there was in King *Edwards* days ſome queſtion moved, by reaſon of a few Mens ſcrupuloſity, touching certain things. And beyond Seas, of them which fled in the days of Queen *Mary*; ſome contenting themſelves abroad, with the uſe of their own Service-Book, at home authorized before their departure out of the Realm; others liking better the Common-Prayer-Book of the Church of *Geneva* tranſlated: Thoſe ſmaller Contentions before begun, were by this mean ſomewhat increaſed. Under the happy Reign of Her Majeſty, which now is, the greateſt matter a while contended for, was the wearing of the Cap and Surpleſs, till there came Admonitions directed unto the High-Court of Parliament, by Men who concealing their names, thought it glory enough to diſcover their minds and affections, which now were univerſally bent even againſt all the Orders and Laws, wherein this Church is found unconformable to the Platform of *Geneva*. Concerning the Defender of which Admonitions, all that I mean to ſay, is but this. *There will come a time, when three words uttered with Charity and Meekneſs, ſhall receive a far more bleſſed Reward, than three thouſand Volumes written with diſdainful ſharpneſs of Wit.* But the manner of Mens Writings muſt not alienate our hearts from the Truth, if it appear they have the Truth; as the Followers of the ſame Defender do think he hath; and in that perſwaſion they follow him, no otherwiſe than himſelf doth *Calvin*, *Beza*, and others; with the like perſwaſion that they in this cauſe had the Truth. We being as fully perſwaded otherwiſe, it reſteth, that ſome kind of tryal be uſed to find out which part is in errour.

By what means ſo many of the People are trained into the liking of that Diſcipline.

1 Cor. 10. 15. & 11. 13.
Luk. 12. 56, 57.
Acts 17. 11.
Rom. 14. 5.

3. The firſt mean whereby Nature teacheth Men to judge good from evil, as well in Laws, as in other things, is the force of their own diſcretion: Hereunto therefore St. *Paul* referreth oftentimes his own ſpeech, to be conſidered of by them that heard him. *I ſpeak as to them which have underſtanding, Judge ye what I ſay.* Again afterward, *Judge in your ſelves, is it comely that a Woman pray uncovered?* The exerciſe of this kind of judgment, our Saviour requireth in the Jews. In them of *Berœa* the Scripture commendeth it. Finally, Whatſoever we do, if our own ſecret judgment conſent not unto it as fit and good to be done, the doing of it to us is ſin, although the thing it ſelf be allowable. St. *Paul's* rule therefore generally is, *Let every Man in his own mind be fully perſwaded of that thing which he either alloweth or doth.* Some things are ſo familiar and plain, that Truth from Falſhood, and Good from Evil, is moſt eaſily diſcerned in them, even by Men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the moſt part are things abſolutely unto all Mens ſalvation neceſſary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cauſe St. *Auguſtine* acknowledgeth, that they are not only ſet down, but alſo plainly ſet down in Scripture: So that he which heareth or readeth, may without any great difficulty underſtand. Other things alſo there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) unto the Offices of Chriſtian Men; which becauſe they are more obſcure, more intricate and hard to be judged of, therefore God hath appointed ſome to ſpend their whole time principally in the ſtudy of things Divine, to the end, that in theſe more doubtful caſes, their underſtanding might be a light to direct others. *If the underſtanding, power or faculty of the Soul, be* (ſaith the Grand Phyſitian) *like unto bodily ſight, not of equal ſharpneſs in all: What can be more convenient than that, even as the dark-ſighted Man is directed by the clear about things viſible; ſo likewiſe in matters of deeper diſcourſe, the wiſe in heart do ſhew the ſimple where his way lyeth?* In our doubtful Caſes of Law, what Man is there, who ſeeth not how requiſite it is, that Profeſſors of ſkill in that Faculty, be our Directors? ſo it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And even in this kind likewiſe, the Lord hath himſelf appointed, *That the Prieſts lips ſhould preſerve knowledge, and that other Men ſhould ſeek the truth at his mouth, becauſe he is the Meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts.* *Gregory Nazianzen*, offended at the peoples too great preſumption in controlling the judgment of them, to whom in ſuch caſes they ſhould have rather ſubmitted their own, ſeeketh by earneſt entreaty to ſtay them within their bounds. *Preſume not ye that are Sheep, to make your ſelves Guides of them that ſhould guide you; neither ſeek ye to overſlip the fold which they about you have pitched. It ſufficeth for your part, if ye can well frame your ſelves to be ordered. Take not upon you to judge your ſelves, nor to make them ſubject to your Laws, who ſhould be a Law to you; for God is not a God of Sedition and Confuſion, but of Order and of Peace.* But ye will ſay, that if the Guides of the people be blind, the common ſort of Men muſt not cloſe up their own eyes, and be led by the conduct of ſuch: If the Prieſt be partial in the Law, the flock muſt not therefore depart from the ways of ſincere Truth, and in ſimplicity yield to be followers of him for his place ſake and office over them. Which thing, though in it ſelf moſt true, is in your defence notwithſtanding weak; becauſe the matter wherein ye think that ye ſee and imagine that your ways are ſincere, is of far deeper conſideration than any one amongſt Five hundred of you conceiveth. Let the vulgar ſort among you know, that there is not the leaſt branch of the Cauſe, wherein they are ſo reſolute, but to the tryal of it, a great deal more appertaineth, than their conceit doth reach unto. I write not this in diſgrace of the ſimpleſt that way given, but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cauſe wherein they think themſelves throughly inſtructed, and are not; by means whereof they daily

Galen. de opt. docen. gen.

Mal. 2. 7.

Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua ſe excuſat.

Matth. 10. 14.

Mal. 2. 9.

daily run themſelves, without feeling their own hazard, upon the dint of the Apoſtles ſentence againſt evil ſpeakers, as touching things wherein they are ignorant. If it be granted a thing unlawful for private Men, not called unto Publick Conſultation, to diſpute which is the beſt State of Civil Policy (with a deſire of bringing in ſome other kind, than that under which they already live, for of ſuch Diſputes, I take it, his meaning was;) if it be a thing confeſs'd, that of ſuch Queſtions they cannot determine without raſhneſs, in as much as a great part of them conſiſteth in ſpecial Circumſtances, and for one kind as many Reaſons may be brought as for another; is there any reaſon in the World, why they ſhould better judge what kind of Regiment Eccleſiaſtical is the fitteſt? For in the Civil State more inſight, and in thoſe affairs more experience, a great deal, muſt needs be granted them, than in this they can poſſibly have. When they which write in defence of your Diſcipline, and commend it unto the Higheſt, not in the leaſt cunning manner, are forced notwithſtanding to acknowledge, *That with whom the Truth is, they know not*, they are not certain; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof? Weigh what doth move the common ſort ſo much to favour this Innovation, and it ſhall ſoon appear unto you, that the force of particular Reaſons, which for your ſeveral Opinions are alledged, is a thing whereof the multitude never did, nor could ſo conſider as to be therewith wholly carried; but certain general Inducements are uſed to make ſaleable your Cauſe in groſs: And when once Men have caſt a fancy towards it, any ſlight Declaration of Specialties will ſerve to lead forward Mens inclinable and prepared minds. The method of winning the peoples affection unto a general liking of the Cauſe (for ſo ye term it) hath been this. Firſt, in the hearing of the multitude, the faults eſpecially of higher Callings are ripped up with marvellous exceeding ſeverity and ſharpneſs of Reproof; which being oftentimes done, begetteth a great good opinion of Integrity, Zeal and Holineſs, to ſuch conſtant reprovers of ſin, as by likelihood would never be ſo much offended at that which is evil, unleſs themſelves were ſingularly good. The next thing hereunto is, to impute all Faults and Corruptions, wherewith the World aboundeth, unto the kind of Eccleſiaſtical Government eſtabliſhed. Wherein, as before by reproving Faults, they purchaſed unto themſelves, with the multitude, a name to be vertuous; ſo by finding out this kind of Cauſe, they obtain to be judged wiſe above others; whereas in truth unto the Form even of *Jewiſh* Government, which the Lord himſelf (they all confeſs) did eſtabliſh, with like ſhew of Reaſon they might impute thoſe Faults which the Prophets condemn in the Governours of that Common-wealth; as to the *Engliſh* kind of Regiment Eccleſiaſtical (whereof alſo God himſelf, though in another ſort, is Author) the ſtains and blemiſhes found in our State; which ſpringing from the Root of Humane Frailty and Corruption, not only are, but have been always more or leſs, yea, and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the Worlds end complained of, what Form of Government ſoever take place. Having gotten thus much ſway in the hearts of Men, a third ſtep is to propoſe their own Form of Church-Government as the only ſoveraign remedy of all Evils; and to adorn it with all the glorious Titles that may be. And the Nature, as of Men that have ſick bodies, ſo likewiſe of the people in the crazedneſs of their Minds, poſſeſt with diſlike and diſcontentment at things preſent, is to imagine, that any thing (the vertue whereof they hear commended) would help them; but that moſt, which they leaſt have tryed. The fourth degree of Inducements is by faſhioning the very notions and conceits of Mens minds in ſuch ſort, that when they read the Scripture, they may think that every thing ſoundeth towards the advancement of that Diſcipline, and to the utter diſgrace of the contrary. *Pythagoras*, by bringing up his Scholars in the ſpeculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein ſo ſtrong, that when they came to the contemplation of things natural, they imagined that in every particular thing, they even beheld, as it were with their eyes, how the Elements of Number gave Eſſence and Being to the Works of Nature: A thing in reaſon impoſſible, which notwithſtanding through their miſ-faſhioned pre-conceit, appeared unto them no leſs certain, than if Nature had written it in the very Foreheads of all the Creatures of God. When they of the *Family of Love* have it once in their heads, that *Chriſt* doth not ſignifie any one Perſon, but a Quality whereof many are partakers; that to be *raiſed*, is nothing elſe but to be regenerated, or endued with the ſaid quality; and that when Separation of them, which have it, from them which have it not, is here made, this is *judgement*: How plainly do they imagine, that the Scripture every where ſpeaketh in the favour of that Sect? And aſſuredly, the very cauſe which maketh the ſimple and ignorant to think, they even ſee how the Word of God runneth currantly on your ſide, is, That their minds are foreſtalled, and their conceits perverted before-hand, by being taught, that an *Elder* doth ſignifie a Lay-Man, admitted only to the Office of Rule or Government in the Church; a *Doctor*, one which may only Teach, and neither Preach nor Adminiſter the Sacraments; a *Deacon*, one which hath the charge of the Alms-Box, and of nothing elſe: That the *Scepter*, the *Rod*, the *Throne* and *Kingdom* of Chriſt, are a Form of Regiment, only by Paſtors, Elders, Doctors and Deacons; that by Myſtical Reſemblance, Mount *Sion* and *Jeruſalem* are the Churches which admit; *Samaria* and *Babylon*, the Churches which oppugn the ſaid Form of Regiment. And in like ſort, they are taught to apply all things ſpoken of repairing the walls and decayed parts of the City and Temple of God, by *Eſdras*, *Nehemias*, and the reſt: As if purpoſely the Holy Ghoſt had therein meant to fore-ſignifie, what the Authors of Admonitions to the Parliament, of Supplications to the Council, of Petitions to Her Majeſty, and of ſuch other-like Writs, ſhould either do or ſuffer in behalf of this their Cauſe. From hence they proceed to an higher point, which is the perſwading of Men credulous and over-capable of ſuch pleaſing Errors, That it is the ſpecial illumination of the Holy Ghoſt, whereby they diſcern thoſe things in the Word, which others reading, yet diſcern them not. *Dearly Beloved*, ſaith St. *John*, *Give not credit unto every ſpirit*. There are

Jude v. 10. 2 Pet. 2. 12.

Calvin Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 20. ſect. 8.

The Author of the Petition directed to Her Majeſty, *pag.* 3.

Ariſt. Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 5.

1 John 4. 1.

but two ways whereby the Spirit leadeth Men into all Truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto ſome few, the other extending it ſelf unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a ſpecial divine excellency, *Revelation*, the other *Reaſon*. If the Spirit by ſuch Revelation have diſcovered unto them the ſecrets of that Diſcipline out of Scripture, they muſt profeſs themſelves to be all (even Men, Women, and Children) Prophets: Or if Reaſon be the hand which the Spirit hath led them by, for as much as Perſwaſions grounded upon Reaſon are either weaker or ſtronger, according to the force of thoſe Reaſons whereupon the ſame are grounded, they muſt every of them, from the greateſt to the leaſt, be able for every ſeveral Article to ſhew ſome ſpecial Reaſon as ſtrong as their Perſwaſion therein is earneſt: Otherwiſe how can it be, but that ſome other ſinews there are, from which that overplus of ſtrength in Perſwaſion doth ariſe? Moſt ſure it is, That when Mens Affections do frame their Opinions, they are in defence of Error more earneſt a great deal, than (for the moſt part) ſound Believers in the maintenance of Truth apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which Scripture yieldeth: Which being in ſome things plain, as in the Principles of Chriſtian Doctrine; in ſome things, as in theſe Matters of Diſcipline, more dark and doubtful, frameth correſpondently that inward aſſent which God's moſt gracious Spirit worketh by it, as by his Effectual Inſtrument. It is not therefore the fervent earneſtneſs of their perſwaſion, but the ſoundneſs of thoſe Reaſons whereupon the ſame is built, which muſt declare their Opinions in theſe things, to have been
2 Theſſ. 2. 11. wrought by the Holy Ghoſt, and not by the *Fraud* of that evil ſpirit which is even in his illuſions ſtrong. After that the fancy of the common ſort hath once thoroughly apprehended the Spirit to be Author of their Perſwaſions concerning Diſcipline, then is inſtilled into their hearts, that the ſame Spirit leading Men into this opinion, doth thereby ſeal them to be God's Children; and that, as the ſtate of the times now ſtandeth, the moſt ſpecial token to know them that are God's own from others, is an earneſt affection that way. This hath bred high terms of Separation between ſuch and the reſt of the World; whereby the one ſort are named *The* Brethren, *The* Godly, and ſo forth; the other, Worldings, Time-Servers, Pleaſers of Men, not of God, with ſuch like. From hence, they are eaſily drawn on to think it exceeding neceſſary, for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to uſe all means whereby the ſame may be both ſtrengthned in themſelves, and made manifeſt unto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of ſuch as are known that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and ſeek all occaſions of ſecret Conference with ſuch; this maketh them glad to uſe ſuch as Counſellors and Directors in all their dealings, which are of weight, as Contracts, Teſtaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an unweariable deſire of receiving inſtruction from the Maſters of that Company, to caſt off the care of thoſe very affairs which do moſt concern their eſtate, and to think that they are like unto *Mary*, commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, this is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes even to over-charge themſelves, for ſuch Mens ſuſtenance and relief, leſt their zeal to the Cauſe ſhould any way be unwitneſſed. For what is it, which poor beguiled ſouls will not do through ſo powerful incitements? In which reſpect it is alſo noted, that moſt labour hath been beſtowed to win, and retain towards this Cauſe, them whoſe judgements are commonly
2 Tim. 3. 6. weakeſt by reaſon of their ſex. And although not Women *loaden with ſins*, as the Apoſtle St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, but (as we verily eſteem of them for the moſt part) Women propenſe and inclinable to holineſs, be otherwiſe edified in good things, rather than carried away as captives into any kind of ſin and evil, by ſuch as enter into their houſes with purpoſe to plant there a zeal, and a love towards this kind of Diſcipline; yet ſome occaſion is hereby miniſtred for Men to think, that if the Cauſe, which is thus furthered, did gain by the ſoundneſs of proof, whereupon it doth build it ſelf, it would not moſt buſily endeavour to prevail, where leaſt ability of judgement is: And therefore that this ſo eminent induſtry in making Proſelytes, more of that ſex than of the other, groweth for that they are deemed apter to ſerve as inſtruments and helps in the Cauſe. Apter they are through the eagerneſs of their affection, that maketh them, which way ſoever they take, diligent in drawing their Husbands, Children, Servants, Friends and Allies, the ſame way: Apter through that natural inclination unto pity, which breedeth in them a greater readineſs than in Men, to be bountiful towards their Preachers, who ſuffer want: Apter through ſundry opportunities, which they eſpecially have, to procure encouragements for their Brethren: Finally, apter through a ſingular delight which they take in giving very large and particular intelligence, how all near about them ſtand affected, as concerning the ſame Cauſe. But be they Women, or be they Men, if once they have taſted of that Cup, let any Man of contrary opinion open his mouth to perſwade them, they cloſe up their ears, his Reaſons they weigh not, all is anſwered with rehearſal of the
1 John 4. 6. words of *John*, *We are of God; he that knoweth God, heareth us*; as for the reſt, Ye are of the World; for this World's pomp and vanity it is that ye ſpeak, and the world, whoſe ye are, heareth you. Which Cloke ſitteth no leſs fit on the back of their Cauſe, than of the Anabaptiſts; when the Dignity, Authority and Honour of God's Magiſtrates is upheld againſt them. Shew theſe
1 Cor. 1. 27. Acts 26. 24. Sap. 5. 4. We Fools thought his life madneſs. *Marc. Triſ. ad Aſculap.* Οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκουσι, οὔτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς eagerly-affected Men their inability to judge of ſuch matters; their anſwer is, *God hath choſen the ſimple*. Convince them of Folly, and that ſo plainly, that very children upbraid them with it; they have their bucklers of like defence, *Chriſt's own Apoſtle was accounted mad: The beſt Men evermore by the ſentence of the World have been judged to be out of their right minds.* When inſtruction doth them no good, let them feel but the leaſt degree of moſt mercifully tempered Severity, they faſten on the head of the Lords Vice-gerents here on Earth, whatſoever they any where find uttered againſt the cruelty of Blood-thirſty Men; and to themſelves they draw all the Sentences which Scripture hath in the favour of Innocency perſecuted for the Truth; yea, they are of their due and deſerved ſufferings no leſs proud, than thoſe ancient diſturbers, to whom St. *Auguſtine* writeth

ſaying, *Martyrs, rightly ſo named, are they, not which ſuffer for their diſorder, and for the ungodly breach they have made of Chriſtian Unity; but which, for righteouſneſs ſake are perſecuted: For Agar alſo ſuffered perſecution at the hands of* Sarah; *wherein, ſhe which did impoſe, was holy, and ſhe unrighteous which did bear the burthen. In like ſort, with the Thieves was the Lord himſelf crucified, but they who were matcht in the pain which they ſuffered, were in the cauſe of their ſufferings disjoyned. If that muſt needs be the true Church which doth endure Perſecution, and not that which Perſecuteth, let them ask of the Apoſtle, what Church* Sarah *did repreſent, when ſhe held her Maid in affliction: For even our Mother which is free, the Heavenly* Jeruſalem, *that is to ſay, The true Church of God, was, as he doth affirm, prefigured in that very Woman, by whom the Bond-maid was ſo ſharply handled. Although, if all things be throughly skanned, ſhe did in truth more Perſecute* Sarah *by proud reſiſtance, than* Sarah *her, by ſeverity of puniſhment.* Theſe are the paths wherein ye have walked, that are of the ordinary ſort of Men; theſe are the very ſteps ye have trodden, and the manifeſt degrees whereby ye are of your Guides and Directors trained up in that School: a cuſtom of inuring your Ears with reproof of faults, eſpecially in your Governours: and uſe to attribute thoſe faults to the kind of Spiritual Regiment, under which ye live; boldneſs in warranting the force of their Diſcipline, for the cure of all ſuch evils; a ſlight of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture every where favoureth that Diſcipline; perſwaſion that the cauſe, why ye find it in Scripture, is the illumination of the Spirit; that the ſame Spirit is a Seal unto you of your nearneſs unto God; that ye are by all means to nouriſh and witneſs it in your ſelves, and to ſtrengthen on every ſide your minds againſt whatſoever might be of force to withdraw you from it.

μεμηνέναι δὲ δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide *Lactant.* de Juſtit. lib. 5. cap. 16. *Auguſt.* Epiſt. 50.

4. Wherefore to come unto you, whoſe judgement is a Lanthorn of Direction for all the reſt, you that frame thus the Peoples hearts, not altogether (as I willingly perſwade my ſelf) of a politick intent or purpoſe, but your ſelves being firſt over-born with the weight of greater Mens judgements; on your ſhoulders is laid the burthen of upholding the cauſe by Argument. For which purpoſe, Sentences out of the Word of God ye alledge divers; but ſo, that when the ſame are diſcuſt, thus it always in a manner falleth out, That what things by vertue thereof ye urge upon us, as altogether neceſſary, are found to be thence collected only by poor and marvellous ſlight conjectures. I need not give inſtance in any one ſentence ſo alledged, for that I think the inſtance in any alledged otherwiſe a thing not eaſie to be given. A very ſtrange thing ſure it were, that ſuch a Diſcipline as ye ſpeak of ſhould be taught by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the Word of God, and no Church ever have found it out, nor received it till this preſent time: Contrariwiſe, the Government againſt which ye bend your ſelves, be obſerved every where throughout all generations and ages of the Chriſtian World, no Church ever perceiving the Word of God to be againſt it. We require you to find out but one Church upon the face of the whole Earth, that hath been ordered by your Diſcipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to ſay, By Epiſcopal Regiment, ſithence the time that the Bleſſed Apoſtles were here converſant. Many things out of Antiquity ye bring, as if the pureſt times of the Church had obſerved the ſelf-ſame Orders which you require; and as though your deſire were, that the Churches of Old ſhould be patterns for us to follow, and even Glaſſes, wherein we might ſee the practice of that, which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing leſs. All this is done for faſhion ſake only; for ye complain of it as of an injury, that Men ſhould be willed to ſeek for examples and patterns of Government in any of thoſe times that have been before. Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apoſtles times till this preſent age wherein your ſelves imagine ye have found out a right pattern of ſound Diſcipline, there never was any time ſafe to be followed; which thing ye thus endeavour to prove. Out of *Egeſippus* ye ſay that *Euſebius* writeth, How although as long as the Apoſtles lived, the Church did remain a pure Virgin; yet after the Death of the Apoſtles, and after they were once gone, whom God vouchſafed to make Hearers of the Divine Wiſdom with their own Ears, the placing of wicked errors began to come into the Church. *Clement* alſo in a certain place, to confirm that there was corruption of Doctrine immediately after the Apoſtles times, alledgeth the Proverb, *That there are few Sons like their Fathers. Socrates* ſaith of the Church of *Rome* and *Alexandria*, the moſt famous Churches in the Apoſtles times, that about the Year 430. the *Roman* and *Alexandrian* Biſhops leaving the Sacred Function, were degenerate to a Secular Rule or Dominion. Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not ſafe to fetch our Government from any other than the Apoſtles times. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in propoſing the Apoſtles times as a pattern for the Church to follow, though the deſire of you all be one, the drift and purpoſe of you all is not one. The chiefeſt thing, which Lay-Reformers yawn for, is, that the Clergy may through Conformity in State and Condition, be Apoſtolical, poor as the Apoſtles of Chriſt were poor. In which one circumſtance if they imagine ſo great perfection, they muſt think that Church which hath ſuch ſtore of Mendicant Fryers, a Church in that reſpect moſt happy. Were it for the Glory of God, and the good of his Church indeed, that the Clergy ſhould be left even as bare as the Apoſtles, when they had neither ſtaff nor ſcrip; that God, which ſhould lay upon them the condition of his Apoſtles, would, I hope, endue them with the ſelf-ſame affection which was in that holy Apoſtle, whoſe words concerning his own right-vertuous contentment of heart, *As well how to want, as how to abound*, are a moſt fit Epiſcopal empreſe. The Church of Chriſt is a body Myſtical. A body cannot ſtand, unleſs the parts thereof be proportionable: Let it therefore be required on both Parts, at the hands of the Clergy, to be in meanneſs of ſtate like the Apoſtles; at the Hands of the Laity, to be as they were who lived under the Apoſtles. And in this Reformation there will be, though little wiſdom, yet ſome Indifferency: But your reformation, which are of the Clergy (if yet it diſpleaſe you not, that I ſhould

What hath cauſed ſo many of the Learneder ſort, to approve the ſame Diſcipline.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 97.

Euſeb. 3. l. 32.

Lib. Strom. *Somewhat after the beginning.*

Lib. 7. cap. 11.

Phil 4. 12.

I ſhould ſay ye are of the Clergy) ſeemeth to aim at a broader Mark. Ye think, that he which will perfectly reform, muſt bring the form of Church-Diſcipline unto the State which then it was at. A thing neither poſſible, nor certain, nor abſolutely convenient. Concerning the firſt, what was uſed in the Apoſtles times, the Scripture fully declareth not; ſo that making their times the Rule and Canon of Church-Polity, ye make a Rule, which being not poſſible to be fully known, is as impoſſible to be kept. Again, ſith the later, even of the Apoſtles own times, had that which in the former was not thought upon; in this general propoſing of the Apoſtles times there is no certainty which ſhould be followed, eſpecially ſeeing that ye give us great cauſe to doubt how far ye allow thoſe times. For albeit, the lover of Antichriſtian building were not, ye ſay, as then ſet up, yet the Foundations thereof were ſecretly, and under the ground, laid in the Apoſtles times: So that all other times ye plainly reject; and the Apoſtles own times, ye approve with marvellous great ſuſpicion, leaving it intricate and doubtful, wherein we are to keep our ſelves unto the pattern of their times. Thirdly, whereas it is the errour of the common multitude, to conſider only what hath been of old, and if the ſame were well, to ſee whether ſtill it continue; if not, to condemn that preſently which is, and never to ſearch upon what ground or conſideration the Change might grow. Such rudeneſs cannot be in you ſo well born with, whom Learning and Judgement hath enabled much more ſoundly to diſcern how far the times of the Church, and the Orders thereof, may alter without offence. True it is, the ancienter (a), the better Ceremonies of Religion are: Howbeit, not abſolutely true, and without exception; but true, only ſo far forth as thoſe different ages do agree in the ſtate of thoſe things, for which at the firſt thoſe Rites, Orders and Ceremonies, were inſtituted. In the Apoſtles times that was harmleſs, which being now revived, would be ſcandalous; as their (b) *Oſcula Sancta*. Thoſe (c) Feaſts of Charity, which being inſtituted by the Apoſtles were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needful. What Man is there of underſtanding, unto whom it is not manifeſt, how the way of providing for the Clergy by Tythes, the device of Alms-houſes for the Poor, the ſorting out of the People into their ſeveral Pariſhes, together with ſundry other things which the Apoſtles times could not have (being now eſtabliſhed) are much more convenient and fit for the Church of Chriſt, than if the ſame ſhould be taken away for Conformities ſake with the antienteſt and firſt times? The Orders therefore which were obſerved in the Apoſtles times are not to be urged as a Rule univerſally, either ſufficient or neceſſary. If they be, nevertheleſs on your part, it ſtill remaineth to be better proved, That the Form of Diſcipline, which ye intitle *Apoſtolical*, was in the *Apoſtles* times exerciſed: For of this very thing ye fail, even touching that which ye make moſt account of, as being Matter of Subſtance in Diſcipline, I mean, the Power of your Lay-Elders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Paſtors in all Churches. So that in ſumm we may be bold to conclude, That beſides theſe laſt times, which for inſolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order, are the worſt, there are none wherein ye can truly affirm, that the compleat Form of your Diſcipline, or the Subſtance thereof was practiſed. The evidence therefore of Antiquity failing you, ye fly to the judgements of ſuch Learned Men, as ſeem by their Writings, to be of opinion, that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould receive your Diſcipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as ye heap up the names of a Number of Men, not unworthy to be had in Honour; ſo there are a number, whom when ye mention, although it ſerve ye to purpoſe with the ignorant and vulgar ſort, who meaſure by tale, and not by weight; yet ſurely, they who know what quality and value the Men are of, will think ye draw very near the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the beſt and chiefeſt amongſt them, with us notwithſtanding, neither are they, neither ought they to be of ſuch reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture ſhould cauſe the Laws of the Church of *England* to give place; much leſs when they neither do all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the moſt part, through a courteous inducement, have followed one Man as their guide; finally, that one therein not unlikely to have ſwerved. If any chance to ſay, it is probable that in the Apoſtles times there were Lay-Elders, or not to miſlike the continuance of them in the Church; or to affirm, that Biſhops at the firſt were a name, but not a power diſtinct from Presbyters; or to ſpeak any thing in praiſe of thoſe Churches which are without Epiſcopal Regiment; or to reprove the fault of ſuch as abuſe that Calling; all theſe ye Regiſter for Men perſwaded as you are, that every Chriſtian Church ſtandeth bound by the Law of God to put down Biſhops, and in their rooms to erect an Eldership ſo authorized as you would have it for the Government of each Pariſh. Deceived greatly they are therefore, who think that all they whoſe Names are cited amongſt the Favourers of this Cauſe, are on any ſuch verdict agreed. Yet touching ſome material points of your Diſcipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongſt many Divines of reformed Churches abroad. For firſt, to do as the Church of *Geneva* did, the Learned in ſome other Churches muſt needs be the more willing, who having uſed in like manner, not the ſlow and tedious help of Proceeding by publick Authority, but the Peoples more quick endeavour for alteration, in ſuch an exigent I ſee not well, how they could have ſtaid to deliberate about any other Regiment, than that which already was deviſed to their hands, that which in like caſe had been taken, that which was eaſieſt to be eſtabliſhed without delay, that which was likelieſt to content the People by reaſon of ſome kind of ſway which it giveth them. When there-

(a) Antiquitas ceremoniis atque fanis tantum ſanctitatis tribuere conſuevit, quantum adſtruxerit vetuſtatis. *Arnob.* p. 746.

(b) Rom. 16. 16. 2 Cor. 13. 12. 1 Theſ. 5. 25. 1 Pet. 5. 14. *In their meetings to ſerve God, their manner was, in the end to ſalute one another with a kiſs; uſing theſe words, Peace be with you. For which cauſe,* Tertullian *doth call it,* Signaculum Orationis, *The Seal of Prayer,* lib de Orat.

(c) Epiſt. Jud. verſ. 12. *Concerning which Feaſts St.* Chryſoſtom *ſaith,* Statis diebus menſas faciebant communes, & peracta ſynaxi poſt Sacramentorum Communionem inibant convivium, divitibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem & qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis, *in* 1 Cor. 11. Hom. 27. *Of the ſame Feaſts in like ſort.* Tertullian. Cœna noſtra de nomine rationem ſui oſtendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη id quod eſt penes Græcos dilectio. Quantiſcunque ſumptibus conſtet, lucrum eſt pietatis nomine facere ſumptum. *Apol. cap.* 39.

therefore the example of one Church was thus at the firſt almoſt through a kind of conſtraint or neceſſity followed by many, their concurrence in perſwaſion about ſome material points belonging to the ſame polity is not ſtrange. For we are not to marvel greatly, if they which have all done the ſame thing, do eaſily embrace the ſame opinion as concerning their own doings: Beſides, mark, I beſeech you, that which *Galen* in matter of Philoſophy noteth; for the like falleth out even in Queſtions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with Mens opinions, as with rumors and reports. That which a credible Perſon telleth, is eaſily thought probable by ſuch as are well perſwaded of him: But if two, or three, or four, agree all in the ſame tale, they judge it then to be out of Controverſie, and ſo are many times overtaken for want of due conſideration, either ſome common cauſe leading them all into error, or one Man's overſight deceiving many through their too much credulity and eaſineſs of belief. Though ten Perſons be brought to give teſtimony in any cauſe, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witneſſes, appear to have grown from ſome one amongſt them, and to have ſpread it ſelf from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one teſtimony; nor is it otherwiſe here, where the Daughter-Churches do ſpeak their Mothers Dialect; here where ſo many ſing one Song, by reaſon that he is the Guide of the Quire, concerning whoſe deſerved authority amongſt even the graveſt Divines, we have already ſpoken at large. Will ye ask what ſhould move thoſe many Learned to be followers of one Man's Judgement, no neceſſity of Argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is anſwered by your ſelves. Loth ye are to think that they whom ye judge to have attained as ſound knowledge in all points of Doctrine, as any ſince the Apoſtles time, ſhould miſtake in Diſcipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire; in them, we are not perſwaded willingly that any thing ſhould be amiſs. The reaſon whereof is, for that as dead Flyes putrifie the Ointment of the Apothecary, ſo a little Folly him that is in eſtimation for wiſdom. This in every profeſſion hath too much authorized the judgement of a few: This with *Germans* hath cauſed *Luther*, and with many other Churches, *Calvin*, to prevail in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the Wiſdom of that God (who ſetteth before us in holy Scripture ſo many admirable patterns of Vertue, and no one of them without ſomewhat noted, wherein they were culpable; to the end, that to him alone it might always be acknowledged, *Thou only art holy, thou only art juſt*) might not permit thoſe worthy Veſſels of his Glory to be in ſome things blemiſhed with the ſtain of humane frailty; even for this cauſe, leſt we ſhould eſteem of any Man above that which behoveth.

Galen. Claſ. 2. lib. De cujuſque anim. peccat. notitia atq; modela.

Petition to the Q. *Mary*, *pag.* 14.

Eccleſ. 10. 1.

Their calling for Tryal by Diſputation.

5. Notwithſtanding, as though ye were able to ſay a great deal more than hitherto your Books have revealed to the World, earneſt Challengers ye are of tryal by ſome publick Diſputation; wherein, if the thing ye crave be no more than only leave to diſpute openly about thoſe Matters that are in queſtion, the Schools in Univerſities (for any thing I know) are open unto you: They have their yearly Acts and Commencements, beſides other Diſputations, both ordinary and upon occaſion, wherein the ſeveral parts of our Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline are oftentimes offered unto that kind of examination; the learnedeſt of you have been of late years noted ſeldom or never abſent from thence at the time of thoſe greater Aſſemblies; and the favour of propoſing there in convenient ſort whatſoever ye can object (which thing, my ſelf have known them to grant of Scholaſtical courteſie unto Strangers) neither hath (as I think) nor ever will (I preſume) be denied you. If your Suit be to have ſome great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the Laws that already are ſhould ſleep and have no power over you, till in the hearing of thouſands ye all did acknowledge your error, and renounce the further proſecution of your cauſe: Haply, they whoſe authority is required unto the ſatisfying of your demand do think it both dangerous to admit ſuch concourſe of divided minds, and unmeet that laws, which being once ſolemnly eſtabliſhed are to exact obedience of all Men, and to conſtrain thereunto, ſhould ſo far ſtoop, as to hold themſelves in ſuſpence from taking any effect upon you, till ſome diſputer can perſwade you to be obedient. A Law is the deed of the whole Body Politick, whereof if ye judge your ſelves to be any part, then is the Law even your deed alſo. And were it reaſon, in things of this quality, to give Men audience pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified? Laws that have been approved may be (no Man doubteth) again repealed, and to that end alſo diſputed againſt by the Authors thereof themſelves: But this is when the whole doth deliberate what Laws each part ſhall obſerve, and not when a part refuſeth the Laws which the whole hath orderly agreed upon. Notwithſtanding, for as much as the cauſe we maintain is (God be thanked) ſuch as needeth not to ſhun any tryal, might it pleaſe them on whoſe approbation the matter dependeth to condeſcend ſo far unto you in this behalf, I wiſh heartily that proof were made even by ſolemn conference in orderly and quiet ſort; whether you would your ſelves be ſatisfied, or elſe could by ſatisfying others draw them to your party. Provided alway, firſt, in as much as ye go about to deſtroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which hath not as yet been received; to impoſe on us that which we think not our ſelves bound unto, and to overthrow thoſe things whereof we are poſſeſſed; that therefore ye are not to claim in any conference other than the Plaintiffs or Opponents part, which muſt conſiſt altogether in proof and confirmation of two things: The one, that our Orders by you condemned we ought to aboliſh; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the ſtead thereof. Secondly, becauſe the Queſtions in Controverſie between us are many, if once we deſcend unto particulars: That for the eaſier and more orderly proceeding therein, the moſt general be firſt diſcuſſed, nor any Queſtion left off, nor in each Queſtion the proſecution of any one Argument given over, and another taken in hand, till the iſſue whereunto, by Replies and Anſwers, both parts are come, be collected, read, and acknowledged, as well on the one ſide as on the other,

to be the plain concluſion which they are grown unto. Thirdly, for avoiding of the manifold inconveniences whereunto ordinary and extemporal Diſputes are ſubject, as alſo becauſe, if ye ſhould ſingly diſpute one by one, as every Man's own wit did beſt ſerve, it might be conceived by the reſt, that haply ſome other would have done more; the chiefeſt of you do all agree in this action, that whom ye ſhall then chuſe for your ſpeaker, by him that which is publickly brought into Diſputation, be acknowledged by all your conſents, not to be his allegation, but yours; ſuch as ye all are agreed upon, and have required him to deliver in all your names: The true Copy whereof being taken by a Notary, that a reaſonable time be allowed for return of Anſwer unto you in the like form. Fourthly, whereas a number of Conferences have been had in other cauſes with the leſs effectual ſucceſs, by reaſon of partial and untrue reports publiſhed afterwards unto the World: That, to prevent this evil, there be at the firſt a Solemn Declaration made on both parts of their Agreement, to have that very Book and no other ſet abroad, wherein their preſent authorized Notaries do write thoſe things fully and only; which being written, and there read, are by their own open teſtimony acknowledged to be their own. Other circumſtances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for preventing of impertinent and needleſs ſpeech, or to any end and purpoſe elſe they may be thought on when occaſion ſerveth. In this ſort to broach my private conceit for the ordering of a publick action, I ſhould be loth, (albeit I do it not otherwiſe than under correction of them, whoſe gravity and wiſdom ought in ſuch caſes to over-rule) but that ſo venturous boldneſs I ſee is a thing now general, and am thereby of good hope, that where all Men are licenced to offend, no Man will ſhew himſelf a ſharp Accuſer.

No end of Contention, without ſubmiſſion of both parts unto ſome Definitive Sentence.

6. What ſucceſs God may give unto any ſuch kind of Conference or Diſputation, we cannot tell: But of this we are right ſure, that Nature, Scripture, and Experience it ſelf, have all taught the World to ſeek for the ending of Contentions, by ſubmitting it ſelf unto ſome judicial and definitive Sentence whereunto neither part that contendeth may under any pretence or colour refuſe to ſtand: This muſt needs be effectual and ſtrong; as for other means without this, they ſeldom prevail. I would therefore know whether for the ending of theſe irkſome ſtrifes, wherein you and your Fellows do ſtand thus formally divided againſt the authorized Guides of this Church and the reſt of the People ſubject unto their Charge; whether, I ſay, ye be content to refer your Cauſe to any other higher judgement than your own, or elſe intend to perſiſt, and proceed as ye have begun, till your ſelves can be perſwaded to condemn your ſelves? If your Determination be this, we can be but ſorry that ye ſhould deſerve to be reckoned with ſuch of whom God himſelf pronounceth, *The way of Peace they have not known.* Ways of peaceable Concluſion there are but theſe two certain; the one, a ſentence of Judicial Deciſion given by authority there appointed within our ſelves; the other, the like kind of ſentence given by a more Univerſal authority. The former of which two ways God himſelf in the Law preſcribed, and his Spirit it was which directed the very firſt Chriſtian Churches in the World to uſe the latter. The Ordinance of God in the Law was this. *If there ariſe a matter too hard for thee in judgement, between blood and blood, between plea, &c. then ſhalt thou ariſe, and go up into the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe; and thou ſhalt come unto the Prieſts of the Levites, and unto the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe days, and ask, and they ſhall ſhew thee the ſentence of Judgement; and thou ſhalt do according to that thing which they of that place, which the Lord hath choſen, ſhew thee; and thou ſhalt obſerve to do according to all that they inform thee: According to the Law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the judgement which they ſhall tell thee, ſhalt thou do; thou ſhalt not decline from the thing which they ſhall ſhew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And that Man that will do preſumptuouſly, not hearkning unto the Prieſt (that ſtandeth before the Lord thy God to Miniſter there) or unto the Judge, that Man ſhall dye, and thou ſhalt take away evil from* Iſrael. When there grew in the Church of Chriſt a queſtion, *Whether the Gentiles believing might be ſaved, although they were not circumciſed after the manner of* Moſes, *nor did obſerve the reſt of thoſe Legal Rites and Ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound*; After great Diſſention and Diſputation about it, their concluſion in the end was to have it determined by ſentence at *Jeruſalem*; which was accordingly done in a Council there aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe. Are ye able to alledge any juſt and ſufficient cauſe, wherefore abſolutely ye ſhould not condeſcend in this controverſie, to have your judgements over-ruled by ſome ſuch Definitive Sentence; whether it fall out to be given with, or againſt you, that ſo theſe tedious contentions may ceaſe? Ye will perhaps make anſwer, That being perſwaded already, as touching the truth of your Cauſe, ye are not to hearken unto any ſentence, no not though Angels ſhould define otherwiſe, as the bleſſed Apoſtles own example teacheth. Again, That Men, yea Councils, may err; and that unleſs the judgement given do ſatisfy your minds, unleſs it be ſuch as ye can by no further argument oppugn; in a word, unleſs you perceive and acknowledge it your ſelves conſonant with God's Word, to ſtand unto it not allowing it, were to ſin againſt your own conſciences. But conſider, I beſeech you, firſt, As touching the Apoſtle, how that wherein he was ſo reſolute and peremptory, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made manifeſt unto him, even by Intuitive Revelation, wherein there was no poſſibility of error: That which you are perſwaded of, ye have it no otherwiſe than by your own only probable collection; and therefore ſuch bold aſſeverations as in him were admirable, ſhould in your mouths but argue raſhneſs. God was not ignorant, that the Prieſts and Judges, whoſe ſentence in matters of Controverſie he ordained ſhould ſtand, both might and oftentimes would be deceived in their Judgement. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his underſtanding, that ſometime an erroneous ſentence Definitive ſhould prevail, till the ſame authority perceiving ſuch overſight might afterwards correct or reverſe it, than

Rom. 3. 4.

Deut. 17. 8.

Acts 15.

than that ſtrifes ſhould have reſpite to grow, and not come ſpeedily unto ſome end: Neither wiſh we, that Men ſhould do any thing which in their hearts they are perſwaded they ought not to do; but this perſwaſion ought (we ſay) to be fully ſettled in their hearts, that in litigious and controverted cauſes of ſuch quality, the Will of God is to have them to do whatſoever the ſentence of judicial and final Deciſion ſhall determine, yea, though it ſeem in their private opinion to ſwerve utterly from that which is right; as no doubt many times the ſentence amongſt the Jews did ſeem unto one part or other contending: And yet in this caſe, God did then allow them to do that which in their private judgement it ſeemed (yea, and perhaps truly ſeemed) that the Law did diſallow. For if God be not the Author of confuſion, but of peace, then can he not be the Author of our refuſal, but of our contentment, to ſtand unto ſome Definitive Sentence; without which almoſt impoſſible it is, that either we ſhould avoid confuſion, or ever hope to attain peace. To ſmall purpoſe had the Council of *Jeruſalem* been aſſembled, if once their determination being ſet down, Men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their Definitive Sentence, all Controverſie was at an end: Things were diſputed before they came to be determined: Men afterwards were not to diſpute any longer, but to obey. The Sentence of Judgement finiſhed their ſtrife, which their diſputes before judgement could not do. This was ground ſufficient for any reaſonable Man's conſcience to build the duty of Obedience upon, whatſoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in queſtion. So full of wilfulneſs and ſelf-liking is our nature, that without ſome Definitive Sentence, which being given may ſtand, and a neceſſity of ſilence on both ſides afterward impoſed; ſmall hope there is, that ſtrifes thus far proſecuted will in ſhort time quietly end. Now it were in vain to ask you, Whether you could be content that the Sentence of any Court already erected ſhould be ſo far authorized, as that among the Jews eſtabliſhed by God himſelf for the determining of all Controverſies. *That Man which will do preſumptuouſly, not hearkning unto the Prieſt that ſtandeth before the Lord to miniſter there, nor unto the Judge, let him dye.* Ye have given us already to underſtand what your opinion is in part, concerning Her Sacred Majeſties Court of High-Commiſſion; the nature whereof is the ſame with that amongſt the Jews, albeit the power be not ſo great. The other way haply may like you better, becauſe Maſter *Beza* in his laſt Book, ſave one, written about theſe Matters, profeſſeth himſelf to be now weary of ſuch Combats and Encounters, whether by word or writing, in as much as he findeth that Controverſies thereby are made but Brawls: And therefore wiſheth *that in ſome common lawful Aſſemlly of Churches, all theſe ſtrifes may at once be decided.* Shall there be then in the mean while no *doings*? Yes. There are the weightier Matters of the Law, *Judgement, and Mercy, and Fidelity.* Theſe things we ought to do; and theſe things, while we contend about leſs, we leave undone. Happier are they, whom the Lord, when he cometh, ſhall find *doing* in theſe things, than diſputing about *Doctors, Elders,* and *Deacons*: Or if there be no remedy, but ſomewhat needs ye muſt do, which may tend to the ſetting forward of your Diſcipline; do that which wiſe Men, who think ſome Statute of the Realm more fit to be repealed than to ſtand in force, are accuſtomed to do, before they come to Parliament, where the place of enacting is; that is to ſay, ſpend the time in re-examining more duly your cauſe, and in more throughly conſidering of that which ye labour to overthrow: As for the Orders which are eſtabliſhed, ſith Equity and Reaſon, the Law of Nature, God and Man, do all favour that which is in Being, till orderly Judgement of Deciſion be given againſt it, it is but Juſtice to exact of you, and perverſeneſs in you it ſhould be to deny thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I judge it a thing allowable for Men to obſerve thoſe Laws, which in their hearts they are ſtedfaſtly perſwaded to be againſt the Law of God: But your perſwaſion in this caſe ye are all bound for the time to ſuſpend; and in otherwiſe doing ye offend againſt God, by troubling his Church without any juſt or neceſſary cauſe. Be it that there are ſome reaſons inducing you to think hardly of our Laws: Are thoſe reaſons demonſtrative, are they neceſſary, or but meer probabilities only? An Argument neceſſary and demonſtrative is ſuch, as being propoſed unto any Man and underſtood, the mind cannot chuſe, but inwardly aſſent. Any one ſuch reaſon diſchargeth, I grant, the Conſcience, and ſetteth it at full liberty. For the publick approbation given by the Body of the whole Church, unto thoſe things which are eſtabliſhed, doth make it but probable, that they are good; and therefore unto a neceſſary proof, that they are not good, it muſt give place: But if the skilfulleſt amongſt you can ſhew, that all the Books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the inſtance be given. As for probabilities, What thing was there ever ſet down ſo agreeable with ſound reaſon, but ſome probable ſhew againſt it might be made? Is it meet, that when publickly things are received and have taken place, General Obedience thereunto ſhould ceaſe to be exacted, in caſe this or that private perſon led with ſome probable conceit ſhould make open Proteſtation, *I Peter* or *John diſallow them, and pronounce them naught*? In which caſe your anſwer will be, That concerning the Laws of our Church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of a *private Man, but of thouſands,* yea, and *even of thoſe amongſt which divers are in publick charge and authority.* As though when publick conſent of the whole hath eſtabliſhed any thing, every Mans judgement being thereunto compared were not private; howſoever his calling be to ſome kind of publick charge. So that of Peace and Quietneſs there is not any way poſſible, unleſs the probable voice of every intire Society or Body Politick overrule all private of like nature in the ſame Body: Which thing effectually proveth, That God being Author of Peace, and not of Confuſion in the Church, muſt needs be Author of thoſe Mens peaceable reſolutions, who concerning theſe things have determined with themſelves, to think and do as the Church they are of decreeth, till they ſee neceſſary cauſe enforcing them to the contrary.

Pref. Tract. de Excom. & Presbyt.

Matth. 23. 23.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 171.

The Matter contained in theſe Eight Books.

7. Nor is mine own intent any other in theſe ſeveral Books of diſcourſe, than to make it appear unto you; that for the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of this Land, we are led by great reaſon to obſerve them, and ye by no neceſſity bound to impugn them. It is no part of my ſecret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to ſet upon the face of this cauſe any fairer gloſs, than the naked truth doth afford; but my whole endeavour is to reſolve the Conſcience, and to ſhew, as near as I can, what in this Controverſie the Heart is to think, if it will follow the light of ſound and ſincere judgement, without either cloud of prejudice, or miſt of paſſionate affection. Wherefore, ſeeing that Laws and Ordinances in particular, whether ſuch as we obſerve, or ſuch as your ſelves would have eſtabliſhed; when the mind doth ſift and examine them, it muſt needs have often recourſe to a number of doubts and queſtions, about the nature, kinds and qualities of Laws in general, whereof, unleſs it be throughly informed, there will appear no certainty to ſtay our perſwaſion upon: I have for that cauſe ſet down in the firſt place an Introduction on both ſides needful to be conſidered; declaring therein, what Law is, how different kinds of Laws there are, and what force they are of, according unto each kind. This done, becauſe ye ſuppoſe the Laws, for which ye ſtrive, are found in Scripture; but thoſe not, againſt which ye ſtrive: And upon this ſurmiſe are drawn to hold it as the very main Pillar of your whole cauſe, *That Scripture ought to be the only rule of all our actions*; and conſequently, that the Church-Orders which we obſerve, being not commanded in Scripture, are offenſive and diſpleaſant unto God: I have ſpent the ſecond Book in ſifting of this point, which ſtandeth with you for the firſt and chiefeſt principle whereon ye build. Whereunto the next in degree is, That as God will have always a Church upon Earth, while the World doth continue, and that Church ſtand in need of Government; of which Government it behoveth himſelf to be both the Author and Teacher: So it cannot ſtand with duty, That Man ſhould ever preſume in any wiſe to change and alter the ſame; and therefore, *That in Scripture there muſt of neceſſity be found ſome particular Form of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, the Laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration.* The firſt three Books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general Grounds and Foundations of your cauſe, unto your general Accuſations againſt us, as having in the Orders of our Church (for ſo you pretend) *Corrupted the right Form of Church-Polity with manifold Popiſh Rites and Ceremonies, which certain Reformed Churches have baniſhed from amongſt them, and have thereby given us ſuch example as* (you think) *we ought to follow.* This your Aſſertion hath herein drawn us to make ſearch, whether theſe be juſt Exceptions againſt the Cuſtoms of our Church, when ye plead, that they are the ſame which the Church of *Rome* hath, or that they are not the ſame which ſome other Reformed Churches have deviſed. Of thoſe four Books which remain, and are beſtowed about the Specialties of that Cauſe which lieth in Controverſie, the firſt examineth the cauſes by you alledged; wherefore the publick duties of Chriſtian Religion, as our Prayers, our Sacraments, and the reſt, ſhould not be ordered in ſuch ſort, as with us they are; nor that power whereby the perſons of Men are conſecrated unto the Miniſtry, be diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as the Laws of this Church do allow. The ſecond and third are concerning the power of Juriſdiction; the one, Whether Lay-Men, ſuch as your Governing Elders are, ought in all Congregations for ever to be inveſted with that power? The other, Whether Biſhops may have that power over other Paſtors, and therewithal that honour which with us they have? And becauſe, beſides the Power of Order, which all conſecrated perſons have, and the Power of Juriſdiction, which neither they all, nor they only have: There is a third power, a Power of Eccleſiaſtical Dominion communicable, as we think, unto perſons not Eccleſiaſtical, and moſt fit to be reſtrained unto the Prince our Soveraign Commander over the whole Body Politick: The eighth Book we have allotted unto this Queſtion, and have ſifted therein your Objections againſt thoſe preeminences Royal which thereunto appertain. Thus have I laid before you the Brief of theſe my Travels, and preſented under your view the Limbs of that Cauſe litigious between us; the whole intire Body whereof being thus compact, it ſhall be no troubleſome thing for any Man to find each particular Controverſies reſting place, and the coherence it hath with thoſe things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.

How juſt cauſe there is to fear the manifold dangerous events likely to enſue upon this intended Reformation, if it did take place.

8. The caſe ſo ſtanding therefore, my Brethren, as it doth, the wiſdom of Governors ye muſt not blame, in that they further alſo fore-caſting the manifold ſtrange and dangerous innovations, which are more than likely to follow, if your Diſcipline ſhould take place, have for that cauſe thought it hitherto a part of their duty to withſtand your endeavours that way: The rather for that they have ſeen already ſome ſmall beginnings of the fruits thereof, in them, who concurring with you in judgement about the neceſſity of that Diſcipline, have adventured without more ado to ſeparate themſelves from the reſt of the Church, and to put your ſpeculations in execution. Theſe Mens haſtineſs the warier ſort of you doth not commend; ye wiſh they had held themſelves longer in, and not ſo dangerouſly flown abroad before the feathers of the Cauſe had been grown; their Errour with merciful terms ye reprove, naming them in great commiſeration of mind, your *poor Brethren*. They on the contrary ſide more bitterly accuſe you as their *falſe Brethren*, and againſt you they plead, ſaying; From your Breaſts it is that we have ſucked thoſe things, which
1 Pet. 2. 2. ‘ when ye delivered unto us, ye termed that heavenly, ſincere and wholeſome Milk of God's Word;
‘ howſoever ye now abhor as poyſon, that which the vertue thereof hath wrought and brought
Pſal. 55. 13. ‘ forth in us Ye ſometime our Companions, Guides and Familiars, with whom we have had moſt
‘ ſweet Conſultations, are now become our profeſſed Adverſaries, becauſe we think the Statute-Con-
‘ gregations in *England* to be no true Chriſtian Churches; becauſe we have ſevered our ſelves from
‘ them, and becauſe with their leave or licence, that are in Civil Authority, we have ſecretly framed
‘ our own Churches according to the Platform of the Word of God: For of that point between
‘ you and us there is no Controverſie. Alas, what would ye have us to do? At ſuch time as ye

‘ were content to accept us in the number of your own, your teachings we heard, we read your
‘ Writings: And though we would, yet able we are not to forget with what zeal ye have ever pro-
‘ feſs'd, That in the Engliſh Congregations (for ſo many of them as be ordered according unto their
‘ own Laws,) the very publick Service of God is fraught, as touching Matter, with heaps of into-
‘ lerable Pollutions, and as concerning Form, borrowed from the Shop of Antichriſt; hateful both
‘ ways in the Eyes of the moſt Holy; the kind of their Government by Biſhops and Archbiſhops,
‘ Antichriſtian; that Diſcipline which Chriſt hath eſſentially tied, that is to ſay, ſo united un-
‘ to his Church, that we cannot account it really to be his Church which hath not in it the ſame Pref. againſt
‘ Diſcipline, that very Diſcipline no leſs there deſpiſed, than in the higheſt Throne of Antichriſt; Dr. *Banc*.
‘ all ſuch parts of the Word of God, as do any way concern that Diſcipline, no leſs unſoundly
‘ taught and interpreted by all authorized Engliſh Paſtors, than by Antichriſts Factors themſelves;
‘ at Baptiſm, Croſſing; at the Supper of the Lord, Kneeling; at both, a number of other the moſt
‘ notorious Badges of Antichriſtian Recogniſance uſual. Being moved with theſe and the like
‘ your effectual diſcourſes, whereunto we gave moſt attentive ear, till they entred even into our
‘ ſouls, and were as fire within our boſoms; we thought we might hereof be bold to conclude,
‘ That ſith no ſuch Antichriſtian Synagogue may be accounted a true Church of Chriſt, ye by
‘ accuſing all Congregations ordered according to the Laws of *England* as Antichriſtian, did
‘ mean to condemn thoſe Congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true
‘ Chriſtian Church. Ye tell us now, it is not your meaning. But what meant your often threat-
‘ nings of them, who profeſſing themſelves the inhabitants of Mount *Sion*, were too loth to depart
‘ wholly as they ſhould out of *Babylon*? Whereat our hearts being fearfully troubled, we durſt
‘ not, we durſt not continue longer ſo near her confines, leſt her plagues might ſuddenly over-
‘ take us, before we did ceaſe to be partakers with her ſins; for ſo we could not chuſe but ac-
‘ knowledge with grief that we were, when, they doing evil, we by our preſence in their Aſ-
‘ ſemblies ſeemed to like thereof, or at leaſt-wiſe, not ſo earneſtly to diſlike, as became Men hear-
‘ tily zealous of God's glory. For adventuring to erect the Diſcipline of Chriſt without the
‘ leave of the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, haply ye may condemn us as fools, in that we hazard there-
‘ by our Eſtates and Perſons, further than you which are that way more wiſe think neceſſary:
‘ But of any offence or ſin therein committed againſt God, with what conſcience can you accuſe
‘ us, when your own poſitions are, that the things we obſerve ſhould every of them be dearer
‘ unto us than ten thouſand lives; that they are the peremptory Commandments of God; that
‘ no mortal Man can diſpenſe with them, and that the Magiſtrate grievouſly ſinneth in not con-
‘ ſtraining thereunto? Will ye blame any Man for doing that of his own accord, which all Men
‘ ſhould be compelled to do, that are not willing of themſelves? When God commandeth, ſhall we
‘ anſwer that we will obey, if ſo be *Cæſar* will grant us leave? Is Diſcipline an Eccleſiaſtical Mat-
‘ ter, or a Civil? If an Eccleſiaſtical, it muſt of neceſſity belong to the duty of the Miniſter; and
‘ the Miniſter (ye ſay) holdeth all his Authority of doing whatſoever belongeth unto the Spiri-
‘ tual Charge of the Houſe of God, even immediately from God himſelf, without dependency upon
‘ any Magiſtrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we ſuppoſe, that the hearts of the People being
‘ willing to be under the Scepter of Chriſt, the Miniſter of God, into whoſe hands the Lord him-
‘ ſelf hath put that Scepter, is without all excuſe, if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we
‘ find that hitherto greatly ye have diſliked thoſe Churches abroad, where the People with di-
‘ rection of their Godly Miniſters, have even againſt the will of the Magiſtrate brought in either
‘ the Doctrine or Diſcipline of Jeſus Chriſt. For which cauſe we muſt now think the very ſame
‘ thing of you, which our Saviour did ſometime utter concerning falſe-hearted Scribes and Pha-
‘ riſees, *They ſay and do not*. Thus the fooliſh *Barrowiſt* deriveth his Schiſm by way of concluſi- Matth. 23. 3.
on, as to him it ſeemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leave to
be ſatisfied by you from whom he hath ſprung. And if ſuch by your own acknowledgment be
Perſons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they have made are of ſmall and ten-
der growth; the changes likely to enſue, throughout all States and Vocations within this Land,
in caſe your deſire ſhould take place, muſt be thought upon. Firſt, concerning the Supreme
power of the Higheſt, they are no ſmall Prerogatives which now thereunto belonging the Form
of your Diſcipline will conſtrain it to reſign, as in the laſt Book of this Treatiſe we have ſhewed
at large. Again, it may juſtly be feared, whether our Engliſh Nobility, when the matter came
in tryal, would contentedly ſuffer themſelves to be always at the Call, and to ſtand to the
ſentence of a number of mean Perſons, aſſiſted with the preſence of their poor Teacher, a Man
(as ſometimes it happeneth) though better able to ſpeak, yet little or no whit apter to judge than
the reſt: From whom, be their dealings never ſo abſurd (unleſs it be by way of Complaint to a
Synod) no Appeal may be made unto any one of higher Power, in as much as the Order of your
Diſcipline admitteth no ſtanding inequality of Courts, no Spiritual Judge to have any ordinary
Superiour on Earth, but as many Supremacies as there are Pariſhes and ſeveral Congregations.
Neither is it altogether without cauſe that ſo many do fear the overthrow of all Learning, as
a threatned ſequel of this your Intended Diſcipline. For if the *Worlds preſervation* depend up- Sap. 6. 24.
on the *multitude of the wiſe*; and of that ſort the number hereafter be not likely to wax over-
great, *when* (that wherewith the ſon of *Syrach* profeſſeth himſelf *at the heart grieved*) *Men of under-* Eccleſ. 26. 29.
ſtanding are already ſo *little ſet by*: How ſhould their minds whom the love of ſo precious a Jewel
filleth with ſecret Jealouſie, even in regard of the leaſt things which may any way hinder
the flouriſhing Eſtate thereof, chuſe but miſdoubt leſt this Diſcipline, which always you match
with Divine Doctrine as her natural and true Siſter, be found unto all kinds of knowledge a
Step-mother; ſeeing that the greateſt worldly hopes, which are propoſed unto the chiefeſt kind

of Learning, ye ſeek utterly to extirpate as Weeds; and have grounded your platform on ſuch Propoſitions, as do after a ſort undermine thoſe moſt renowned Habitations, where through the goodneſs of Almighty God all commendable Arts and Sciences are with exceeding great induſtry hitherto (and ſo may they for ever continue) ſtudied, proceeded in, and profeſs'd? To charge you as purpoſely bent to the overthrow of that wherein ſo many of you have attained no ſmall perfection, were injurious. Only therefore I wiſh that your ſelves did well conſider how oppoſite certain of your Poſitions are unto the ſtate of Collegiate Societies, whereon the two Univerſities conſiſt. Thoſe Degrees, which their Statutes bind them to take, are by your Laws taken away; your ſelves who have ſought them ye ſo excuſe, as that ye would have Men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be born with for ſome help which ye find in them unto the furtherance of your purpoſes, till the corrupt eſtate of the Church may be better reformed. Your Laws forbidding Eccleſiaſtical Perſons utterly the exerciſe of Civil Power, muſt needs deprive the Heads and Maſters in the ſame Colledges of all ſuch Authority as now they exerciſe; either at home, by puniſhing the faults of thoſe, who not as Children to their Parents by the Law of Nature, but altogether by Civil Authority are ſubject unto them; or abroad, by keeping Courts amongſt their Tenants. Your Laws making permanent inequality amongſt Miniſters a thing repugnant to the Word of God, enforce thoſe Colledges, the Seniors whereof are all or any part of them Miniſters under the Government of a Maſter in the ſame Vocation, to chuſe as oft as they meet together a new Preſident. For if ſo ye judge it neceſſary to do in Synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequality amongſt Miniſters, the ſame cauſe muſt needs even in theſe Collegiate Aſſemblies enforce the like. Except peradventure ye mean to avoid all ſuch abſurdities, by diſſolving thoſe Corporations, and by bringing the Univerſities unto the form of the School of *Geneva*. Which thing Men the rather are inclined to look for, in as much as the Miniſtry, whereinto their Founders with ſingular Providence have by the ſame Statutes appointed them neceſſarily to enter at a certain time, your Laws bind them much more neceſſarily to forbear, till ſome Pariſh abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the Law Civil is, That the knowledge thereof might be ſpared, as a thing which this Land doth not need. Profeſſors in that kind being few, ye are the bolder to ſpurn at them, and not to diſſemble your minds as concerning their removal: In whoſe Studies although my ſelf have not much been converſant, nevertheleſs exceeding great cauſe I ſee there is to wiſh that thereunto more encouragement were given, as well for the ſingular Treaſures of Wiſdom therein contained, as alſo for the great uſe we have thereof, both in Deciſion of certain kinds of cauſes ariſing daily within our ſelves, and eſpecially for Commerce with Nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is moſt requiſite. The reaſons, wherewith ye would perſwade that Scripture is the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in every reſpect as effectual for proof, that the ſame is the only Law whereby to determine all our Civil Controverſies. And then what doth let, but that *as* thoſe Men may have their deſire, who frankly broach it already that the Work of Reformation will never be perfect, till the Law of Jeſus Chriſt be received alone; *ſo* Pleaders and Counſellors may bring their Books of the Common Law, and beſtow them as the Students of curious and needleſs Arts did theirs in the Apoſtles time? I leave them to ſcan how far thoſe words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare, That whereas now many houſes lie waſte through inordinate Suits of Law, *This one thing will ſhew the excellency of Diſcipline for the Wealth of the Realm, and quiet of Subjects, That the Church is to cenſure ſuch a Party who is apparently troubleſome and contentious, and without* **REASONABLE CAUSE** *upon a meer Will and Stomach doth vex and moleſt his Brother and trouble the Country.* For mine own part I do not ſee but that it might very well agree with your Principles, if your Diſcipline were fully planted, even to ſend out your Writs of *Surceaſe* unto all Courts of *England* beſides, for the moſt things handled in them. A great deal further I might proceed and deſcend lower. But foraſmuch as againſt all theſe and the like difficulties your anſwer is, That we ought to ſearch what things are conſonant to God's Will, not which be moſt for our own eaſe; and therefore that your Diſcipline being (for ſuch is your Error) the abſolute Commandment of Almighty God, it muſt be received, although the World by receiving it ſhould be clean turned upſide down; herein lieth the greateſt danger of all. For whereas the name of Divine Authority is uſed to countenance theſe things, which are not the Commandments of God, but your own Erroneous Collections; on him ye muſt father whatſoever ye ſhall afterwards be led, either to do in withſtanding the Adverſaries of your Cauſe, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In ſuch kinds of Error, the Mind once imagining it ſelf to ſeek the execution of God's Will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and perſons which any way hinder it from taking place; and in ſuch caſes if any ſtrange or new thing ſeem requiſite to be done, a ſtrange and new opinion concerning the lawfulneſs thereof, is withal received and broached under countenance of Divine Authority. One example herein may ſerve for many, to ſhew that falſe opinions touching the Will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices againſt the hinderance of them; and thoſe practices new opinions more pernicious than the firſt, yea moſt extremely ſometimes oppoſite to that which the firſt did ſeem to intend. Where the people took upon them the reformation of the Church by caſting out Popiſh Superſtition, they having received from their Paſtors a general Inſtruction, that whatſover the Heavenly Father hath not planted muſt be rooted out, proceeded in ſome foreign places ſo far, that down went Oratories and the very Temples of God themſelves. For as they chanced to take the compaſs of their Commiſſion ſtricter or larger, ſo their dealings were accordingly more or leſs moderate. Amongſt others there ſprang up preſently one kind of Men, with whoſe zeal and forwardneſs the

Humb. Motion to the L. L. P. 50.

Acts 19. 19.

Humb. Motion Page 74.

Counterp. Page 108.

Mat. 15. 13.

the reſt being compared, were thought to be marvellous cold and dull. Theſe grounding themſelves on rules more general; that whatſoever the Law of Chriſt commandeth not, thereof Antichriſt is the Author; and that whatſoever Antichriſt or his Adherents did in the World, the true Profeſſors of Chriſt are to undo; found out many things more than others had done, the Extirpation whereof was, in their conceipt, as neceſſary as of any thing before removed. Hereupon they ſecretly made their doleful complaints every where as they went, that albeit the World did begin to profeſs ſome diſlike of that which was evil in the Kingdom of Darkneſs, yet Fruits worthy of a true Repentance were not ſeen; and that if Men did repent as they ought, they muſt endeavour to purge the truth of all manner of evil, to the end there might follow a new World afterward, wherein righteouſneſs only ſhould dwell. Private Repentance they ſaid muſt appear, by every Mans faſhioning his own life contrary unto the cuſtom and orders of this preſent World, both in greater things and in leſs. To this purpoſe they had always in their mouths thoſe greater things, Charity, Faith, the true fear of God, the Croſs, the Mortification of the fleſh. All their Exhortations were to ſet light of the things in this World, to count riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof not only to ſeek neither, but if Men were poſſeſſors of both, even to caſt away the one and reſign the other, that all Men might ſee their unfeigned converſion unto Chriſt. They were Sollicitors of Men to Faſts, to often Meditations of Heavenly things, and as it were Conferences in ſecret with God by Prayers not framed according to the frozen manner of the World, but expreſſing ſuch fervent deſires as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found Men in Diet, Attire, Furniture of Houſe, or any other way obſervers of civility and decent order, ſuch they reproved as being carnally and earthly minded. Every word, otherwiſe than ſeverely and ſadly uttered, ſeemed to pierce like a Sword through them. If any Man were pleaſant, their manner was preſently with deep ſighs to repeat thoſe words of our Saviour Chriſt, *Wo be to you which now laugh, for ye ſhall lament.* So great was their delight to be always in trouble, that ſuch as did quietly lead their lives, they judged of all other Men to be in moſt dangerous caſe. They ſo much affected to croſs the ordinary cuſtom in every thing, that when other Mens uſe was to put on better attire, they would be ſure to ſhew themſelves openly abroad in worſe: The ordinary names of the days in the week they thought it a kind of prophaneneſs to uſe, and therefore accuſtomed themſelves to make no other diſtinction than by numbers, The firſt, ſecond, third day. From this they proceeded unto Publick Reformation, firſt Eccleſiaſtical, and then Civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouched, that themſelves only had the Truth, which thing upon peril of their lives they would at all times defend; and that ſince the Apoſtles lived, the ſame was never before in all points ſincerely taught. Wherefore that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jeſus Chriſt by his Word requireth, they began to controul the Miniſters of the Goſpel for attributing ſo much force and vertue unto the Scriptures of God read, whereas the Truth was, that when the Word is ſaid to engender Faith in the Heart, and to convert the Soul of Man, or to work any ſuch Spiritual Divine effect, theſe ſpeeches are not thereunto applicable, as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghoſt opening the eyes of our underſtanding, and ſo revealing the Myſteries of God, according to that which *Jeremy* promiſed before ſhould be, ſaying, *I will put my Law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts.* The Book of God they notwithſtanding for the moſt part ſo admired, that other diſputation againſt their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not hear; beſides it, they thought no other Writings in the World ſhould be ſtudied; in ſo much as one of their great Prophets exhorting them to caſt away all reſpect unto Human Writings, ſo far to his motion they condeſcended, that as many as had any Books, ſave the Holy Bible, in their cuſtody, they brought and ſet them publickly on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what ſtrange phantaſtical opinion ſoever at any time entred into their heads, their uſe was to think the ſpirit taught it them. Their phrenſies concerning our Saviour's Incarnation, the ſtate of Souls departed, and ſuch like, are things needleſs to be rehearſed. And for as much as they were of the ſame Suit with thoſe of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, ſaying, *They are ſtill learning, but never attain to the knowledge of the Truth,* it was no marvel to ſee them every day broach ſome new thing, not heard of before. Which reſtleſs levity they did interpret to be their growing to Spiritual Perfection, and a proceeding from Faith to Faith. The differences amongſt them grew by this mean in a manner infinite, ſo that ſcarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whoſe Brain was not poſſeſs'd with ſome ſpecial myſtery. Whereupon, although their mutual contentions were moſt fiercely proſecuted amongſt themſelves; yet when they came to defend the cauſe common to them all againſt the Adverſaries of their Faction, they had ways to lick one another whole, the ſounder in his own perſwaſion excuſing *THE DEAR BRETHREN*, which were not ſo far enlightned, and profeſſing a charitable hope of the Mercy of God towards them, notwithſtanding their ſwerving from him in ſome things. Their own Miniſters they highly magnified, as Men whoſe vocation was from God: The reſt their manner was to term diſdainfully Scribes and Phariſees, to account their Calling an Human Creature, and to detain the people as much as might be from hearing them. As touching Sacraments, Baptiſm adminiſtred in the Church of *Rome*, they judged to be but an execrable Mockery and no Baptiſm; both becauſe the Miniſters thereof in the Papacy are wicked Idolaters, lewd Perſons, Thieves, and Murderers, curſed Creatures, ignorant Beaſts; and alſo for that to baptize, is a proper action belonging unto none but the Church of Chriſt, whereas *Rome* is Antichriſts Synagogue. The cuſtom of uſing God-fathers and God-mothers at Chriſtnings they ſcorned. Baptiſm of Infants, although confeſt by themſelves to have been continued even ſithence the very Apoſtles own times, yet they altogether condemned; partly becauſe ſundry errors are of no leſs antiquity; and partly for that there is no commandment in the Goſpel of Chriſt which

Guy de Bres *contre l'erreur des Anabaptiſtes*, Page, 4.
Page 5.
Page 16.
Page 118, 119.
Page 120.
Page 116.
Page 124.
Luke 6. 12.
Page 117.
Page 40.
Jer. 31. 34.
Page 29.
Page 27.
2 Tim. 3. 7.
Page 65, 66.
Page 135.
Page 25.
Page 71.
Page 124.
Page 764.
Page 748.
Page 512,
Page 518.

Page 727. which ſaith, *Baptize Infants*, but he contrariwiſe in ſaying, *Go Preach and Baptize*, doth appoint
Page 726. that the Miniſter of Baptiſm ſhall in that action firſt adminiſter Doctrine, and then Baptiſm; as alſo
Page 688. in ſaying, *Whoſoever doth believe and is baptized*, he appointeth that the party, to whom Baptiſm
is adminiſtred, ſhall firſt believe, and then be baptized; to the end that Believing may go before
this Sacrament in the Receiver, no otherwiſe than Preaching in the Giver, ſith equally in both, the
Law of Chriſt declareth not only what things are required, but alſo in what order they are required.
Page 38. The Euchariſt they received (pretending our Lord and Saviour's example) after Supper: And for
avoiding all thoſe impieties which have been grounded upon the Myſtical words of Chriſt, *This is*
my Body, This is my Blood; they thought it not ſafe to mention either Body or Blood in that Sacrament,
Page 122. but rather to abrogate both, and to uſe no words but theſe, *Take, eat, declare the death of our*
Lord: Drink, ſhew forth our Lords death. In Rites and Ceremonies their Profeſſion was hatred
of all Conformity with the Church of *Rome*: For which cauſe they would rather endure any
torment than obſerve the ſolemn Feſtivals which others did, in as much as Antichriſt (they ſaid)
was the firſt inventer of them. The pretended end of their Civil Reformation was that Chriſt
might have dominion over all, that all Crowns and Scepters might be thrown down at his feet,
that no other might reign over Chriſtian Men but he, no Regiment keep them in awe, but his
Diſcipline; amongſt them no Sword at all be carried beſides his, the Sword of Spiritual Excommunication.
For this cauſe they laboured with all their might in over-turning the Seats of Magiſtracy,
Page 841. becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid, *Kings of Nations*; in aboliſhing the execution of Juſtice, becauſe
Page 833. Chriſt hath ſaid, *Reſiſt not evil*; in forbidding Oaths the neceſſary means of Judicial tryal, becauſe
Page 849. Chriſt hath ſaid, *Swear not at all*: Finally, in bringing in Community of Goods, becauſe Chriſt
by his Apoſtles hath given the World ſuch example, to the end that Men might excel one another,
Page 40. not in Wealth the Pillar of Secular Authority, but in Vertue. Theſe Men at the firſt were
only pitied in their Error, and not much withſtood by any; the great Humility, Zeal and Devotion,
which appeared to be in them, was in all Mens opinion a pledge of their harmleſs meaning.
Lactant. de Juſtit. lib. 5. cap. 19. The hardeſt that Men of ſound underſtanding conceived of them was but this, *O quam honeſta*
voluntate miſeri errant? With how good a meaning theſe poor Souls do evil. *Luther* made requeſt
Page 6. unto *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, that within his Dominion they might be favourably dealt with and
ſpared, for that (their Error exempted) they ſeemed otherwiſe right good Men. By means of which
merciful Toleration they gathered ſtrength, much more than was ſafe for the State of the Common-wealth
Page 4, 20. wherein they lived. They had their ſecret Corner-meetings and Aſſemblies in the
Page 55. night, the people flocked unto them by thouſands. The means whereby they both allured and
retained ſo great multitudes were moſt effectual: Firſt, a wonderful ſhew of zeal towards God,
wherewith they ſeemed to be even rapt in every thing they ſpake: Secondly, an hatred of ſin,
and a ſingular love of integrity, which Men did think to be much more than ordinary in them,
by reaſon of the cuſtom which they had to fill the ears of the people with Invectives againſt their
authorized Guides, as well Spiritual as Civil: Thirdly, the bountiful relief wherewith they eaſed
the broken eſtate of ſuch needy Creatures, as were in that reſpect the more apt to be drawn away:
Fourthly, a tender compaſſion which they were thought to take upon the miſeries of the common
ſort, over whoſe heads their manner was even to pour down ſhowers of tears in complaining,
Page 6. that no reſpect was had unto them, that their goods were devoured by wicked Cormorants, their
Page 7. perſons had in contempt, all Liberty both Temporal and Spiritual taken from them, that it was
high time for God now to hear their groans, and to ſend them deliverance: Laſtly, a cunning ſlight
which they had to ſtroke and ſmooth up the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating
unto them all the favourable Titles, the good words, and the gracious promiſes in Scripture; as
alſo by caſting the contrary always on the heads of ſuch as were ſevered from that retinue. Whereupon
the peoples common acclamation unto ſuch deceivers was; theſe are verily the Men of God,
Page 7. theſe are his true and ſincere Prophets. If any ſuch Prophet or Man of God did ſuffer by order of
Law condign and deſerved puniſhment; were it for Felony, Rebellion, Murder, or what elſe, the
Page 27. people (ſo ſtrangely were their hearts inchanted) as though Bleſſed St. *Stephen* had been again
Martyred, did lament that God took away his moſt dear ſervants from them. In all theſe things
being fully perſwaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the Will of God, and that all Men
ſhould do the like; there remained after ſpeculation Practice, whereby the whole World thereunto
Page 6. (if it were poſſible) might be framed. This they ſaw could not be done, but with mighty
oppoſition and reſiſtance: Againſt which to ſtrengthen themſelves, they ſecretly entred into a
League of Aſſociation. And peradventure conſidering, that although they were many, yet long
Wars would in time waſte them out; they began to think, whether it might not be that God
would have them do for their ſpeedy and mighty increaſe, the ſame which ſometime God's own
choſen people, the people of *Iſrael* did. Glad and fain they were to have it ſo: Which very deſire
was it ſelf apt to breed, both an opinion of poſſibility, and a willingneſs to gather Arguments of
likelihood that ſo God himſelf would have it. Nothing more clear unto their ſeeming, than that
a *New Jeruſalem* being often ſpoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly were themſelves that *New*
Jeruſalem, and the *Old* did by way of a certain Figurative reſemblance ſignifie what they ſhould
both be and do. Here they drew in a Sea of Matter, by amplifying all things unto their own
Company, which are any where ſpoken concerning Divine Favours and Benefits beſtowed upon
the Old Common-wealth of *Iſrael*; concluding that as *Iſrael* was delivered out of *Ægypt*, ſo they ſpiritually
out of the *Ægypt* of this Worlds ſervile thraldom unto Sin and Superſtition: As *Iſrael*
was to root out the Idolatrous Nations, and to plant inſtead of them a people which feared God, ſo
the ſame Lord's good will and pleaſure was now, that theſe new *Iſraelites* ſhould under the conduct
of other *Joſhuas*, *Sampſons*, and *Gideons*, perform a work no leſs miraculous, in caſting out violently

the wicked from the Earth, and eſtabliſhing the Kingdom of Chriſt with perfect liberty: And therefore as the cauſe why the Children of *Iſrael* took unto one Man many Wives, might be leſt the caſualties of War ſhould any way hinder the promiſe of God concerning their Multitude from taking effect in them; ſo it was not unlike that for the neceſſary propagation of Chriſt's Kingdom under the Goſpel, the Lord was content to allow as much. Now whatſoever they did in ſuch ſort collect out of Scripture, when they came to juſtifie or perſwade it unto others, all was the Heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I have gathered this Declaration. For my purpoſe herein is to ſhew, that when the minds of Men are once erroneouſly perſwaded that it is the Will of God to have thoſe things done which they fancy; their Opinions are as Thorns in their Sides, never ſuffering them to take reſt till they have brought their ſpeculations into Practice: The lets and impediments of which practice their reſtleſs deſire and ſtudy to remove, leadeth them every Day forth by the Hand into other more dangerous opinions, ſometimes quite and clean contrary to their firſt pretended meanings. So as what will grow out of ſuch Errors as go masked under the cloak of Divine Authority, impoſſible it is that ever the wit of Man ſhould imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them: For which cauſe it behoveth Wiſdom to fear the ſequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cauſe of fear. Theſe Men, in whoſe Mouths at the firſt ſounded nothing but only Mortification of the Fleſh; were come at the length to think they might lawfully have their ſix or ſeven Wives a-piece: They which at the firſt thought Judgement and Juſtice it ſelf to be mercileſs cruelty; accounted at the length their own hands ſanctified with being imbrued in Chriſtian blood: They who at the firſt were wont to beat down all Dominion, and to urge againſt poor Conſtables, *Kings of Nations*; had at the length both Conſuls and Kings of their own erection amongſt themſelves: Finally, they which could not brook at the firſt, that any Man ſhould ſeek, no not by Law, the recovery of Goods injuriouſly taken or with-held from him; were grown at the laſt to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable Sacrifice, than by turning their Adverſaries clean out of houſe and home, and by enriching themſelves with all kind of ſpoil and pillage. Which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readineſs their anſwer, That now the time was come, when according to our Saviour's promiſe, *The meek ones muſt inherit the Earth*, and that their title hereunto was the ſame which the righteous *Iſraelites* had unto the Goods of the wicked *Ægyptians*. Wherefore ſith the World hath had in theſe Men ſo freſh experience, how dangerous ſuch active Errors are, it muſt not offend you, though touching the ſequel of your preſent miſperſwaſions, much more be doubted, than your own intents and purpoſes do haply aim at. And yet your words already are ſomewhat, when ye affirm that your Paſtors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, ought to be in this Church of *England*, *Whether Her Majeſty and our State will or no*; when for the animating of your Confederates ye publiſh the Muſters which ye have made of your own Bands, and proclaim them to amount I know not to how many thouſands; when ye threaten, that ſith neither your Suits to the Parliament, nor Supplications to our Convocation-Houſe, neither your Defences by Writing, nor Challenges of Diſputation in behalf of that cauſe are able to prevail, we muſt blame our ſelves if to bring in Diſcipline ſome ſuch means hereafter be uſed, as ſhall cauſe all our hearts to ake. That *things doubtful are to be conſtrued in the better part*, is a principle not ſafe to be followed in Matters concerning the publick State of a Common-weal. But howſoever theſe and the like Speeches be accounted as Arrows idly ſhot at random, without either Eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting place; hath not your longing deſire for the practice of your Diſcipline brought the Matter already unto this demurrer amongſt you, whether the People and their Godly Paſtors that way affected ought not to make Separation from the reſt, and to begin the Exerciſe of Diſcipline without the Licenſe of Civil Powers, which Licenſe they have ſought for, and are not heard? Upon which queſtion as ye have now divided your ſelves, the warier ſort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeal the other; ſo in caſe theſe earneſt ones ſhould prevail, what other ſequel can any wiſe Man imagine but this, that having firſt reſolved that Attempts for Diſcipline without ſuperiours are lawful, it will follow in the next place to be diſputed, what may be attempted againſt Superiours, which will not have the Scepter of that Diſcipline to rule over them? Yea, even by you which have ſtaid your ſelves from running head-long with the other ſort, ſomewhat notwithſtanding there hath been done without the leave or liking of your lawful Superiours, for the exerciſe of a part of your Diſcipline amongſt the Clergy thereunto addicted. And leſt Examination of Principal Parties therein ſhould bring thoſe things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold for a Bar againſt that impediment, one Opinion ye have newly added unto the reſt even upon this occaſion, an Opinion to exempt you from taking Oaths which may turn to the moleſtation of your Brethren in that cauſe. The next Neighbour Opinion whereunto, when occaſion requireth, may follow for Diſpenſation with Oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to import a neceſſity of detecting ought which may bring ſuch good Men into trouble or damage, whatſoever the cauſe be. O merciful God, what Man's wit is there able to ſound the depth of thoſe dangerous and fearful evils, whereinto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to ſink it ſelf, rather than to ſhew an acknowledgment of Error in that which once we have unadviſedly taken upon us to offend, againſt the ſtream as it were of a contrary publick reſolution! Wherefore, if we any thing reſpect their Error, who being perſwaded even as ye are, have gone further upon that perſwaſion than ye allow, if we regard the preſent State of the higheſt Government placed over us, if the quality and diſpoſitions of our Nobles, if the Orders and Laws of our famous Univerſities, if the Profeſſion of the Civil, or the Practice of the Common Law amongſt us, if the miſchiefs, whereinto even before our Eyes ſo many others have faln

Page 41.

Matth. 5. 5.

Exod. 11. 2.

Mart in his third *Libel*, *page* 28.

Demonſtr. in the pref.

head-long from no leſs plauſible and fair beginnings than yours are: There is in every of theſe Conſiderations moſt juſt cauſe to fear, leſt our haſtineſs to embrace a thing of ſo perilous conſequence, ſhould cauſe poſterity to feel thoſe evils, which as yet are more eaſie for us to prevent, than they would be for them to remedy.

The Concluſion of all.

9. The beſt and ſafeſt way for you therefore, my dear Brethren, is, to call your Deeds paſt to a new reckoning, to re-examine the cauſe ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactneſs ye can, to lay aſide the Gall of that Bitterneſs wherein your minds have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekneſs to ſearch the Truth. Think ye are Men, deem it not impoſſible for you to err; ſift impartially your own hearts, whether it be force of reaſon, or vehemency of affection, which hath bred, and ſtill doth feed theſe Opinions in you. If Truth doth any where manifeſt it ſelf, ſeek not to ſmother it with glozing Deluſion, acknowledge the greatneſs thereof, and think it your beſt Victory, when the ſame doth prevail over you.

That ye have been earneſt in ſpeaking or writing again and again the contrary way, ſhould be no blemiſh or diſcredit at all unto you. Amongſt ſo many huge Volumes, as the infinite pains of St. *Auguſtine* have brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater love, commendation and honour, than the Book wherein he carefully collecteth his own over-ſights, and ſincerely condemneth them? Many ſpeeches there are of *Job's*, whereby his Wiſdom and other Vertues may appear; Job. 39. 37. but the glory of an ingenuous mind he hath purchaſed by theſe words only, *Behold, I will lay mine hand on my Mouth; I have ſpoken once, yet will I not therefore maintain Argument; yea twice, howbeit for that cauſe further I will not proceed.* Far more comfort it were for us (ſo ſmall is the joy we take in theſe ſtrifes) to labour under the ſame yoke, as Men that look for the ſame eternal reward of their labours, to be joyned with you in Bands of indiſſoluble Love and Amity, to live as if, our Perſons being many, our Souls were but one, rather than in ſuch diſmembred ſort, to ſpend our few and wretched Days in a tedious proſecution of weariſome contentions; the end whereof, if they have not ſome ſpeedy end, will be heavy even on both ſides. Brought Gerg. Naz. in Apol. already we are even to that eſtate, which *Gregory Nazianzen* mournfully deſcribeth, ſaying. *My mind leadeth me* (ſith there is no other remedy) *to fly and to convey my ſelf into ſome corner out of ſight, where I may eſcape from this cloudy tempeſt of maliciouſneſs, whereby all parts are entred into a deadly war amongſt themſelves, and that little remnant of love which was, is now conſumed to nothing. The only godlineſs we glory in, is to find out ſomewhat whereby we may judge others to be ungodly. Each others faults we obſerve, as matter of exprobration, and not of grief. By theſe means we are grown hateful in the Eyes of the Heathens themſelves, and (which woundeth us the more deeply) able we are not to deny but that we have deſerved their hatred. With the better ſort of our own, our fame and credit is clean loſt. The leſs we are to marvel if they Judge vilely of us, who although we did well, would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they alſo build that are lewd, and what we object one againſt another, the ſame they uſe to the utter ſcorn and diſgrace of us all. This we have gained by our mutual home-diſſentions. This we are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to ſtrive, than becometh Men of vertuous and mild diſpoſition.* But our truſt in the Almighty is, that with us Contentions are now at their higheſt float, and that the Day will come (for what cauſe of deſpair is there?) when the Paſſions of former Enmity being allayed, we ſhall with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfeignedly reconciled love, ſhew our ſelves each towards other the ſame, which *Joſeph* and the Brethren of *Joſeph* were at the time of their enterview in *Egypt*. Our comfortable expectation and moſt thirſty deſire whereof, what Man ſoever amongſt you ſhall any way help to ſatisfie (as we truly hope there is no one amongſt you but ſome way or other will) *The bleſſings of the God of Peace, both in this World, and in the World to come, be upon him more than the Stars of the Firmament in number.*

What Things Are Handled
in the following
BOOKS

BOOK I.

Concerning LAWS *in General.*

BOOK II.

Of the uſe of Divine *Law contained in Scripture; Whether that be the only Law which ought to ſerve for our* Direction *in all things without exception?*

BOOK III.

Of Laws concerning Eccleſiaſtical Polity*: Whether the* Form *thereof be in Scripture ſo ſet down, that no Addition or Change is lawful?*

BOOK IV.

Of General Exceptions taken againſt the Laws of our Polity, *as being Popiſh, and baniſhed out of certain Reformed Churches.*

BOOK V.

Of our Laws which concern the Publick *Religious* Duties *of the Church, and the manner of beſtowing that* Power *of Order which enableth Men in ſundry* Degrees *and Callings to execute the ſame.*

BOOK VI.

Of the Power *of Juriſdiction, which the reformed* Platform *claimeth unto Lay-Elders, with others.*

BOOK

BOOK VII.

Of the Power of Juriſdiction, and the **Honour** *which is annexed thereunto in Biſhops.*

BOOK VIII.

Of the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Dominion or Supreme Authority, which with us the higheſt Governour or Prince *hath, as well in regard of Domeſtical Juriſdiction, as of that other Foreignly claimed by the Biſhop of* Rome.

OF THE LAWS OF Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

BOOK I.

Concerning Laws, and their ſeveral kinds in general.

The Matter contained in this Firſt Book.

1. *THe cauſe of Writing this General Diſcourſe concerning Laws.*
2. *Of that Law, which God from before the beginning hath ſet for himſelf to do all things by.*
3. *The Law which Natural Agents obſerve, and their neceſſary manner of keeping it.*
4. *The Law which the Angels of God obey.*
5. *The Law whereby Man is in his Actions directed to the Imitation of God.*
6. *Mens firſt beginning to underſtand that Law.*
7. *Of Mans Will, which is the firſt thing that Laws of Action are made to guide.*
8. *Of the Natural finding out of Laws by the Light of Reaſon, to guide the Will unto that which is good.*
9. *Of the benefit of keeping that Law which Reaſon teacheth.*
10. *How Reaſon doth lead Men unto the making of Human Laws, whereby Politick Societies are governed, and to agreement about Laws, whereby the Fellowſhip or Communion of Independent Societies ſtandeth.*
11. *Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known ſuch ſupernatural Laws, as do ſerve for Mens direction.*
12. *The cauſe why ſo many Natural or Rational Laws are ſet down in Holy Scripture.*
13. *The benefit of having Divine Laws written.*
14. *The ſufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was inſtituted.*
15. *Of Laws Poſitive contained in Scripture; the Mutability of certain of them, and the general uſe of Scripture.*
16. *A concluſion, ſhewing how all this belongeth to the Cauſe in queſtion.*

The cauſe of writing this General Diſcourſe.

HE that goeth about to perſwade a multitude, that they are not ſo well governed as they ought to be, ſhall never want attentive and favourable Hearers; becauſe they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of Regiment is ſubject; but the ſecret lets and difficulties, which in publick proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgement to conſider. And becauſe ſuch as openly reprove ſuppoſed diſorders of State are taken for principal Friends to the common Benefit of all, and for Men that carry ſingular Freedom of Mind: Under this fair and plauſible colour, whatſoever they utter, paſſeth for good and currant. That which wanteth in the weight of their Speech, is ſupplyed by the aptneſs of Mens minds to accept and believe it. Whereas on the other ſide, if we maintain things that are eſtabliſhed, we have not only to ſtrive with a number of heavy prejudices deeply rooted in the Hearts of Men, who think that herein we ſerve the time, and ſpeak in favour of the preſent State, becauſe thereby we either hold or ſeek preferment; but alſo to bear ſuch Exceptions, as Minds ſo averted before-hand uſually take againſt that which they are loth ſhould be poured into them. Albeit therefore, much of that we are to ſpeak in this preſent Cauſe may ſeem to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obſcure, dark and intricate, (for many talk of the Truth, which never ſounded the depth from whence it ſpringeth: And therefore when they are led thereunto, they are ſoon weary, as Men drawn from thoſe beaten paths wherewith they have been inured;) yet this may not ſo far prevail, as to cut off that which the matter it ſelf requireth, howſoever the nice humour of ſome be therewith pleaſed or no. They unto whom we ſhall ſeem tedious, are in no wiſe injured by us, becauſe it is in their own Hands to ſpare that labour which they are not willing to endure. And if any complain of obſcurity, they muſt conſider that in theſe Matters it cometh no otherwiſe to paſs, than in ſundry the works both of Art, and alſo of Nature, where that which hath greateſt force in the very things we ſee, is notwithſtanding it ſelf oftentimes not ſeen. The ſtatelineſs of Houſes, the goodlineſs of Trees, when we behold them, delighteth the Eye; but that Foundation which beareth up the one, that Root which miniſtreth unto the other nouriſhment and life, is in the boſom of the Earth concealed; and if there be occaſion at any time to ſearch into it, ſuch labour is then more neceſſary than pleaſant, both to them which undertake it, and for the lookers on. In like manner, the uſe and benefit of good Laws, all that live under them may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and firſt original cauſes from whence they have ſprung, be unknown, as to the greateſt part of Men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience pretend, That the Laws which they ſhould obey, are corrupt and vicious: For better examination of their quality, it behoveth the very Foundation and Root, the higheſt Well-Spring and Fountain of them to be diſcoverd. Which becauſe we are not oftentimes accuſtomed to do, when we do it, the pains we take are more needful a great deal than acceptable, and the Matters which we handle ſeem by reaſon of newneſs, (till the mind grow better acquainted with them) dark, intricate and unfamiliar. For as much help whereof as may be in this caſe, I have endeavoured throughout the Body of this whole Diſcourſe, that every former part might give ſtrength unto all that follow, and every latter bring ſome light unto all before: So that if the judgements of Men do but hold themſelves in ſuſpence, as touching theſe firſt more General Meditations, till in order they have peruſed the reſt that enſue; what may ſeem dark at the firſt, will afterwards be found more plain, even as the latter particular deciſions will appear, I doubt not, more ſtrong, when the other have been read before. The Laws of the Church, whereby for ſo many Ages together we have been guided in the Exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion and the ſervice of the true God, our Rites, Cuſtoms, and Orders of Eccleſiaſtical Government, are called in queſtion: We are accuſed as Men that will not have Chriſt Jeſus to rule over them, but have wilfully caſt his Statutes behind their backs, hating to be reformed and made ſubject unto the Scepter of his Diſcipline. Behold therefore, we offer the Laws whereby we live, unto the General Tryal and Judgement of the whole World; heartily beſeeching Almighty God, whom we deſire to ſerve according to his own will, that both we and others (all kind of Partial affection being clean laid aſide) may have eyes to ſee, and hearts to embrace the things that in his ſight are moſt acceptable. And becauſe the Point, about which we ſtrive, is the Quality of our Laws, our firſt entrance hereinto cannot better be made, than with conſideration of the Nature of Law in general, and of that Law which giveth Life unto all the reſt which are commendable, juſt and good, namely the Law whereby the Eternal himſelf doth work. Proceeding from hence to the Law, firſt of Nature, then of Scripture, we ſhall have the eaſier acceſs unto thoſe things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular Cauſe and Queſtion which we have in hand.

Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath ſet for himſelf to do all things by.

2. All theſe things that are, have ſome operation not violent or caſual: Neither doth any thing ever begin to exerciſe the ſame, without ſome fore-conceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for, is not obtained, unleſs the Work be alſo fit to obtain it by; for unto every end, every operation will not ſerve. That which doth aſſign unto each thing the kind, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and meaſure of working, the ſame we term a *Law*: So that no certain end could ever be attained, unleſs the Actions whereby it is attained were regular, that is to ſay, made ſuitable, fit, and correſpondent unto their end, by ſome Canon, Rule or Law. Which thing doth firſt take place in the Works, even of God himſelf. All things therefore do work after a ſort according to Law; all other things according to a Law, whereof ſome ſuperiors unto whom they are ſubject, is Author; only the Works and Operations of God, have him both for their Worker, and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The Being of God is a kind of Law to his working; for that Perfection which God is, giveth Perfection to that he doth. Thoſe Natural, Neceſſary, and Internal Operations of God, the *Generation* of the Son, the *Proceeding* of the Spirit, are without the compaſs of my preſent intent; which is to touch only ſuch Operations as have their Beginning and Being by a voluntary purpoſe, wherewith God hath eternally decreed, when, and how they ſhould be; which Eternal Decree is that we term an *Eternal Law*. Dangerous it were for the feeble Brain of Man, to wade far into the doings of the moſt High; whom although to know be Life, and Joy to make mention of his Name; yet our ſoundeſt knowledge is, to know that we know him not as indeed he is, neither can know him; and our ſafeſt eloquence concerning him, is our ſilence, when we confeſs without confeſſion, that his glory is inexplicable, his greatneſs above our capacity and reach. He is above and we upon Earth; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few. Our God is One, or rather very *Oneneſs*, and meer Unity, having nothing but it Self in it Self, and not conſiſting (as all things do beſides God) of many things. In which Eſſential Unity of God, a Trinity Perſonal nevertheleſs ſubſiſteth, after a manner far exceeding the poſſibility of Man's conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in ſuch ſort of him being One, that each Perſon hath in them ſomewhat peculiar and proper. For being Three, and they all ſubſiſting in the Eſſence of one Deity; from the Father, by the Son, through

the Spirit, all things are. That which the Son doth hear of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receive of the Father and the Son, the ſame we have at the hands of the Spirit, as being the laſt, and therefore the neareſt unto us in order, although in power the ſame with the Second and the Firſt. The wiſe and learned among the very Heathens themſelves, have all acknowledged ſome firſt cauſe, whereupon originally the Being of all things dependeth. Neither have they otherwiſe ſpoken of that Cauſe than as an Agent, which knowing *what* and *why* it worketh, obſerveth in working a moſt exact *Order* or *Law*. Thus much is ſignified by that which *Homer* mentioneth, (*a*) Διὸς δ᾽ ἐτελείετο βȣλή. Thus much acknowledged by *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, (b) Τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιȣργὸς ȣ̓ χερσὶν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ. Thus much confeſs'd by *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, terming the Maker of the World, an *Intellectual Worker*. Finally, the *Stoicks*, although imagining the firſt cauſe of all things to be Fire, held nevertheleſs, that the ſame Fire having Art did (c) Ὁδῷ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσει κόσμȣ. They all confeſs therefore, in the working of that firſt cauſe, that *Counſel* is uſed, *Reaſon* followed, a *Way* obſerved, that is to ſay, conſtant *Order* and *Law* is kept, whereof it ſelf muſt needs be Author unto it ſelf: Otherwiſe it ſhould have ſome worthier and higher to direct it, and ſo could not it ſelf be the firſt; being the firſt, it can have no other than it ſelf to be the Author of that Law, which it willingly worketh by. God therefore is a Law, both to himſelf, and to all other things beſides. To himſelf he is a Law in all thoſe things whereof our Saviour ſpeaks, ſaying, *My Father worketh as yet, ſo I.* God worketh nothing without cauſe. All thoſe things which are done by him, have ſome end for which they are done; and the end for which they are done, is a Reaſon of his Will to do them. His Will had not inclined to create Woman, but that he ſaw it could not be well, if ſhe were not created. *Non eſt bonum, It is not good Man ſhould be alone*; therefore let us make an helper for him. That and nothing elſe is done by God, which to leave undone were not ſo good. If therefore it be demanded, why God having power and ability infinite, the effects notwithſtanding of that power are all ſo limited, as we ſee they are: The reaſon hereof is, the end which he hath propoſed, and the Law whereby his Wiſdom hath ſtinted the effects of his power in ſuch ſort, that it doth not work infinitely, but correſpondently unto that end for which it worketh, even all things χρηςῶς, in moſt decent and comely ſort, all things in *meaſure, number,* and *weight*. The General End of God's Eternal Working, is the exerciſe of his moſt glorious and moſt abundant vertue. Which abundance doth ſhew it ſelf in variety, and for that cauſe this variety is oftentimes in Scripture expreſs'd by the name of *riches*. *The Lord hath made all things for his own ſake.* Not that any thing is made to be beneficial unto him, but all things for him to ſhew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of every Act proceeding externally from God, we are not able to diſcern, and therefore cannot always give the proper and certain reaſon of his Works. Howbeit undoubtedly, a proper and certain Reaſon there is of every Finite Work of God, in as much as there is a Law impoſed upon it; which if there were not, it ſhould be infinite even as the Worker himſelf is. They err therefore, who think that of the Will of God to do this or that, there is no Reaſon beſides his Will. Many times no Reaſon known to us; but that there is no Reaſon thereof I judge it moſt unreaſonable to imagine, in as much as he worketh all things, Κατὰ τ̃ βȣλὴν τ̃ θελήματος αὐτȣ̃, not only according to his own Will, but *the counſel of his own Will*. And whatſoever is done with counſel or wiſe reſolution, hath of neceſſity ſome reaſon why it ſhould be done, albeit that reaſon be to us in ſome things ſo ſecret, that it forceth the wit of Man to ſtand, as the Bleſſed Apoſtle himſelf doth, amazed thereat, *O the depth of the riches, both of the Wiſdom and Knowledge of God, How unſearchable are his Judgements, &c.* That Law Eternal which God himſelf hath made to himſelf, and thereby worketh all things, whereof he is the Cauſe and Author; that Law in the admirable frame whereof ſhineth with moſt perfect Beauty the Countenance of that Wiſdom which hath teſtified concerning her ſelf, *The Lord poſſeſſed me in the beginning of his way, even before his works of old, I was ſet up*: That Law which hath been the Pattern to make, and is the Card to guide the World by; that Law which hath been of God, and with God everlaſtingly; that Law, the Author and Obſerver whereof is one only God to be bleſſed for ever; how ſhould either Men or Angels be able perfectly to behold? The Book of this Law, we are neither able nor worthy to open and look into. That little thereof which we darkly apprehend, we admire; the reſt with religious ignorance we humbly and meekly adore. Seeing therefore, that according to this Law he worketh, *Of whom, through whom, and for whom, are all things*; although there ſeem unto us confuſion and diſorder in the affairs of this preſent World; *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recta fieri cuncta ne dubites*, Let no Man doubt but that every thing is well done, becauſe the World is ruled by ſo good a Guide, as tranſgreſſeth not his own Law; than which nothing can be more abſolute, perfect and juſt. The Law whereby he worketh, is Eternal, and therefore can have no ſhew or colour of mutability; for which cauſe, a part of that Law being opened in the promiſes which God hath made (becauſe his promiſes are nothing elſe but Declarations, what God will do for the good of Men) touching thoſe Promiſes the Apoſtle hath witneſſed, That God may as poſſibly deny himſelf, and not be God, as fail to perform them. And concerning the Counſel of God, he termeth it likewiſe a thing *Unchangeable*; the Counſel of God, and that Law of God, whereof now we ſpeak, being one. Nor is the freedom of the Will of God any whit abated, let or hindred, by means of this; becauſe the Impoſition of this Law upon himſelf is his own free and voluntary act. This Law therefore we may name Eternal, being *that order which God before all Ages hath ſet down with himſelf, for himſelf to do all things by.*

John 16. 13, 14, 15.

(a) *Jupiter's Counſel* was accompliſhed.

(*b*) The Creator made the whole world not with hands, but by *Reaſon*

Stob. in Eclog. Phyſ.

(*c*) Proceed by a certain and a ſet *Way* in the making of the World.

John 5. 17.

Gen. 2. 17.

Sapi. 8. 1.

Sapi. 11. 18.

Epheſ. 1. 7.

Phil. 4. 19.

Col. 2. 3.

Prov. 16. 4.

Epheſ. 1. 11.

Prov. 8. 23.

Rom. 11. 36.

Boet. &c.

Boet. lib. 4. de Conſol. Philoſ.

2 Tim. 2. 13.

Heb. 6. 17.

3. I am not ignorant that by *Law Eternal* the Learned for the moſt part do underſtand the

The Law which Natural Agents have given them to obſerve; and their neceſſary manner of keeping it.

Order, not which God hath eternally purpoſed himſelf in all his Works to obſerve, but rather that, which with himſelf he hath ſet down as expedient to be kept by all his Creatures, according to the ſeveral conditions wherewith he hath endued them. They who thus are accuſtomed to ſpeak, apply the name of *Law* unto that only rule of working, which Superior Authority impoſeth; whereas we, ſomewhat more enlarging the ſenſe thereof, term any kind of Rule or Canon, whereby Actions are framed, a Law. Now that Law, which, as it is laid up in the boſom of God, they call *Eternal*, receiveth, according unto the different kind of things which are ſubject unto it, different and ſundry kinds of names. That part of it which ordereth Natural Agents, we call uſually *Natures Law*; that which Angels do clearly behold, and without any ſwerving obſerve, is a *Law Cœleſtial* and *Heavenly*; the *Law of Reaſon*, that which bindeth Creatures reaſonable in this World, and with which by reaſon they may moſt plainly perceive themſelves bound; that which bindeth them, and is not known but by ſpecial Revelation from God, ***Divine Law***; ***Human Law***, that which out of the Law, either of Reaſon, or of God, Men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a Law. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed unto this *Second Law Eternal*; and even thoſe things, which to this *Eternal Law* are not conformable, are notwithſtanding in ſome ſort ordered by the *Firſt Eternal Law*. For what good or evil is there under the Sun; what action correſpondent or repugnant unto the Law which God hath impoſed upon his Creatures, but in, or upon it, God doth work according to the Law which himſelf hath eternally purpoſed to keep; that is to ſay, The *Firſt Eternal Law*? So that a two-fold Law Eternal being thus made, it is not hard to conceive, how they both take place in (*d*) all things. Wherefore to come to the Law of Nature; albeit thereby we ſometimes mean that manner of working which God hath ſet for each created thing to keep; yet foraſmuch as thoſe things are termed moſt properly *Natural Agents*, which keep the Law of their kind unwittingly, as the Heavens and Elements of the World, which can do no otherwiſe than they do: And for as much as we give unto Intellectual Natures the name of *Voluntary Agents*, that ſo we may diſtinguiſh them from the other; expedient it will be, that we ſever the Law of Nature obſerved by the one, from that which the other is tied unto. Touching the former, their ſtrict keeping of one Tenor, Statute and Law, is ſpoken of by all, but hath in it more than Men have as yet attained to know, or perhaps ever ſhall attain, ſeeing the travel of wading herein is given of God to the Sons of Men; that perceiving how much the leaſt thing in the World hath in it, more than the wiſeſt are able to reach unto, they may by this means learn humility. *Moſes*, in deſcribing the Work of Creation, attributeth ſpeech unto God: *God ſaid, Let there be light*: *Let there be a Firmament*: *Let the Waters under the Heavens be gathered together into one place*: *Let the Earth bring forth*: *Let there be Lights in the Firmament of Heaven.* Was this only the intent of *Moſes*, to ſignifie the infinite greatneſs of God's Power, by the eaſineſs of his accompliſhing ſuch effects, without travel, pain, or labour? Surely it ſeemeth that *Moſes* had herein, beſides this, a further purpoſe, namely firſt to teach that God did not work as a neceſſary but a voluntary Agent, intending before-hand, and decreeing with himſelf, that which did outwardly proceed from him. Secondly, to ſhew that God did then inſtitute a Law natural to be obſerved by Creatures; and therefore according to the manner of Laws, the Inſtitution thereof is deſcribed, as being eſtabliſhed by ſolemn injunction. His commanding thoſe things to be which are, and to be in ſuch ſort as they are, to keep that tenor and courſe which they do, importeth the eſtabliſhment of Natures Law. The Worlds firſt Creation, and the preſervation ſince of things created, what is it, but only ſo far forth a manifeſtation by execution, what the Eternal Law of God is concerning things natural? and as it cometh to paſs in a Kingdom rightly ordered, that after a Law is once publiſhed, it preſently takes effect far and wide, all States framing themſelves thereunto; even ſo let us think it fareth in the Natural courſe of the World: Since the time that God did firſt proclaim the Edicts of his Law upon it, Heaven and Earth have hearkened unto his voice, and their labour hath been to do his will: *He made a Law for the Rain*; He gave his *Decree unto the Sea, that the Waters ſhould not paſs his commandment.* Now if Nature ſhould intermit her courſe, and leave altogether, though it were but for a while, the obſervation of her own Laws; if thoſe Principal and Mother Elements of the World, whereof all things in this lower World are made, ſhould loſe the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that Heavenly Arch erected over our Heads ſhould looſen and diſſolve it ſelf; if Celeſtial Spheres ſhould forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility turn themſelves any way as it might happen; if the Prince of the Lights of Heaven, which now as a Gyant doth run his unwearied courſe, ſhould, as it were through a languiſhing faintneſs, begin to ſtand, and to reſt himſelf; if the Moon ſhould wander from her beaten way, the time and ſeaſons of the Year blend themſelves, by diſorder and confuſed mixture, the Winds breathe out their laſt gaſp, the Clouds yield no Rain, the Earth be defeated of Heavenly influence, the Fruits of the Earth pine away, as Children at the withered Breaſts of the Mother no longer able to yield them relief: What would become of Man himſelf, whom theſe things now do all ſerve? See we not plainly that obedience of Creatures unto the Law of Nature is the ſtay of the whole World? Notwithſtanding, with Nature it cometh ſometimes to paſs, as with Art. Let *Phidias* have rude and obſtinate ſtuff to carve, though his art do that it ſhould, his work will lack that beauty

Pſal. 19. 5.

(*d*) Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit, eſt materia legis æternæ. *Th. l.* 1, 2. *q.* 93. *art.* 4, 5, 6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus ſummi creatoris ordinationique ſubtrahitur, à quo pax univerſitatis adminiſtratur. *Auguſt. de Civit. Dei, lib* 19. *c.* 22. *Immo & peccatum, quatenus à Deo juſtè permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ ſubjicitur peccatum; quatenus voluntaria legis tranſgreſſio pœnale quoddam incommodum animæ inſerit, juxta illud Auguſtini,* Juſſiſti Domine, & ſic eſt, ut pœna ſua ſibi ſit omnis animus inordinatus. *Confeſ. lib.* 1. *cap.* 12. *Nec malè ſcholaſtici.* Quemadmodum inquiunt videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipſo quod à fine particulari ſuo, atque adeo à lege æternâ exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus conſequuntur alium finem à lege etiam æternâ ipſis in caſu particulari conſtitutum: Sic veriſimile eſt homines etiam cùm peccant & deſciſcunt à lege æternâ ut præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis ut punientis.

which otherwiſe in fitter matter it might have had. He that ſtriketh an Inſtrument with skill may cauſe notwithſtanding a very unpleaſant ſound, if the ſtring whereon he ſtriketh chance to be uncapable of harmony. In the matter whereof things natural conſiſt, that of *Theophraſtus* takes place, Πολὺ τὸ ἀνυπάκȣον ἐδὲ δεχόμενον τὸ εὖ. *Much of it is oftentimes ſuch, as will by no means yield to receive that impreſſion which were beſt and moſt perfect.* Which defect in the matter of things natural, they who gave themſelves unto the contemplation of nature amongſt the Heathen obſerved often: But the true original cauſe thereof, Divine Malediction, laid for the Sin of Man upon theſe Creatures, which God had made for the uſe of Man; this being an Article of that ſaving truth which God hath revealed unto his Church, was above the reach of their meerly natural capacity and underſtanding. But howſoever theſe ſwervings are now and then incident into the courſe of Nature; nevertheleſs, ſo conſtantly the laws of Nature are by Natural Agents obſerved, that no Man denieth, but thoſe things which nature worketh are wrought either always, or for the moſt part, after one and the ſame manner. If here it be demanded, What this is which keepeth Nature in obedience to her own Law, we muſt have recourſe to that higher Law, whereof we have already ſpoken; and becauſe all other Laws do thereon depend, from thence we muſt borrow ſo much as ſhall need for brief reſolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as ſome are, that Nature in working hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which ſubſiſting in the boſom of the Higheſt, and being thence diſcovered, ſhe fixeth her eye upon them, as Travellers by Sea upon the Pole ſtar of the World, and that according thereunto ſhe guideth her Hand to work by imitation: Although we rather embrace the Oracle of *Hippocrates, That each thing both in ſmall and in great fulfilleth the task which deſtiny hath ſet down*: And concerning the manner of executing and fulfilling the ſame, *What they do they know not, yet is it in ſhew and appearance, as though they did know what they do; and the truth is, they do not diſcern the things which they look on*: Nevertheleſs, for as much as the works of Nature are no leſs exact, than if ſhe did both behold and ſtudy how to expreſs ſome abſolute ſhape or mirror always preſent before her; yea, ſuch her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectual Creature in the World were able by capacity, to do that which Nature doth without capacity and knowledge; it cannot be, but Nature hath ſome Director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways. Who the guide of Nature, but only the God of Nature? *In him we live, move, and are.* Thoſe things which Nature is ſaid to do, are by Divine Art performed, uſing Nature as an Inſtrument; nor is there any ſuch Art or Knowledge Divine in Nature her ſelf working, but in the guide of Natures work. Whereas therefore things natural, which are not in the number of Voluntary Agents (for of ſuch only we now ſpeak, and of no other) do ſo neceſſarily obſerve their certain Laws, that as long as they keep thoſe (*e*) Forms which give them their Being, they cannot poſſibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwiſe than they do; ſeeing the kinds of their operations are both conſtantly and exactly framed, according to the ſeveral ends for which they ſerve, they themſelves in the mean while, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why: It followeth, that all which they do in this ſort, proceedeth originally from ſome ſuch Agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up, and even actually frameth the ſame. The manner of this Divine Efficiency being far above us, we are no more able to conceive by our Reaſon, than Creatures unreaſonable by their Senſe are able to apprehend after what manner we diſpoſe and order the courſe of our affairs. Only thus much is diſcerned, that the Natural Generation and Proceſs of all things receiveth order of proceeding from the ſettled ſtability of Divine Underſtanding. This appointeth unto them their kinds of working, the diſpoſition whereof, in the Purity of God's own Knowledge and Will, is rightly termed by the name of *Providence*. The ſame being referred unto the things themſelves here diſpoſed by it, was wont by the Ancient to be called *Natural Deſtiny*. That Law, the performance whereof we behold in things natural, is as it were an authentical, or an original Draught, written in the boſom of God himſelf; whoſe Spirit being to execute the ſame, uſeth every particular Nature, every meer natural Agent, only as an Inſtrument created at the beginning, and ever ſince the beginning uſed to work his own will and pleaſure withal. Nature therefore is nothing elſe but God's Inſtrument: In the courſe whereof *Dionyſius* perceiving ſome ſudden diſturbance, is ſaid to have cryed out, *Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina diſſolvitur*, Either God doth ſuffer ſome impediment, and is by a greater than himſelf hindred; or if that be impoſſible, then hath he determined to make a preſent diſſolution of the World, the execution of that Law beginning now to ſtand ſtill, without which the World cannot ſtand. This Workman, whoſe ſervitor Nature is, being in truth but only One, the Heathens imagining to be more, gave him in the Skie the name of *Jupiter*, in the Air the name of *Juno*, in the Water the name of *Neptune*, in the Earth the name of *Veſta* and ſometimes of *Ceres*, the name of *Apollo* in the Sun, in the Moon the name of *Diana*, the name of *Æolus* and divers other in the Winds; and to conclude, even ſo many Guides of Nature they dreamed of, as they ſaw there were kinds of things natural in the World. Theſe they honoured, as having power to work or ceaſe accordingly as Men deſerved of them: But unto us there is one only Guide of all Agents Natural, and he both the Creator and the Worker of all in all, alone to be bleſſed, adored, and honoured by all for ever. That which hitherto hath been ſpoken, concerneth Natural Agents conſidered in themſelves: But we muſt further remember alſo (which thing to touch in a word ſhall ſuffice) that as in this reſpect they have their Law, which Law directeth them in the means whereby they tend to their own perfection; ſo likewiſe another Law there is, which toucheth them as they are ſociable parts united into one Body: A Law which bindeth them each to ſerve unto others good, and all to prefer the good of the whole,

Theophraſt. in Metaph.

Ariſt. Rhet. 1. cap. 39.

Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίρην ἕκαςον ἐκπληροῖ ϗ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ϗ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖον· ἃ πρήσσȣσιν, ȣ̓κ οἴδασιν, ἃ δὲ πρήσσȣσι δοκέȣσιν εἰδέναι, ϗ τὰ μὲν ὁρῶσι ȣ̓ γινώσκȣσι

Acts 17. 28.

(*e*) Form in other Creatures is a thing proportionable unto the ſoul in living Creatures. Senſible it is not, nor otherwiſe diſcernable than only by effects. According to the diverſity of inward, forms, things of the World are diſtinguiſhed into their kinds.

Vide. Thom. *in Compend. Theol. cap.* 3. *Omne quod movetur ab aliquo eſt quaſi inſtrumentum quoddam primi moventis. Ridiculum eſt autem etiam apud indoctos ponere inſtrumentum moveri non ab aliquo principali agente.*

before whatſoever their own particular, as we plainly ſee they do, when things natural in that regard, forget their ordinary natural wont: That which is heavy, mounting ſometime upwards of its own accord, and forſaking the Centre of the Earth, which to it ſelf is moſt natural, even as if it did hear it ſelf commanded to let go the good it privately wiſheth, and to relieve the preſent diſtreſs of Nature in common.

The Law which Angels do work by.
Pſal. 104. 4.
Heb. 1. 7.
Eph. 3. 10.
Dan. 7. 10.
Matth. 26 53.
Heb. 12. 22.
Luke 2. 13.
Matth. 6. 10 & 18. 10.
Pſ. 91. 11, 12.
Luke 15. 7.
Heb. 1. 14.
Act. 10. 3.
Dan. 9. 23.
Matth. 18. 10.
Dan. 4. 10.
Τῷ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παρεςᾶσιν πολύμοχθοι Ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται. *Ariſt.* Metaph. 12. cap. 7.
Job 38. 7.
Matth. 18. 10.
Pſal. 148. 2.
Heb. 1. 6.
Iſai. 6. 3.
This is intimated whereſoever we find them termed the Sons of God, as Job 1. 6 & 38. 7.
2 Pet. 2. 4.
Jude verſ. 6.
Pſal. 148. 2.
Luke 2. 13.
Matth. 26 53.
Pſal. 148. 2.
Heb. 12. 22.
Apoc. 22. 9.

4. But now that we may lift up our Eyes (as it were) from the Foot-ſtool to the Throne of God, and leaving theſe Natural, conſider a little the ſtate of Heavenly and Divine Creatures: Touching Angels, which are Spirits Immaterial and Intellectual, the glorious Inhabitants of thoſe Sacred Palaces, where nothing but Light and Bleſſed Immortality, no ſhadow of matter for tears, diſcontentments, griefs, and uncomfortable paſſions to work upon; but all joy, tranquillity, and peace, even for ever and ever doth dwell. As in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royal Armies, ſo likewiſe in perfection of obedience unto that Law, which the Higheſt, whom they adore, love and imitate, hath impoſed upon them, ſuch obſervants they are thereof, that our Saviour himſelf being to ſet down the perfect *Idea* of that which we are to pray and wiſh for on Earth, did not teach to pray or wiſh for more, than only that here it might be with us, as with them it is in Heaven. God, which moveth meer natural Agents as an efficient only, doth otherwiſe move Intellectual Creatures, and eſpecially his holy Angels: For beholding the Face of God, in admiration of ſo great excellency, they all adore him; and being rapt with the love of his Beauty, they cleave inſeparably for ever unto him. Deſire to reſemble him in goodneſs, maketh them unweariable and even unſatiable in their longing, to do by all means all manner of good unto all the Creatures of God, but eſpecially unto the Children of Men; in the countenance of whoſe nature looking downward they behold themſelves beneath themſelves, even as upward in God, beneath whom themſelves are, they ſee that character, which is no where but in themſelves and us, reſembled. Thus far even the Painims have approached; thus far they have ſeen into the doings of the Angels of God; *Orpheus* confeſſing, that the Fiery Throne of God is attended on by thoſe moſt induſtrious Angels, careful how all things are performed amongſt Men; and the Mirror of Human Wiſdom plainly teaching, that God moveth Angels, even as that thing doth ſtir Man's heart, which is thereunto preſented amiable. Angelical Actions may therefore be reduced unto theſe three general kinds. Firſt, Moſt delectable Love ariſing from the viſible apprehenſion of the Purity, Glory and Beauty of God inviſible, ſaving only unto Spirits that are pure: Secondly, Adoration grounded upon the evidence of the greatneſs of God, on whom they ſee how all things depend: Thirdly, Imitation bred by the Preſence of his exemplary goodneſs, who ceaſeth not before them daily to fill Heaven and Earth with the rich treaſures of moſt free and undeſerved Grace. Of Angels, we are not to conſider only what they are, and do, in regard of their own Being, but that alſo which concerneth them as they are linked into a kind of Corporation amongſt themſelves, and of Society or Fellowſhip with Men. Conſider Angels, each of them ſeverally in himſelf, and their Law is that which the Prophet *David* mentioneth, *All ye his Angels praiſe him.* Conſider the Angels of God aſſociated, and their Law is that which diſpoſeth them as an *Army*, one in order and degree above another. Conſider finally the Angels, as having with us that communion which the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* noteth; and in regard whereof Angels have not diſdained to profeſs themſelves our *fellow-ſervants.* From hence there ſpringeth up a third Law, which bindeth them to works of Miniſterial employment. Every of which their ſeveral Functions are by them performed with joy. A part of the Angels of God notwithſtanding (we know) have fallen, and that their fall hath been through the voluntary breach of that Law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exerciſe of their high and admirable vertue. Impoſſible it was, that ever their will ſhould change or incline to remit any part of their duty, without ſome object having force to avert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection of bliſs, wherein now the elect Angels are without poſſibility of falling. Of any thing more than of God they could not by any means like, as long as whatſoever they knew beſides God, they apprehended it not in it ſelf without dependency upon God; becauſe ſo long God muſt needs ſeem infinitely better than any thing which they could apprehend. Things beneath them could not in ſuch ſort be preſented unto their Eyes, but that therein they muſt needs ſee always, how thoſe things did depend on God. It ſeemeth therefore that there was no other way for Angels to Sin, but by reflex of their underſtanding upon themſelves; when being held with admiration of their own ſublimity and honour, the memory of their ſubordination unto God, and their dependency on him was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their adoration, love and imitation of God, could not chooſe but be alſo interrupted. The fall of Angels therefore was Pride: Since their fall, their practices have been the clean contrary unto thoſe before mentioned; for being diſperſed, ſome in the Air, ſome on the Earth, ſome in the Water, ſome amongſt the Minerals, Dens and Caves that are under the Earth; they have, by all means, laboured to effect an Univerſal Rebellion againſt the Laws, and as far as in them lieth, utter deſtruction of the Works, of God. Theſe wicked ſpirits the Heathens honoured inſtead of Gods, both generally under the name of *Dii inferi*, Gods Infernal, and particularly, ſome in Oracles, ſome in Idols, ſome as Houſhold-Gods, ſome as Nymphs: In a word, no foul, and wicked ſpirit, which was not one way or other honoured of Men as God, till ſuch time as light appeared in the World, and diſſolved the works of the Devil. Thus much herefore may ſuffice for Angels, the next unto whom in degree are Men.

Joh. 8. 44.
1 Pet. 5. 8.
Apoc. 9. 11.
Gen 3. 15.
1 Chro. 21. 1.
Job 1. 7. & 2. 5.
John 13. 27.
Acts 5. 3.
Apoc. 20. 8.

5. God alone excepted, who actually and everlaſtingly is whatſoever he may be, and which cannot hereafter be that which now he is not; all other things beſides are ſomewhat in poſſibility, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cauſe there is in all things an appetite or deſire, whereby they incline to ſomething which they may be; and when they are it, they ſhall be perfecter than now they are. All which Perfections are contained under the general name of *Goodneſs*. And becauſe there is not in the World any thing, whereby another may not ſome way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. Again, ſith there can be no goodneſs deſired, which proceedeth not from God himſelf, as from the ſupream cauſe of all things; and every effect doth after a ſort contain, at leaſt-wiſe reſemble the cauſe from which it proceedeth: All things in the World are ſaid, in ſome ſort, to ſeek the higheſt, and to covet more or leſs the participation of God himſelf; yet this doth no where ſo much appear, as it doth in Man, becauſe there are ſo many kinds of Perfections, which Man ſeeketh. The firſt degree of Goodneſs is that General Perfection, which all things do ſeek in deſiring the continuance of their Being; all things therefore coveting, as much as may be, to be like unto God in Being ever, that which cannot hereunto attain perſonally, doth ſeek to continue it ſelf another way, that is, by Off-ſpring and Propagation. The next degree of Goodneſs is that, which each thing coveteth by affecting reſemblance with God in the conſtancy and excellency of thoſe operations, which belong unto their kind. The Immutability of God they ſtrive unto, by working either always, or for the moſt part, after one and the ſame manner; his abſolute exactneſs they imitate, by tending unto that which is moſt exquiſite in every particular. Hence have riſen a number of Axioms in Philoſophy, ſhewing, how *the works of nature do always aim at that which cannot be bettered.* Theſe two kinds of Goodneſs rehearſed are ſo nearly united to the things themſelves which deſire them, that we ſcarcely perceive the appetite to ſtir in reaching forth her hand towards them. But the deſire of thoſe Perfections, which grow externally, is more apparent; eſpecially of ſuch as are not expreſly deſired, unleſs they be firſt known, or ſuch as are not for any other cauſe, than for Knowledge it ſelf deſired. Concerning Perfections in this kind, that by proceeding in the Knowledge of Truth, and by growing in the exerciſe of Vertue, Man, amongſt the Creatures of this inferiour World, aſpireth to the greateſt Conformity with God: This is not only known unto us, whom he himſelf hath ſo inſtructed, but even they do acknowledge, who amongſt Men are not judged the neareſt unto him. With *Plato* what one thing more uſual, than to excite Men unto the love of Wiſdom, by ſhewing, how much wiſe Men are thereby exalted above Men; how knowledge doth raiſe them up into Heaven; how it maketh them, though not Gods, yet as Gods, high, admirable and divine? And *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* ſpeaking of the vertues of a righteous Soul, *Such ſpirits* (ſaith he) *are never cloyed with praiſing and ſpeaking well of all Men, with doing good unto every one by word and deed, becauſe they ſtudy to frame themſelves according to* THE PATTERN *of the Father of Spirits.*

The Law whereby Man is in his Actions directed to the imitation of God.

Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ὀρέγεται. *Ariſt.* de An. lib. 2. cap. 4.

Ἐν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον, ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον. ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον. *Ariſt.* 2. de Cœl. cap. 5. Matth. 5. 48. Sap. 7. 27.

Ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον οὐδέποτε ἔχει, ὑμνοῦσα, εὐφημοῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντας εὐποιοῦσα, μιμουμένη αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα.

6. In the Matter of Knowledge, there is between the Angels of God, and the Children of Men this difference: Angels already have full and compleat knowledge in the higheſt degree that can be imparted unto them: Men, if we view them in their Spring, are at the firſt without underſtanding or knowledge at all. Nevertheleſs, from this utter vacuity they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be even as the Angels themſelves are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other ſhall attain unto in the end; they are not ſo far disjoyned and ſevered, but that they come at length to meet. The Soul of Man being therefore at the firſt as a Book, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to ſearch by what ſteps and degrees it riſeth unto Perfection of Knowledge. Unto that which hath been already ſet down, concerning Natural Agents, this we muſt add, That albeit therein we have compriſed as well Creatures living, as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath Men; nevertheleſs, a difference we muſt obſerve between thoſe Natural Agents that work altogether unwittingly; and thoſe which have, though weak, yet ſome underſtanding what they do, as Fiſhes, Fowls, and Beaſts have. Beaſts are in ſenſible capacity as ripe, even as Men themſelves, perhaps more ripe. For as Stones, though in dignity of Nature, inferiour unto Plants, yet exceed them in firmneſs of ſtrength, or durability of Being; and Plants, though beneath the excellency of Creatures endued with ſenſe, yet exceed them in the Faculty of Vegetation, and of Fertility: So Beaſts, though otherwiſe behind Men, may notwithſtanding in actions of Senſe and Fancy go beyond them; becauſe the endeavours of Nature, when it hath an higher perfection to ſeek, are in lower the more remiſs, not eſteeming thereof ſo much as thoſe things do, which have no better propoſed unto them. The Soul of Man therefore, being capable of a more Divine Perfection, hath (beſides the Faculties of growing unto ſenſible knowledge, which is common unto us with Beaſts) a further ability, whereof in them there is no ſhew at all, the ability of reaching * higher than unto ſenſible things. Till we grow to ſome ripeneſs of Years, the Soul of Man doth only ſtore it ſelf with conceits of things of inferiour and more open quality, which afterwards do ſerve as Inſtruments unto that which is greater; in the mean while, above the reach of meaner Creatures it aſcendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing above this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradiction in Speech, we then count it to have ſome uſe of Natural Reaſon. Whereunto if afterwards there might be added the right helps of true Art and Learning (which helps, I muſt plainly confeſs, this age of the World, carrying the name of a Learned Age, doth neither much know, nor greatly regard) there would undoubtedly be almoſt as great difference in maturity of judgement between Men therewith inured, and that which now Men are, as between

Mens firſt beginning to grow to the knowledge of that Law which they are to obſerve. Vide Iſai. 7. 16.

* Ὁ δ᾽ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ οἶδε ποῖα μέν ἐστιν αὐτῷ ὑψηλά, ποῖα δὲ ταπεινά, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οὐδὲ τὴν γῆν καταλιπὼν ἄνω γίνεται. *Mer. Triſ.*

Ariſtotelical demonſtration.

Ramiſtry.

between Men that are now, and Innocents. Which ſpeech if any condemn, as being over-hyperbolical, let them conſider but this one thing: No Art is at the firſt finding out ſo perfect, as Induſtry may after make it; yet the very firſt Man, that to any purpoſe knew the way we ſpeak of, and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more, very near, in all parts of Natural Knowledge, than ſithence in any one part thereof the whole World beſides hath done. In the poverty of that other new deviſed aid, two things there are notwithſtanding ſingular. Of marvellous quick diſpatch it is, and doth ſhew them that have it, as much almoſt in three Days, as if it had dwelt threeſcore Years with them. Again, becauſe the curioſity of Man's wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the ſearch of things, than were convenient; the ſame is thereby reſtrained unto ſuch generalities, as every where offering themſelves, are apparent unto Men of the weakeſt conceit that need be: So as following the Rules and Precepts thereof, we may find it to be an Art, which teacheth the way of ſpeedy Diſcourſe, and reſtraineth the mind of Man, that it may not wax over-wiſe. Education and Inſtruction are the means, the one by uſe, the other by precept, to make our Natural Faculty of Reaſon, both the better, and the ſooner able to judge rightly between Truth and Error, Good and Evil. But at what time a Man may be ſaid to have attained ſo far forth the uſe of Reaſon, as ſufficeth to make him capable of thoſe Laws, whereby he is then bound to guide his actions: This is a great deal more eaſie for common ſenſe to diſcern, than for any Man by skill and learning to determine; even as it is not in Philoſophers, who beſt know the nature both of Fire and Gold, to teach what degree of the one will ſerve to purifie the other, ſo well as the Artizan (which doth this by fire) diſcerneth by Senſe, when the fire hath that degree of heat, which ſufficeth for his purpoſe.

Of Mans Will, which is the thing that Laws of Action are made to guide. Epheſ. 4. 23.

Saluſt.

Matth. 6. 2.

Deut. 30. 19.

7. By Reaſon Man attaineth unto the knowledge of things that are, and are not ſenſible; it reſteth therefore, that we ſearch how Man attaineth unto the knowledge of ſuch things unſenſible, as are to be known, that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can move, unleſs there be ſome end, the deſire whereof provoketh unto motion: How ſhould that Divine Power of the Soul, that *Spirit of our Mind*, as the Apoſtle termeth it, ever ſtir it ſelf unto action, unleſs it have alſo the like ſpur? The end for which we are moved to work, is ſometimes the goodneſs which we conceive of the very working it ſelf, without any further reſpect at all; and the cauſe that procureth action, is the meer deſire of action, no other good beſides being thereby intended. Of certain turbulent wits it is ſaid, *Illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur.* They thought the very diſturbance of things eſtabliſhed, an hire ſufficient to ſet them on work. Sometimes that which we do is referred to a further end, without the deſire whereof we would leave the ſame undone, as in their actions that gave Alms, to purchaſe thereby the praiſe of Men. Man in Perfection of Nature, being made according to the likeneſs of his Maker, reſembleth him alſo in the manner of working; ſo that whatſoever we work as Men, the ſame we do wittingly work, and freely: Neither are we, according to the manner of Natural Agents, any way ſo tyed, but that it is in our power to leave the things we do undone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which conſiſteth in the very doing it ſelf, cauſeth not action, unleſs apprehending it as good, we ſo like and deſire it. That we do unto any ſuch end, the ſame we chooſe and prefer before the leaving of it undone. Choice there is not, unleſs the thing which we take, be ſo in our power, that we might have refuſed and left it. If fire conſume the ſtubble, it chooſeth not ſo to do, becauſe the nature thereof is ſuch, that it can do no other. To chooſe, is to will one thing before another; and to will, is to bend our Souls to the having or doing of that which they ſee to be good. Goodneſs is ſeen with the Eye of the Underſtanding, and the Light of that Eye is Reaſon: So that two Principal Fountains there are of Human Action, *Knowledge* and *Will*; which Will, in things tending towards any end, is termed *Choice*. Concerning Knowledge, *Behold*, ſaith *Moſes*, *I have ſet before you this Day, good and evil, life and death.* Concerning Will, he addeth immediately, *Chooſe life*; that is to ſay, the things that tend unto Life, them chooſe: But of one thing we muſt have ſpecial care, as being a matter of no ſmall moment, and that is, How the Will properly and ſtrictly taken, as it is of things which are referred unto the end that Man deſireth, differeth greatly from that inferiour natural deſire, which we call Appetite. The object of Appetite is, whatſoever ſenſible good may be wiſhed for; the object of Will is, that good which Reaſon doth lead us to ſeek. Affections, as Joy, and Grief, and Fear, and Anger, with ſuch like, being, as it were, the ſundry faſhions and forms of Appetite, can neither riſe at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet chooſe but riſe at the ſight of ſome things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be ſtirred with Affections, or no. Whereas Actions which iſſue from the diſpoſition of the Will, are in the Power thereof to be performed or ſtayed. Finally, Appetite is the Wills Sollicitor, and the Will is Appetites Controller; what we covet according to the one, by the other we often reject: Neither is any other deſire termed properly Will, but that where Reaſon and Underſtanding, or the ſhew of Reaſon, preſcribeth the thing deſired. It may be therefore a queſtion, Whether thoſe operations of Men are to be counted voluntary, wherein that good which is ſenſible, provoketh Appetite, and Appetite cauſeth Action, Reaſon being never called to counſel; as when we eat or drink, or betake our ſelves unto reſt, and ſuch like. The truth is, that ſuch actions in Men having attained to the uſe of Reaſon, are voluntary: For as the Authority of higher Powers hath force even in thoſe things, which are done without their privity, and are of ſo mean reckoning, that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not: In like ſort, voluntarily we are ſaid to do that alſo, which the Will, if it liſted, might hinder from being done, although

about the doing thereof we do not expreſly uſe our Reaſon or Underſtanding, and ſo immediately apply our Wills thereunto. In caſes therefore of ſuch facility, the Will doth yield her aſſent, as it were, with a kind of ſilence, by not diſſenting; in which reſpect, her force is not ſo apparent, as in expreſs Mandates or Prohibitions, eſpecially upon advice and conſultation going before. Where Underſtanding therefore needeth, in thoſe things Reaſon is the Director of Man's Will, by diſcovering in Action what is good: For the Laws of Well-doing are the Dictates of right Reaſon. Children, which are not as yet come unto thoſe Years whereat they may have; again, Innocents, which are excluded by Natural Defect from ever having; thirdly, Mad-men, which for the preſent cannot poſſibly have the uſe of right Reaſon to guide themſelves, have for their Guide the Reaſon that guideth other Men, which are Tutors over them, to ſeek and to procure their good for them. In the reſt there is that Light of Reaſon, whereby good may be known from evil; and which diſcovering the ſame rightly, is termed right. The Will notwithſtanding doth not incline to have, or do that which Reaſon teacheth to be good, unleſs the ſame do alſo teach it to be poſſible. For albeit the Appetite, being more general, may wiſh any thing which ſeemeth good, be it never ſo impoſſible; yet for ſuch things, the reaſonable Will of Man doth never ſeek. Let Reaſon teach impoſſibility in any thing, and the Will of Man doth let it go; a thing impoſſible it doth not affect, the impoſſibility thereof being manifeſt. There is in the Will of Man naturally that freedom, whereby it is apt to take or refuſe any particular object whatſoever, being preſented unto it. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no particular object ſo good, but it may have the ſhew of ſome difficulty or unpleaſant quality annexed to it; in reſpect whereof, the Will may ſhrink and decline it: Contrariwiſe (for ſo things are blended) there is no particular evil which hath not ſome appearance of goodneſs whereby to inſinuate it ſelf: For evil, as evil, cannot be deſired; if that be deſired which is evil, the cauſe is the goodneſs which is, or ſeemeth to be joyned with it. Goodneſs doth not move by being, but by being apparent; and therefore many things are neglected, which are moſt precious, only becauſe the value of them lyeth hid. Senſible Goodneſs is moſt apparent, near, and preſent; which cauſeth the Appetite to be therewith ſtrongly provoked. Now Purſuit and Refuſal in the Will do follow, the one the Affirmation, the other the Negation of Goodneſs; which the Underſtanding apprehendeth, grounding it-ſelf upon Senſe, unleſs ſome higher Reaſon do chance to teach the contrary. And if Reaſon have taught it rightly to be good, yet not ſo apparently, that the Mind receiveth it with utter impoſſibility of being otherwiſe; ſtill there is place left for the Will to take or leave. Whereas therefore, amongſt ſo many things as are to be done, there are ſo few, the goodneſs whereof Reaſon in ſuch ſort doth, or eaſily can diſcover, we are not to marvel at the choice of evil, even then when the contrary is probably known. Hereby it cometh to paſs, that Cuſtom inuring the Mind by long practice, and ſo leaving there a ſenſible Impreſſion, prevaileth more than reaſonable Perſwaſion what way ſoever. Reaſon therefore may rightly diſcern the thing which is good, and yet the Will of Man not incline it ſelf thereunto, as oft as the prejudice of ſenſible Experience doth over-ſway: Nor let any Man think, that this doth make any thing for the juſt excuſe of Iniquity; for there was never ſin committed, wherein a leſs good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot be done without the ſingular diſgrace of Nature, and the utter diſturbance of that Divine Order, whereby the preheminence of chiefeſt Acceptation, is by the beſt things worthily challenged. There is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough for it ſelf, if Reaſon were diligent to ſearch it out. Through neglect thereof, abuſed we are with the ſhew of that which is not; ſometimes the ſubtilty of Satan inveigling us, as it did *Eve* (*a*); ſometimes the haſtineſs of our Wills preventing the more conſiderate Advice of ſound Reaſon, as in the (*b*) Apoſtles, when they no ſooner ſaw what they liked not, but they forthwith were deſirous of fire from Heaven; ſometimes the very cuſtom of evil making the heart obdurate againſt whatſoever inſtructions to the contrary, as in them, over whom our Saviour ſpake weeping, (*c*) *O Jeruſalem, how often, and thou wouldſt not?* Still therefore that wherewith we ſtand blameable, and can no way excuſe it, is, In doing evil, we prefer a leſs good before a greater, the greatneſs whereof is by Reaſon inveſtigable, and may be known. The ſearch of Knowledge is a thing painful; and the painfulneſs of Knowledge is that which maketh the Will ſo hardly inclinable thereunto. The Root hereof, Divine Malediction; whereby the * Inſtruments being weakned, wherewithal the Soul (eſpecially in reaſoning) doth work, it preferreth reſt in Ignorance, before weariſome labour to know. For a ſpur of Diligence therefore, we have a natural thirſt after knowledge ingrafted in us. But by Reaſon of that original weakneſs in the Inſtruments, without which the Underſtanding part is not able in this World by diſcourſe to work, the very conceit of painfulneſs is as a bridle to ſtay us. For which cauſe the Apoſtle, who knew right well that the wearineſs of the fleſh is an heavy clog to the Will, ſtriketh mightily upon this Key, *Awake thou that ſleepeſt, caſt off all which preſſeth down; watch, labour, ſtrive to go forward, and to grow in knowledge.*

O mihi prateritos referat ſi Jupiter *annos!*

'Ει γὰρ τις ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁρμᾷ, πρῶτον μὲν ὀυχ ὡς ἐπὶ κακίαν αὐτὴν ὁρμήσει, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθόν. *Paulo poſt.* 'Αδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμᾷν ἐπὶ κακὰ βουλόμενον ἔχειν αὐτὰ, οὔτε ἐλπίδι ἀγαθοῦ, οὔτε φόβῳ μείζονος κακοῦ. *Alcin. de Dog. Plat.*

(*a*) 2 Cor. 11. 3.
(*b*) Luke 9. 54.
(*c*) Matth. 23. 37.

* Sap. 9. 15. A corruptible Body is heavy unto the Soul, and the earthly Manſion keepeth down the Mind, that is full of cares. And hardly can we diſcern the things that are upon Earth, and with great labour find we out the things which are before us. Who can then ſeek out the things that are in Heaven?

Epheſ. 5. 14.
Heb. 12. 1. 12.
1 Cor. 16. 15.
Prov. 2. 4.
Luke 13. 24.

Of the Natural way of finding out Laws by Reaſon, to guide the Will unto that which is good.

8. Wherefore to return to our former intent of diſcovering the Natural way, whereby Rules have been found out concerning that Goodneſs, wherewith the Will of Man ought to be moved in Human Actions; as every thing naturally and neceſſarily doth deſire the utmoſt Good and greateſt Perfection, whereof Nature hath made it capable, even ſo Man. Our felicity therefore being the object and accompliſhment of our deſire, we cannot chooſe but wiſh and covet it. All particular things which are ſubject unto Action, the Will doth ſo far forth incline unto, as Reaſon judgeth them the better for us, and conſequently the

more available to our bliſs. If Reaſon err, we fall into evil, and are ſo far forth deprived of the general Perfection we ſeek. Seeing therefore that for the framing of Mens Actions the knowledge of good from evil is neceſſary, it only reſteth, that we ſearch how this may be had: Neither muſt we ſuppoſe, that there needeth one Rule to know the good, and another the evil by. For he that knoweth what is ſtrait, doth even thereby diſcern what is crooked, becauſe the abſence of ſtraitneſs in bodies capable thereof is crookedneſs. Goodneſs in Actions is like unto ſtraitneſs, wherefore that which is done well we term right: For as the ſtrait way is moſt acceptable to him that travelleth, becauſe by it he cometh ſooneſt to his journeys end; ſo in Action, that which doth lye the eveneſt between us and the end we deſire, muſt needs be the fitteſt for our uſe. Beſides which fitneſs for uſe, there is alſo in Rectitude, Beauty; as contrariwiſe in obliquity, Deformity. And that which is good in the Actions of Men doth not only delight as profitable, but as amiable alſo. In which conſideration, the *Grecians* moſt divinely have given to the Active perfection of Men, a name expreſſing both Beauty and Goodneſs; becauſe Goodneſs, in ordinary ſpeech, is for the moſt part applyed only to that which is beneficial: But we in the name of Goodneſs do here imply both. And of diſcerning Goodneſs there are but theſe two ways, the one, the knowledge of the cauſes whereby it is made ſuch; the other, the obſervation of thoſe ſigns and tokens, which being annexed always unto Goodneſs, argue, That where they are found, there alſo Goodneſs is, although we know not the cauſe, by force whereof it is there. The former of theſe is the moſt ſure and infallible way, but ſo hard, that all ſhun it, and had rather walk as Men do in the dark, by hap-hazard, than tread ſo long and intricate Mazes for Knowledge ſake. As therefore Phyſicians are many times forced to leave ſuch Methods of curing, as themſelves know to be the fitteſt, and being over-ruled by their Patients impatience, are fain to try the beſt they can, in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yield unto: In like ſort, conſidering how the caſe doth ſtand with this preſent Age full of Tongue and weak of Brain, behold we yield to the ſtream thereof; into the Cauſes of Goodneſs we will not make any curious or deep inquiry; to touch them now and then it ſhall be ſufficient, when they are ſo near at hand, that eaſily they may be conceived without any far removed diſcourſe: That way we are contented to prove, which being the worſe in it ſelf, is notwithſtanding now by reaſon of common imbecillity the fitter and likelier to be brooked. Signs and Tokens to know good by, are of ſundry kinds; ſome more certain, and ſome leſs: The moſt certain token of evident Goodneſs is, if the general perſwaſion of all Men do ſo account it. And therefore a common received Error is never utterly overthrown, till ſuch times as we go from Signs unto Cauſes, and ſhew ſome manifeſt Root or Fountain thereof common unto all, whereby it may clearly appear how it hath come to paſs, that ſo many have been overſeen. In which caſe ſurmiſes and ſlight probabilities will not ſerve, becauſe the univerſal conſent of Men is the perfecteſt and ſtrongeſt in this kind, which comprehendeth only the ſigns and tokens of Goodneſs. Things caſual do vary, and that which a Man doth but chance to think well of, cannot ſtill have the like hap. Wherefore although we know not the cauſe, yet thus much we may know, that ſome neceſſary cauſe there is, whenſoever the judgements of all Men generally, or for the moſt part, run one and the ſame way, eſpecially in matters of natural diſcourſe: For of things neceſſarily and naturally done there is no more affirmed but this. (*a*) *They keep either always, or for the moſt part, one Tenor.* The general and perpetual voice of Men is as the Sentence of God himſelf. (*b*) For that which all Men have at all times learned, Nature her ſelf muſt needs have taught; and God being the Author of Nature, her voice is but his Inſtrument. By her, from him, we receive whatſoever in ſuch ſort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the goodneſs whereof is by this rule ſufficiently manifeſted, although we had no other warrant beſides to approve them. The Apoſtle St. *Paul* having ſpeech concerning the Heathen ſaith of them, (*c*) *They are a Law unto themſelves.* His meaning is, that by force of the Light of Reaſon, wherewith God illuminateth every one which cometh into the World, Men being enabled to know truth from falſhood, and good from evil, do thereby learn in many things what the Will of God is, which Will himſelf not revealing by any extraordinary means unto them, but they by natural diſcourſe attaining the knowledge thereof, ſeem the Makers of thoſe Laws which indeed are his, and they but only the finders of them out. A Law therefore generally taken is a directive rule unto goodneſs of operation. The rule of Divine Operations outward, is the definitive appointment of God's own Wiſdom ſet down within himſelf. The rule of Natural Agents that work by ſimple neceſſity, is the determination of the Wiſdom of God, known to God himſelf the Principal Director of them, but not unto them that are directed to execute the ſame. The rule of Natural Agents which work after a ſort of their own accord, as the Beaſts do, is the judgement of common ſenſe or fancy, concerning the ſenſible goodneſs of thoſe objects wherewith they are moved. The rule of Ghoſtly or Immaterial Natures, as Spirits and Angels, is their intuitive intellectual judgement concerning the amiable beauty and high goodneſs of that object, which with unſpeakable joy and delight doth ſet them on work. The rule of Voluntary Agents on Earth, is the ſentence that reaſon giveth concerning the goodneſs of thoſe things which they are to do: And the ſentences which Reaſon giveth, are ſome more, ſome leſs general, before it come to define in particular actions, what is good. The main principles of Reaſon are in themſelves apparent. For to make nothing evident of it ſelf unto Man's underſtanding, were to take away all poſſibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of *Theophraſtus* is true, *They that ſeek a reaſon of all things do utterly overthrow Reaſon:*

Τῷ εὐθεῖ ϗ αὐτὸ ϗ τὸ καμπύλον γινώσκομεν. Κριτὴς γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ὁ κανών. *Ariſt. de An. lib.* 1.

Καλοκαγαθία.

(*a*) Ἢ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὡσαύτως ἀποβαίνει. *Ariſt. Rhet.* 1. *Cap.* 39.

(b) *Non poteſt error contingere, ubi omnes idem opinantur.* Monticat. in 1. Polit. *Quicquid in omnibus individuis unius ſpeciei communiter ineſt, id cauſam communem habeat oportet, quæ eſt eorum individuorum ſpecies & natura.* Idem. *Quod à tota aliqua ſpecie fit, univerſalis particularisq; naturæ fit inſtinctu.* Ficin. de Chriſt. Rel. *Si proficere cupis, primò firmè id verum puta quod ſana mens omnium hominum atteſtatur.* Cuſa. in Compend. cap. 1. *Non licet naturale univerſaleque hominum judicium falſum vanumque exiſtimare.* Teleſ. Ὃ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φαμέν. ὁ δὲ ἀναιρῶν ταύτην τὴν πίστιν οὐ πάνυ πιστότερα ἐρεῖ. *Ariſt. Eth* 10. *cap.* 2.

(*c*) Rom 2 14.

Ἁπάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιροῦσι λόγον. *Theoph in Metaph.*

ſon. In every kind of Knowledge ſome ſuch grounds there are, as that being propoſed, the Mind doth preſently embrace them as free from all poſſibility of Error, clear and manifeſt without proof. In which kind, Axioms or Principles more general are ſuch as this, *That the greater good is to be choſen before the leſs.* If therefore it ſhould be demanded, what reaſon there is why the will of Man, which doth neceſſarily ſhun harm, and covet whatſoever is pleaſant and ſweet, ſhould be commanded to count the pleaſures of ſin, Gall, and notwithſtanding the bitter Accidents wherewith Virtuous Actions are compaſs'd, yet ſtill to rejoyce and delight in them: Surely this could never ſtand with Reaſon, but that Wiſdom thus preſcribing, groundeth her Laws upon an infallible rule of Compariſon, which is, That ſmall difficulties, when exceeding great good is ſure to enſue; and on the other ſide momentary benefits, when the hurt which they draw after them is unſpeakable, are not at all to be reſpected. This rule is the ground whereupon the Wiſdom of the Apoſtle buildeth a law, enjoyning patience unto himſelf, *The preſent lightneſs of our affliction worketh unto us, even with abundance upon abundance, an eternal weight of glory: while we look not on the things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen: For the things which are ſeen are temporal; but the things which are not ſeen are eternal.* Therefore Chriſtianity to be embraced, whatſoever calamities in thoſe times it was accompanied withal. Upon the ſame ground our Saviour proveth the Law moſt reaſonable, that doth forbid thoſe crimes, which Men for gains ſake fall into. For a Man to win the World, if it be with the loſs of his Soul, what benefit or good is it? Axioms leſs general, yet ſo manifeſt, that they need no farther proof, are ſuch as theſe, *God to be worſhipped; Parents to be honoured; Others to be uſed by us, as we our ſelves would be by them.* Such things, as ſoon as they are alledged, all Men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or further diſcourſe to be aſſured of their goodneſs. Notwithſtanding whatſoever ſuch principle there is, it was at the firſt found out by diſcourſe, and drawn from out of the very Bowels of Heaven and Earth: For we are to note, that things in the World are to us diſcernible, not only ſo far forth as ſerveth for our vital preſervation, but further alſo in a two-fold higher reſpect. For firſt, if all other uſes were utterly taken away, yet the Mind of Man being by Nature ſpeculative and delighted with contemplation in it ſelf, they were to be known even for meer knowledge and underſtandings ſake. Yea further beſides this, the knowledge of every the leaſt thing in the World hath in it a ſecond peculiar benefit unto us, in as much as it ſerveth to Miniſter Rules, Canons, and Laws for Men to direct thoſe actions by, which we properly term Human. This did the very Heathens themſelves obſcurely inſinuate, by making *Themis*, which we call *Jus* or Right, to be the Daughter of Heaven and Earth. We know things, either as they are in themſelves, or as they are in mutual relation one to another. The knowledge of that which Man is in reference unto himſelf, and other things in relation unto Man, I may juſtly term the Mother of all thoſe Principles, which are as it were Edicts, Statutes and Decrees, in that Law of Nature, whereby Human Actions are framed. Firſt therefore, having obſerved that the beſt things, where they are not hindred, do ſtill produce the beſt Operations; (for which cauſe, where many things are to concur unto one effect, the beſt is in all congruity of Reaſon to guide the reſidue, that it prevailing moſt, the work principally done by it, may have greateſt perfection) when hereupon we come to obſerve in our ſelves of what excellency our Souls are, in compariſon of our Bodies, and the diviner part in relation unto the baſer of our Souls; ſeeing that all theſe concur in producing Human Actions, it cannot be well, unleſs the chiefeſt do command and direct the reſt. The Soul then ought to conduct the Body, and the Spirit of our Minds, the Soul. This is therefore the firſt Law, whereby the higheſt power of the Mind requireth general obedience at the hands of all the reſt concurring with it unto Action. Touching the ſeveral grand Mandates, which being impoſed by the underſtanding Faculty of the Mind, muſt be obeyed by the will of Man, they are by the ſame method found out, whether they import our duty towards God, or towards Man. Touching the one, I may not here ſtand to open, by what degrees of diſcourſe the Minds even of meer Natural Men have attained to know, not only that there is a God, but alſo what Power, Force, Wiſdom, and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore preſuppoſed, from that known relation which God hath unto us (*a*) as unto Children, and unto all good things as unto effects, whereof himſelf is the (*b*) principal cauſe, theſe Axioms and Laws Natural concerning our duty have riſen. (*c*) *That in all things we go about, his aid is by Prayer to be craved*: (*d*) *That he cannot have ſufficient honour done unto him, but the uttermoſt of that we can do to honour him, we muſt*; which is in effect the ſame that we read, (*e*) *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy ſoul, and with all thy mind.* Which Law our Saviour doth term (*f*) *The firſt and the great Commandment.* Touching the next which, as our Saviour addeth, is like unto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largeneſs, in as much as it is the Root out of which all Laws of Duty to Men-ward have grown, as out of the former all Offices of Religion towards God) the like natural inducement hath brought Men to know, that it is their duty no leſs to love others than themſelves. For ſeeing thoſe things which are equal, muſt needs all have one meaſure; If I cannot but wiſh to receive all good, even as much at every Man's hand, as any Man can wiſh unto his own Soul, how ſhould I look to have any part of my deſire herein ſatisfied, unleſs my ſelf be careful to ſatisfie the like deſire, which is undoubtedly in other Men, we all being of one and the ſame Nature? To have any thing offered them repugnant to this deſire, muſt needs in all reſpects grieve them as much as me: So that if I do harm, I muſt look to ſuffer; there being no reaſon that others ſhould ſhew greater meaſure of love to me, than they have by me ſhewed unto them. My deſire therefore to be loved of my equals in nature, as much as poſſible may be, impoſeth upon me a natural duty of bearing

2 Cor. 4. 17.

Matth. 16.26.

Ariſt. Polit. 1. *cap.* 5.

(*a*) Οὐδεὶς Θεὸς δύσνους ἀνθρώποις. *Plat in The. t.*

(*b*) Ὅτι γὰρ Θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχή τις. *Ariſt. Metaph lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.

(*c*) Ἀλλ' ὦ Σώκρατες τοῦτό γε δὴ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφροσύνης μετέχουσιν, ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὁρμῇ καὶ μικροῦ καὶ μεγάλου πράγματος θεὸν ἀεὶ που καλοῦσι. *Plat. in Tim.*

(*d*) *Ariſt. Ethic. lib.* 8. *cap. ult.*

(*e*) Deut. 6. 5.

(*f*) Matth. 22. 38.

to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equality between our ſelves, and them that are as our ſelves, what ſeveral Rules and Canons Natural Reaſon hath drawn for direction of life, no Man is ignorant; as namely, (g) *That becauſe we would take no harm, we muſt therefore do none; that ſith we would not be by any thing extremely dealt with, we muſt our ſelves avoid all extremity in our dealings; that from all violence and wrong we are utterly to abſtain,* with ſuch like; which further to wade in would be tedious, and to our preſent purpoſe not altogether ſo neceſſary, ſeeing that on theſe two general Heads already mentioned, all other ſpecialties are dependent. Wherefore the natural meaſure whereby to judge our doings, is the ſentence of Reaſon determining and ſetting down what is good to be done. Which ſentence is either mandatory, ſhewing what muſt be done; or elſe permiſſive, declaring only what may be done; or thirdly, admonitory, opening what is the moſt convenient for us to do. The firſt taketh place, where the compariſon doth ſtand altogether between doing, and not doing of one thing, which in it ſelf is abſolutely good or evil; as it had been for *Joſeph* to yield or not to yield to the impotent deſire of his leud Miſtreſs, the one evil, the other good, ſimply. The ſecond is, when of divers things evil, all being not evitable, we are permitted to take one; which one, ſaving only in caſe of ſo great urgency, were not otherwiſe to be taken; as in the matter of Divorce amongſt the Jews. The laſt, when of divers things good, one is principal and moſt eminent; as in their act who ſold their Poſſeſſions, and laid the price at the Apoſtles feet; which Poſſeſſions they might have retained unto themſelves without ſin: again in the Apoſtle St. *Paul*'s own choice, to maintain himſelf by his own labour; whereas in living by the Churches maintenance, as others did, there had been no offence committed. In goodneſs therefore there is a latitude or extent, whereby it cometh to paſs, that even of good actions ſome are better than other ſome; whereas otherwiſe one Man could not excell another, but all ſhould either be abſolutely good, as hitting jump that indiviſible Point or Center, wherein goodneſs conſiſteth; or elſe miſſing it, they ſhould be excluded out of the number of well-doers. Degrees of well-doing there could be none, except perhaps in the ſeldomneſs and oftenneſs of doing well: But the Nature of Goodneſs being thus ample, a Law is properly that which Reaſon in ſuch ſort defineth to be good, that it muſt be done. And the Law of Reaſon or Human Nature is that, which Men by diſcourſe of Natural Reaſon have rightly found out themſelves to be all for ever bound unto in their actions. Laws of Reaſon have theſe marks to be known by: Such as keep them reſemble moſt lively in their voluntary actions that very manner of working, which Nature her ſelf doth neceſſarily obſerve in the courſe of the whole World. The Works of Nature are all behoveful, beautiful, without ſuperfluity or defect; even ſo theirs, if they be framed according to that which the Law of Reaſon teacheth. Secondly, Thoſe Laws are inveſtigable by Reaſon, without the help of Revelation Supernatural and Divine. Finally, In ſuch ſort they are inveſtigable, that the knowledge of them is general, the World hath always been acquainted with them, according to that which one in *Sophocles* obſerveth, concerning a Branch of this Law, *It is no child of two days, or yeſterday*'s *birth, but hath been, no Man knoweth how long ſithence.* It is not agreed upon by one or two, or few, but by all; which we may not ſo underſtand, as if every particular Man in the whole World did know and confeſs whatſoever the Law of Reaſon doth contain: But this Law is ſuch, that being propoſed, no Man can reject it as unreaſonable and unjuſt. Again, there is nothing in it, but any Man (having natural perfection of wit, and ripeneſs of judgement) may by labour and travel find out. And to conclude, the general principles thereof are ſuch, as it is not eaſie to find Men ignorant of them. Law Rational therefore, which Men commonly uſe to call the Law of Nature, meaning thereby the Law which Human Nature knoweth it ſelf in Reaſon univerſally bound unto, which alſo for that cauſe may be termed moſt fitly, the Law of Reaſon; this Law, I ſay, comprehendeth all thoſe things, which Men by the Light of their Natural Underſtanding evidently know, or at leaſt-wiſe may know, to be beſeeming or unbeſeeming, virtuous or vicious, good or evil for them to do. Now although it be true, which ſome have ſaid, that whatſoever is done amiſs, the Law of Nature and Reaſon thereby is tranſgreſs'd, becauſe even thoſe offences which are by their ſpecial qualities, breaches of Supernatural Laws, do alſo, for that they are generally evil, violate in general that principle of Reaſon, which willeth univerſally to fly from evil; yet do we not therefore ſo far extend the Law of Reaſon, as to contain in it all manner of Laws whereunto reaſonable Creatures are bound, but (as hath been ſhewed) we reſtrain it to thoſe only duties, which all Men by force of Natural Wit, either do, or might underſtand to be ſuch duties as concern all Men. *Certain half-waking Men there are* (as St. *Auguſtine* noteth) *who neither altogether aſleep in folly, nor yet throughly awake in the light of true underſtanding, have thought that there is not at all any thing juſt and righteous in it ſelf; but look wherewith Nations are inured, the ſame they take to be right and juſt. Whereupon their Concluſion is, That ſeeing each ſort of People hath a different kind of right from other, and that which is right of its own nature muſt be every where one and the ſame; therefore in it ſelf there is nothing right. Theſe good folks* (ſaith he, *that I may not trouble their wits with the rehearſal of too many things*) *have not looked ſo far into the World as to perceive that,* Do as thou wouldſt be done unto, *is a ſentence which all Nations under Heaven are agreed upon. Refer this ſentence to the love of God, and it extinguiſheth all heinous crimes: Refer it to the love of thy Neighbour, and all grievous wrongs it baniſheth out of the World.* Wherefore, as touching the Law of reaſon, this was (it ſeemeth) St. *Auguſtines* judgement; namely, that there are in it ſome things, which ſtand as principles univerſally agreed upon; and that out of thoſe Principles, which are in themſelves evident, the greateſt Moral duties we owe towards God or Man, may without any great difficulty be concluded. If then it be here demand-

(g) *Quod quis in ſe approbat, in alio reprobare non poſſe.* l. in arenam C. de inof. teſt. *Quod quiſque juris in alium ſtatuerit, ipſum quoque eodem uti debere.* l. quod quiſque. *Ab omni penitus injuriâ atque vi abſtinendum.* l. 1. ſect. 1. Quod vi, aut clam.

Matth. 22.40. On theſe two Commandments hangeth the whole Law.

Gen. 39. 9.
Mark 10 4.
Acts 4. 37. & 5. 4.
2 Theſ. 3. 8.

Οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε, κἀχθὲς, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε Ζῇ τοῦτο, κ' οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη. Soph. Ant.

Th. 1, 2. q. 94. art. 3. *Omnia peccata ſunt in univerſum contra rationem & naturæ legem.* Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 12. cap. 1. *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt.*

De Doct. Chr. lib. 3 cap. 14.

demanded, by what means it ſhould come to paſs (the greateſt part of the Law Moral being ſo eaſie for all Men to know) that ſo many thouſands of Men notwithſtanding have been ignorant, even of principal Moral duties, not imagining the breach of them to be ſin: I deny not, but lewd and wicked cuſtom, beginning perhaps at the firſt amongſt few, afterwards ſpreading into greater multitudes, and ſo continuing from time to time, may be of force even in plain things, to ſmother the light of Natural Underſtanding, becauſe Men will not bend their wits to examine, whether things wherewith they have been accuſtomed, be good or evil. For examples ſake, that groſſer kind of Heatheniſh Idolatry, whereby they worſhip the very works of their own hands, was an abſurdity to Reaſon ſo palpable, that the Prophet *David* comparing Idols and Idolaters together, maketh almoſt no odds between them, but the one in a manner as much without wit and ſenſe as the other; *they that make them are like unto them, and ſo are all that* Pſal. 135. 18. *truſt in them*. That wherein an Idolater doth ſeem ſo abſurd and fooliſh, is by the Wiſeman Wiſd. 13. 17. thus expreſt, *He is not aſhamed to ſpeak unto that which hath no life: He calleth on him that is weak, for health: He prayeth for life unto him which is dead: Of him which hath no experience, he requireth help: For his journey, he ſueth to him which is not able to go: For gain, and work, and ſucceſs in his affairs, he ſeeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power.* The cauſe of which ſenſleſs ſtupidity is afterwards imputed to cuſtom. *When a Father mourneth grievouſly* Wiſd. 14. 12. *for his ſon that was taken away ſuddenly, he made an image for him that was once dead, whom now he worſhippeth as a God, ordaining to his ſervants Ceremonies and Sacrifices. Thus by proceſs of time this wicked cuſtom prevailed, and was kept as a Law*; the Authority of Rulers, the Ambition of Craftſmen, and ſuch like means, thruſting forward the ignorant, and increaſing their ſuperſtition. Unto this which the Wiſeman hath ſpoken, ſomewhat beſides may be added. For whatſoever we have hitherto taught, or ſhall hereafter, concerning the Force of Man's natural underſtanding, this we always deſire withal to be underſtood, that there is no kind of faculty or power in Man, or any other Creature, which can rightly perform the Functions allotted to it, without perpetual aid and concurrence of that Supream Cauſe of all things. The benefit whereof, as oft as we cauſe God in his juſtice to withdraw, there can no other thing follow than that which the Apoſtle noteth, even Men endued with the Light of Reaſon, to walk notwithſtanding *in the vanity of their mind, having their cogitations darkned, and being ſtrangers from the* Epheſ. 4. 17. *Life of God, through the ignorance which is in them, becauſe of the hardneſs of their hearts.* And this cauſe is mentioned by the prophet *Iſaiah*, ſpeaking of the ignorance of Idolaters, who ſee not how the manifeſt Law of Reaſon condemneth their groſs iniquity and ſin; They have not in them, ſaith he, ſo much wit as to think, *Shall I bow to the ſtock of a Tree? All knowledge and un-* Iſa. 44. 18, 19. *derſtanding is taken from them, for God hath ſhut their Eyes that they cannot ſee.* That which we ſay in this caſe of Idolatry, ſerveth for all other things, wherein the like kind of general blindneſs hath prevailed againſt the manifeſt laws of Reaſon. Within the compaſs of which Laws, we do not only comprehend whatſoever may be eaſily known to belong to the Duty of all Men; but even whatſoever may poſſibly be known to be of that quality; ſo the ſame be by neceſſary conſequence deduced out of clear and manifeſt principles. For if once we deſcend unto probable Collections what is convenient for Men, we are then in the Territory where free and arbitrary Determinations, the Territory where Human Laws take place, which Laws are after to be conſidered.

9. Now the due obſervation of this Law which Reaſon teacheth us, cannot but be effectual unto their great good that obſerve the ſame. For we ſee the whole World and each part thereof ſo compact, that as long as each thing performeth only that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preſerveth both other things, and alſo it-ſelf. Contrariwiſe, let any principal thing, as the Sun, the Moon, any one of the Heavens or Elements, but once ceaſe, or fail, or ſwerve; and who doth not eaſily conceive, that the ſequel thereof would be ruin both to it-ſelf, and whatſoever dependeth on it? And is it poſſible, that Man being not only the nobleſt Creature in the World, but even a very World in himſelf, his tranſgreſſing the Law of his Nature ſhould draw no manner of harm after it? Yes, *Tribulation and Anguiſh unto every Soul that doth evil:* Good doth follow unto all things by obſerving the courſe of their nature, and on the contrary ſide evil by not obſerving it; but not unto natural Agents that good which we call *Reward*, not that evil which we properly term *Puniſhment*. The reaſon whereof is, becauſe amongſt Creatures in this World, only Man's obſervation of the Law of his Nature is *Righteouſneſs*, only Man's tranſgreſſion *Sin*. And the reaſon of this is, the difference in his manner of obſerving or tranſgreſſing the Law of his Nature. He doth not otherwiſe than voluntarily the one, or the other. What we do againſt our wills, or conſtrainedly, we are not properly ſaid to do it; becauſe the motive cauſe of doing it, is not in our ſelves, but carrieth us; as if the Wind ſhould drive a Feather in the Air, we no whit furthering that whereby we are driven. In ſuch caſes therefore the evil which is done moveth compaſſion; Men are pitied for it as being rather miſerable in ſuch reſpect than culpable. Some things are likewiſe done by Man, though not through outward force and impulſion, though not againſt, yet without their Wills; as in Alienation of Mind, or any the like inevitable utter abſence of Wit and Judgement. For which cauſe, no Man did ever think the hurtful actions of furious Men and Innocents to be puniſhable. Again, ſome things we do, neither againſt nor without, and yet not ſimply and meerly with our Wills; but with our Wills in ſuch ſort moved, that albeit there be no impoſſibility but that we might, nevertheleſs we are not ſo eaſily able to do otherwiſe. In this conſideration, one evil deed is made more pardonable than another. Finally, that which we do being evil, is notwithſtanding by ſo much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of ſo doing, or the

The benefit of keeping that Law, which Reaſon teacheth.

T difficulty

difficulty of doing otherwiſe, is greater; unleſs this neceſſity or difficulty have originally riſen from our ſelves. It is no excuſe therefore unto him, who being drunk committeth inceſt, and alledgeth, that his wits were not his own; in as much as himſelf might have choſen, whether his wits ſhould by that means have been taken from him. Now Rewards and Puniſhments do always preſuppoſe ſomething willingly done, well or ill; without which reſpect, though we may ſometimes receive good or harm, yet then the one is only a Benefit, and not a Reward; the other ſimply an Hurt, not a Puniſhment. From a ſundry diſpoſition of Man's will, which is the root of all actions, there groweth variety in the ſequel of Rewards and Puniſhments, which are by theſe and the like rules meaſured: *Take away the will, and all acts are equal: That which we do not, and would do, is commonly accepted as done.* By theſe and the like rules, Mens actions are determined of, and judged, whether they be in their own Nature, rewardable or puniſhable. Rewards and Puniſhments are not received, but at the hands of ſuch as being above us, have power to examine and judge our deeds. How Men came to have this Authority one over another in External Actions, we ſhall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this Preſent, ſo much all do acknowledge, that ſith every Man's heart and conſcience doth in good or evil, even ſecretly committed and known to none but it-ſelf, either like or diſallow it-ſelf, and accordingly either rejoyce, every Nature exulting as it were in certain hope of reward, or elſe grieve as it it were, in a ſenſe of future puniſhment; neither of which can in this caſe be looked for from any other, ſaving only from him who diſcerneth and judgeth the very ſecrets of all hearts: Therefore he is the only Rewarder and Revenger of all ſuch Actions, although not of ſuch Actions only, but of all, whereby the Law of Nature is broken, whereof himſelf is Author. For which cauſe, the *Roman Laws*, called *The Laws of the Twelve Tables*, requiring offices of inward affection, which the eye of Man cannot reach unto, threaten the neglectors of them with none but Divine Puniſhment.

Voluntate ſublatâ, omnem actum parem eſſe. l. fœdiſſimam c. de adult. *Bonam voluntatem plerunque pro facto reputari.* l. ſi quis in Teſtament.

Divos caſtè adeunto, pietatem adhibento. Qui ſecus faxit, Deus ipſe vindex erit.

How Reaſon doth lead Men unto the making of Human Laws, whereby Politick Societies are governed, and to Agreement about Laws, whereby the Fellowſhip or Communion of Independent Societies ſtandeth.

10. That which hitherto we have ſet down, is (I hope) ſufficient to ſhew their brutiſhneſs, which imagine that Religion and Virtue are only as Men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrary, without any harm to our ſelves, and that in Nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We ſee then how Nature it-ſelf teacheth Laws and Statutes to live by. The Laws which have been hitherto mentioned, do bind Men abſolutely, even as they are Men, although they have never any ſettled Fellowſhip, never any ſolemn Agreement amongſt themſelves, what to do, or not to do. But foraſmuch as we are not by our ſelves ſufficient to furniſh our ſelves with competent ſtore of things needful for ſuch a life as our Nature doth deſire, a life fit for the dignity of Man: Therefore to ſupply thoſe defects and imperfections which are in us living ſingle and ſolely by our ſelves, we are naturally induced to ſeek Communion and Fellowſhip with others. This was the cauſe of Mens uniting themſelves at the firſt in Politick Societies, which Societies could not be without government, nor government without a diſtinct kind of Law from that which hath been already declared. Two Foundations there are which bear up Publick Societies; the one, a Natural Inclination, whereby all Men deſire ſociable life and fellowſhip; the other, an order expreſly or ſecretly agreed upon, as touching the manner of their Union in living together. The latter is that which we call the Law of a Common-weal, the very Soul of a Politick Body, the parts whereof are by Law animated, held together, and ſet on work in ſuch Actions as the common good requireth. Laws Politick, ordained for External Order and Regiment amongſt Men, are never framed as they ſhould be, unleſs, preſuming the Will of Man to be inwardly obſtinate, rebellious, and averſe from all obedience unto the Sacred Laws of his nature: In a word, unleſs preſuming Man to be in regard of his depraved mind, little better than a wild beaſt, they do accordingly provide notwithſtanding ſo to frame his outward Actions, that they be no hindrance unto the common good, for which Societies are inſtituted; unleſs they do this, they are not perfect. It reſteth therefore, that we conſider how Nature findeth out ſuch Laws of Government, as ſerve to direct even Nature depraved to a right end. All Men deſire to lead in this World an happy life. That life is led moſt happily, wherein all Virtue is exerciſed without impediment or let. The Apoſtle in exhorting Men to contentment, although they have in this World no more than very bare Food and Raiment, giveth us thereby to underſtand, that thoſe are even the loweſt of things neceſſary, that if we ſhould be ſtripped of all thoſe things, without which we might poſſibly be, yet theſe muſt be left; that deſtitution in theſe is ſuch an impediment, as till it be removed, ſuffereth not the mind of Man to admit any other care. For this cauſe, firſt God aſſigned *Adam* maintenance of Life, and then appointed him a Law to obſerve: For this cauſe, after Men began to grow to a number, the firſt thing we read they gave themſelves unto, was the Tilling of the Earth, and the feeding of Cattle. Having by this mean whereon to live, the principal Actions of their life afterward are noted by the exerciſe of their Religion. True it is, that the Kingdom of God muſt be the firſt thing in our purpoſes and deſires. But in as much as a righteous life preſuppoſeth life, in as much as to live virtuouſly it is impoſſible except we live: Therefore the firſt impediment, which naturally we endeavour to remove, is penury and want of things, without which we cannot live. Unto life many implements are neceſſary; mo, if we ſeek (as all Men naturally do) ſuch a life as hath in it joy, comfort, delight and pleaſure. To this end we ſee how quickly ſundry Arts Mechanical were found out in the very prime of the World. As things of greateſt neceſſity are always firſt provided for, ſo things of greateſt dignity are moſt accounted of, by all ſuch as judge rightly. Although therefore Riches be a thing which every Man wiſheth, yet no Man of judgement can eſteem it better to be Rich than Wiſe, Virtuous and Religious. If we be both, or either of theſe, it is not becauſe we are ſo born: For into the World we come as empty

Ἐςι γὰρ ὁ μαντεύονταί τι πάντες φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, κἂν μηδεμία κοινωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖ μηδὲ συνθήκη. *Ariſt.* Rhet. 1.

1. Tim. 6. 8.

Gen. 1. 29. & 2. 17. & 4. 2 & 4. 26.

Matth. 6. 33.

Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22.

empty of the one as of the other, as naked in Mind as we are in Body. Both which neceſſities of Man had at the firſt no other helps and ſupplies, than only domeſtical; ſuch as that which the Prophet implieth, ſaying, *Can a Mother forget her Child?* Such as that which the Apoſtle mentioneth, ſaying, *He that careth not for his own, is worſe than an Infidel*: Such as that concerning *Abraham, Abraham will command his Sons and his Houſhold after him, that they keep the way of the Lord.* But neither that which we learn of our ſelves, nor that which others teach us, can prevail, where wickedneſs and malice have taken deep root. If therefore, when there was but as yet one only Family in the World, no means of Inſtruction, Human or Divine, could prevent effuſion of Blood: How could it be choſen, but that when Families were multiplied and encreaſed upon Earth; after Separation, each providing for it ſelf, Envy, Strife, Contention, and Violence, muſt grow amongſt them? For hath not Nature furniſhed Man with Wit and Valour, and as it were with Armour, which may be uſed as well unto extream evil as good? Yea, were they not uſed by the reſt of the World unto evil? Unto the contrary only, by *Seth, Enoch,* and thoſe few the reſt in that Line? We all make complaint of the iniquity of our times; not unjuſtly, for the days are evil. But compare them with thoſe times wherein there were no civil Societies, with thoſe times wherein there was as yet no manner of Publick Regiment eſtabliſhed, with thoſe times wherein there were not above eight righteous Perſons living upon the face of the Earth: And we have ſurely good cauſe to think, that God hath bleſſed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold moſt happy days. To take away all ſuch mutual grievances, injuries, and wrongs, there was no way but only by growing unto Compoſition and Agreement amongſt themſelves, by ordaining ſome kind of Government publick, and by yielding themſelves ſubject thereunto; that unto whom they granted authority to rule and govern, by them the peace, tranquillity, and happy eſtate of the reſt might be procured. Men always knew, that when Force and Injury was offered, they might be Defenders of themſelves; they knew that howſoever Men may ſeek their own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others, it was not to be ſuffered, but by all Men, and by all good means to be withſtood: Finally, they knew that no Man might in Reaſon take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof, in as much as every Man is towards himſelf and them whom he greatly affecteth, partial: And therefore that ſtrifes and troubles would be endleſs, except they gave their common conſent, all to be ordered by ſome whom they ſhould agree upon. Without which conſent, there were no reaſon that one Man ſhould take upon him to be Lord or Judge over another, becauſe, although there be according to the opinion of ſome very great and judicious Men, a kind of Natural Right in the Noble, Wiſe, and Virtuous, to govern them which are of ſervile diſpoſition; nevertheleſs for manifeſtation of this their right, and Mens more peaceable contentment on both ſides, the aſſent of them who are to be governed, ſeemeth neceſſary. To Fathers within their private Families, Nature hath given a ſupream power; for which cauſe we ſee throughout the World, even from the Foundation thereof, all Men have ever been taken as Lords and lawful Kings in their own houſes. Howbeit, over a whole grand Multitude, having no ſuch dependency upon any one, and conſiſting of ſo many Families, as every politick Society in the World doth; impoſſible it is, that any ſhould have compleat lawful power, but by conſent of Men, or immediate appointment of God, becauſe not having the Natural Superiority of Fathers, their power muſt either needs be uſurped, and then unlawful; or if lawful, then either granted or conſented unto by them, over whom they exerciſe the ſame, or elſe given extraordinarily from God, unto whom all the World is ſubject. It is no improbable opinion therefore which the Arch-Philoſopher was of, That as the chiefeſt Perſon in every houſhold was always as it were a King, ſo when numbers of houſholds joyned themſelves in civil Societies together, Kings were the firſt kind of Governours amongſt them. Which is alſo (as it ſeemeth) the reaſon, why the name of *Father* continued ſtill in them, who of Fathers were made Rulers; as alſo the ancient cuſtom of Governours to do as *Melchiſedec,* and being Kings to exerciſe the office of Prieſts, which Fathers did at the firſt, grew perhaps by the ſame occaſion. Howbeit, not this the only kind of Regiment that hath been received in the World. The inconveniences of one kind have cauſed ſundry other to be deviſed: So that in a word, all Publick Regiment, of what kind ſoever, ſeemeth evidently to have riſen from deliberate Advice, Conſultation, and Compoſition between Men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no impoſſibility in Nature conſidered by it-ſelf, but that Men might have lived without any Publick Regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our Nature being preſuppoſed, we may not deny, but that the Law of Nature doth now require of neceſſity ſome kind of Regiment; ſo that to bring things unto the firſt courſe they were in, and utterly to take away all kind of Publick Government in the World, were apparently to overturn the whole World. The caſe of Man's Nature ſtanding therefore as it doth, ſome kind of Regiment the Law of Nature doth require; yet the kinds thereof being many, Nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the firſt, when ſome certain kind of Regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their Wiſdom and Diſcretion which were to rule; (*a*) till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, ſo as the thing which they had deviſed for a remedy, did indeed but increaſe the ſore which it ſhould have cured. They ſaw that to live by one Man's will, became the cauſe of all Mens miſery. This

Iſa. 49. 15.
1 Tim. 5 8.
Gen. 18. 19.

Gen. 4. 8.

Gen. 6. 5.
Gen. 5.

2. Pet. 2. 5.

Ariſt. Polit. lib. 1. & 4.

Ariſt. Polit. lib. 1. cap. 5. Vide & Platonem in 3. de legibus.

(*a*) Cum premeretur initio multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant virtute præſtantem; qui cum prohiberet injuriâ tenuiores, æquitate conſtituendâ ſummos cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Cum id minus contingerit, leges ſunt inventæ. *Cic.* Offic. lib 2.

conſtrained them to come unto Laws, wherein all Men might ſee their duties before-hand, and know the penalties of tranſgreſſing them. (b) If things be ſimply good or evil, and withal univerſally ſo acknowledged, there needs no new Law to be made for ſuch things. The firſt kind therefore of things appointed by Laws Human, containeth whatſoever being in it-ſelf naturally good or evil, is notwithſtanding more ſecret than that it can be diſcerned by every Man's preſent conceit, without ſome deeper diſcourſe and judgement. In which diſcourſe, becauſe there is difficulty and poſſibility many ways to err, unleſs ſuch things were ſet down by Laws, many would be ignorant of their duties, which now are not; and (c) many that know what they ſhould do, would nevertheleſs diſſemble it, and to excuſe themſelves, pretend ignorance and ſimplicity which now they cannot. And becauſe the greateſt part of Men are ſuch as prefer their own private good before all things; even that good which is Senſual, before whatſoever is moſt Divine: And for that the labour of doing good, together with the pleaſure ariſing from the contrary, doth make Men for the moſt part ſlower to the one, and proner to the other, than that duty preſcribed them by Law can prevail ſufficiently with them. Therefore unto Laws, that Men do make for the benefit of Men, it hath ſeemed always needful to add Rewards, which may more allure unto good, than any hardneſs deterreth from it; and Puniſhments, which may more deter from evil, than any ſweetneſs thereto allureth. Wherein as the generality is Natural, *Virtue rewardable, and Vice puniſhable*; So the particular determination of the Reward or Puniſhment, belongeth unto them by whom Laws are made. Theft is naturally puniſhable, but the kind of puniſhment is Poſitive; and ſuch lawful, as Men ſhall think with diſcretion convenient by Law to appoint. In Laws, that which is Natural bindeth Univerſally; that which is poſitive, not ſo. To let go thoſe kind of Poſitive Laws which Men impoſe upon themſelves, as by vow unto God, contract with Men, or ſuch like; ſomewhat it will make unto our purpoſe, a little more fully to conſider, what things are incident unto the making of the Poſitive Laws for the Government of them that live united in Publick Society. Laws do not only teach what is good, but they enjoyn it, they have in them a certain conſtraining force; and to conſtrain Men unto any thing inconvenient doth ſeem unreaſonable. Moſt requiſite therefore it is, that to deviſe Laws which all Men ſhall be forced to obey, none but wiſe Men be admitted. Laws are matters of Principal Conſequence; Men of common Capacity and but ordinary Judgement, are not able (for how ſhould they?) to diſcern what things are fitteſt for each kind and ſtate of Regiment. We cannot be ignorant, how much our obedience unto Laws dependeth upon this point. Let a Man, though never ſo juſtly, oppoſe himſelf unto them that are diſordered in their ways, and what one among them commonly doth not ſtomach at ſuch Contradiction, ſtorm at Reproof, and hate ſuch as would Reform them? Notwithſtanding, even they which brook it worſt that Men ſhould tell them of their duties, when they are told the ſame by a Law, think very well and reaſonably of it. For why? They preſume that the Law doth ſpeak with all indifferency; that the Law hath no ſide reſpect to their Perſons; that the Law is as it were an Oracle proceeding from Wiſdom and Underſtanding. Howbeit, Laws do not take their conſtraining force from the quality of ſuch as deviſe them, but from that power which doth give them the ſtrength of Laws. That which we ſpake before concerning the power of Government, muſt here be applyed unto the power of making Laws whereby to govern, which power God hath over all; and by the Natural Law, whereunto he hath made all ſubject, the lawful power of making Laws to command whole Politick Societies of Men, belongeth ſo properly unto the ſame entire Societies, that for any Prince or Potentate, of what kind ſoever upon Earth, to exerciſe the ſame of himſelf, and not either by expreſs Commiſſion immediately and perſonally received from God, or elſe by Authority derived at the firſt from their conſent upon whoſe Perſons they impoſe Laws, it is no better than meer Tyranny. Laws they are not therefore, which Publick Approbation hath not made ſo: But Approbation not only they give, who perſonally declare their aſſent, by voice, ſign, or act; but alſo, when others do it in their Names, by right originally at the leaſt derived from them. As in Parliaments, Councils, and the like Aſſemblies, although we are not perſonally our ſelves preſent, notwithſtanding, our Aſſent is by reaſon of other Agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reaſon but that it ſhould ſtand as our Deed, no leſs effectual to bind us than if our ſelves had done it in Perſon. In many things Aſſent is given, they that give it not imagining they do ſo, becauſe the manner of their aſſenting is not apparent. As for example, when an abſolute Monarch commandeth his Subjects that which ſeemeth good in his own diſcretion; hath not his Edict the force of Law, whether they approve or diſlike it? Again, that which hath been received long ſithence, and is by cuſtom now eſtabliſhed, we keep as a Law which we may not tranſgreſs; yet, what conſent was ever thereunto ſought or required at our Hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that ſith Men Naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole Politick Multitudes of Men; therefore utterly without our conſent, we could in ſuch ſort be at no Man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do conſent, when that Society whereof we are part, hath at any time before conſented, without revoking the ſame after by the like Univerſal Agreement. Wherefore as any Man's Deed paſt is good, as long as himſelf continueth; ſo the Act of a Publick Society of Men done Five hundred Years ſithence, ſtandeth as theirs, who preſently are of the ſame Societie, becauſe Corporations are Immortal; we were then alive in our Predeceſſors, and they in their Succeſſors do live ſtill. Laws therefore Human of what kind ſoever, are available by conſent. If here it be demanded, how it cometh to paſs, that this being common unto all Laws which are made, there ſhould be found even in good Laws ſo great variety as there is; We muſt note the Reaſon hereof to be, the ſundry particular

(b) τὸ γονέας τιμᾶν ϗ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν, ϗ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ταῦτα ϗ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ὀ προςάττουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς ἀγράφῳ ϗ κοινῷ νόμῳ νομίζεται. *Ariſt* Rhet. ad Alex.

(c) *Tanta eſt enim vis voluptatum, ut & ignorantiam protelet in occaſionem & conſcientiam corrumpat in diſſimulationem.* Tertul. *lib. de ſpectacul.*

particular ends, whereunto the different diſpoſition of that Subject or Matter for which Laws are provided, cauſeth them to have a ſpecial reſpect in making Laws. A Law there is mentioned among the *Grecians,* whereof *Pittacus* is reported to have been Author; and by that Law it was agreed, that he, which being overcome with Drink did then ſtrike any Man, ſhould ſuffer puniſhment double as much as if he had done the ſame being ſober. No Man could ever have thought this reaſonable, that had intended thereby only to puniſh the injury committed, according to the gravity of the Fact: For who knoweth not, that harm adviſedly done, is naturally leſs pardonable, and therefore worthy of ſharper puniſhment? But for as much as none did ſo uſually this way offend, as Men in that caſe which they wittingly fell into, even becauſe they would be ſo much the more freely outragious; It was for their publick good, where ſuch diſorder was grown, to frame a Poſitive Law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertain thoſe known Laws of making Laws; as that Law-makers muſt have an Eye to the place where, and to the men amongſt whom; that one kind of Laws, cannot ſerve for all kinds of Regiment; that where the Multitude beareth ſway, Laws that ſhall tend to the preſervation of that State, muſt make common ſmaller offices to go by lot, for fear of ſtrife and diviſion likely to ariſe; by reaſon that ordinary qualities ſufficing for diſcharge of ſuch Offices, they could not but by many be deſired, and ſo with danger contended for, and not miſſed without grudge and diſcontentment; whereas at an uncertain lot, none can find themſelves grieved, on whomſoever it lighteth. Contrariwiſe the greateſt, whereof but few are capable, to paſs by Popular Election, that neither the People may envy ſuch as have thoſe Honours, in as much as themſelves beſtow them, and that the chiefeſt may be kindled with deſire to exerciſe all parts of rare and beneficial Vertue; knowing they ſhall not loſe their labour by growing in fame and eſtimation among the People. If the Helm of chief Government be in the hands of a few of the wealthieſt, that then Laws provided for continuance thereof, muſt make the puniſhment of contumely, and wrong offered unto any of the common ſort, ſharp and grievous; that ſo the evil may be prevented, whereby the rich are moſt likely to bring themſelves into hatred with the People, who are not wont to take ſo great offence, when they are excluded from Honours and Offices, as when their Perſons are contumeliouſly trodden upon. In other kinds of Regiment, the like is obſerved concerning the difference of Poſitive Laws, which to be every where the ſame, is impoſſible, and againſt their Nature. Now as the Learned in the Laws of this Land obſerve, that our Statutes ſometimes are only the Affirmation or Ratification of that which by Common Law was held before; ſo here it is not to be omitted, that generally all Laws Humane, which are made for the ordering of Politick Societies, be either ſuch as eſtabliſh ſome duty, whereunto all Men by the Law of Reaſon did before ſtand bound; or elſe ſuch as make that a duty now, which before was none: The one ſort we may for diſtinction ſake call *Mixedly,* and the other *Meerly Humane.* That which plain or neceſſary Reaſon bindeth Men unto, may be in ſundry conſiderations expedient to be ratified by Humane Law. For example, if confuſion of Blood in Marriage, the liberty of having many Wives at once, or any other the like corrupt and unreaſonable Cuſtom doth happen to have prevailed far, and to have gotten the upper-hand of Right Reaſon with the greateſt part; ſo that no way is left to rectifie ſuch foul diſorder, without preſcribing by Law the ſame things which Reaſon neceſſarily doth enforce, but is not perceived that ſo it doth; or if many be grown unto that which the Apoſtle did lament in ſome, concerning whom he writeth, ſaying, That *even what things they naturally know, in thoſe very things, as Beaſts void of Reaſon they corrupt themſelves*: Or if there be no ſuch ſpecial accident, yet for as much as the common ſort are led by the ſway of their ſenſual deſires, and therefore do more ſhun ſin for the ſenſible evils which follow it amongſt Men, than for any kind of ſentence which Reaſon doth pronounce againſt it. This very thing is cauſe ſufficient why duties belonging unto each kind of Vertue, albeit the Law of Reaſon teach them, ſhould notwithſtanding be preſcribed even by Humane Law. Which Law in this caſe we term *Mixt,* becauſe the matter whereunto it bindeth, is the ſame which Reaſon neceſſarily doth require at our Hands, and from the Law of Reaſon it differeth in the manner of binding only. For whereas Men before ſtood bound in Conſcience to do as the Law of Reaſon teacheth; they are now by vertue of Humane Law become conſtrainable, and if they outwardly tranſgreſs, puniſhable. As for Laws which are *Meerly Humane,* the matter of them is any thing, which reaſon doth but probably teach to be fit and convenient; ſo that till ſuch a time as Law hath paſſed amongſt Men about it, of it ſelf it bindeth no Man. One example whereof may be this. Lands are by Humane Law in ſome places, after the owners deceaſe, divided unto all his Children; in ſome, all deſcendeth to the eldeſt Son. If the Law of Reaſon did neceſſarily require but the one of theſe two to be done, they which by Law have received the other, ſhould be ſubject to that heavy ſentence which denounceth againſt all that Decree wicked, unjuſt and unreaſonable things, *Wo.* Whereas now, which ſoever be received, there is no Law of Reaſon tranſgreſt; becauſe there is probable reaſon why either of them may be expedient, and for either of them more than probable reaſon there is not to be found. Laws, whether mixtly, or meerly humane, are made by Politick Societies; ſome only, as thoſe Societies are civilly united; ſome, as they are ſpiritually joyned, and make ſuch a Body as we call the Church. Of Laws Humane in this latter kind, we are to ſpeak in the Third Book following: Let it therefore ſuffice thus far to have touched the force wherewith Almighty God hath graciouſly endued our Nature, and thereby enabled the ſame to find out both thoſe Laws which all Men generally are for ever bound to obſerve; and all ſuch as are moſt fit for their behoof, who lead their lives in any ordered State of Government. Now beſides that Law which ſimply concerneth Men, as Men; and that,

Ariſt. Polit. lib.2. cap.ult.

Staundf. Preface to the Pleas of the Crown.

Jud. verſ. 10.
Οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ πειθαρχοῦσι, καὶ ζημίαις ἢ τῷ καλῷ. *Ariſt.* Eth. lib. 10, cap. 10.

Iſai. 10. 1.

which belongeth unto them, as they are Men linked with others in ſome Form of Politick Society, there is a third kind of Law which toucheth all ſuch ſeveral Bodies Politick, ſo far forth as one of them hath publick Commerce with another. And this third is, *The Law of Nations.* Between Men and Beaſts, there is no poſſibility of Sociable Communion, becauſe the Welſpring of that Communion is a Natural delight which Man hath to transfuſe from himſelf into others, and to receive from others into himſelf, eſpecially thoſe things wherein the excellency of his kind doth moſt conſiſt. The chiefeſt Inſtrument of Humane Communion therefore is Speech, becauſe thereby we impart mutually one to another, the Conceits of our Reaſonable Underſtanding. And for that cauſe, ſeeing Beaſts are not hereof capable, for as much as with them we can uſe no ſuch Conference, they being in degree, although above other Creatures on Earth, to whom Nature hath denied ſenſe, yet lower than to be ſociable Companions of Man, to whom Nature hath given Reaſon: It is of *Adam* ſaid, that amongſt the Beaſts *he found not for himſelf any meet Companion.* Civil Society doth more content the Nature of Man, than any private kind of ſolitary living, becauſe in Society, this good of Mutual Participation is ſo much larger than otherwiſe. Herewith notwithſtanding we are not ſatisfied, but we covet (if it might be) to have a kind of Society and Fellowſhip even with all Mankind. Which thing *Socrates* intending to ſignifie, profeſſed himſelf a Citizen; not of this or that Common-wealth, but of the World. And an effect of that very natural deſire in us, (a manifeſt token, that we wiſh after a ſort of an Univerſal Fellowſhip with all Men) appeareth by the wonderful delight Men have, ſome to viſit foreign Countries, ſome to diſcover Nations not heard of in former Ages; we all, to know the Affairs and Dealings of other People, yea to be in League of Amity with them. And this not only for Trafficks ſake, or, to the end, that when many are confederated, each may make other the more ſtrong; but for ſuch cauſe alſo, as moved the Queen of *Sheba* to viſit *Solomon*; and in a word, becauſe Nature doth preſume, that how many Men there are in the World, ſo many Gods, as it were, there are; or at leaſtwiſe ſuch they ſhould be towards Men. Touching Laws which are to ſerve Men in this behalf; even as thoſe Laws of Reaſon, which (Man retaining his original Integrity) had been ſufficient to direct each particular Perſon in all his Affairs and Duties, are not ſufficient, but require the acceſs of other Laws, now that Man and his Off-ſpring are grown thus corrupt and ſinful. Again, as thoſe Laws of Polity and Regiment, which would have ſerved Men living in publick Society together, with that harmleſs diſpoſition, which then they ſhould have had, are not able now to ſerve, when Mens iniquity is ſo hardly reſtrained within any tolerable bounds: In like manner, the National Laws of Natural Commerce between Societies of that former and better quality might have been other than now when Nations are ſo prone to offer violence, injury, and wrong. Hereupon hath grown in every of theſe three kinds, that diſtinction between *Primary* and *Secondary Laws*; the one grounded upon ſincere, the other built upon depraved Nature. Primary Laws of Nations are ſuch as concern Embaſſage, ſuch as belong to the courteous entertainment of Foreigners and Strangers, ſuch as ſerve for Commodious Traffick, and the like. Secondary Laws in the ſame kind, are ſuch as this preſent unquiet World is moſt familiarly acquainted with; I mean Laws of Arms, which yet are much better known than kept. But what matter the Law of Nations doth contain, I omit to ſearch. The ſtrength and vertue of that Law is ſuch that no Particular Nation can lawfully prejudice the ſame by any their ſeveral Laws and Ordinances, more than a Man by his private reſolutions the Law of the whole Common-wealth or State wherein he liveth. For as Civil Law being the Act of a whole Body Politick, doth therefore over-rule each ſeveral part of the ſame Body; ſo there is no reaſon that any one Common-wealth of it ſelf, ſhould to the prejudice of another, annihilate that whereupon the whole World hath agreed. For which cauſe, the *Lacedemonians* forbidding all acceſs of Strangers into their coaſts, are in that reſpect both by *Joſephus* and *Theodoret* deſervedly blamed, as being enemies to that Hoſpitality, which for common Humanities ſake, all the Nations on Earth ſhould embrace. Now as there is great cauſe of Communion, and conſequently of Laws, for the maintenance of Communion amongſt Nations: So amongſt Nations Chriſtian, the like in regard even of Chriſtianity hath been always judged needful. And in this kind of correſpondence amongſt Nations, the force of General Councils doth ſtand. For as one and the ſame Law Divine, whereof in the next place we are to ſpeak, is unto all Chriſtian Churches a rule for the chiefeſt things; by means whereof they all in that reſpect make one Church, as having all but *One Lord, one Faith, and one Baptiſm*: So the urgent neceſſity of Mutual Communion for Preſervation of our Unity in theſe things; as alſo for Order in ſome other things convenient to be every where uniformly kept, maketh it requiſite, that the Church of God here on Earth, have her Laws of Spiritual Commerce between Chriſtian Nations: Laws, by vertue whereof all Churches may enjoy freely the uſe of thoſe Reverend, Religious and Sacred Conſultations, which are termed Councils General. A thing whereof God's own bleſſed Spirit was the Author, a thing practiſed by the Holy Apoſtles themſelves, a thing always afterwards kept and obſerved throughout the World; a thing never otherwiſe, than moſt highly eſteemed of, till Pride, Ambition, and Tyranny began by factious and vile Endeavours, to abuſe that Divine Invention, unto the furtherance of wicked purpoſes. But as the juſt Authority of Civil Courts and Parliaments is not therefore to be aboliſhed, becauſe ſometimes there is cunning uſed to frame them according to the private intents of Men over-potent in the Common-wealth: So the grievous abuſe which hath been of Councils, ſhould rather cauſe Men to ſtudy how ſo gracious a thing may again be reduced to that firſt Perfection, than in regard of ſtains and blemiſhes ſithence growing, be held for ever in extream

diſgrace;

Ariſt. Polit. 1. cap. 2.

Gen. 2. 20.

Cic. Tuſc. 5. & 1 de Legib.

1 King 10. 1. 2 Chron. 9. 1. Matth. 12. 42. Luke 11. 31.

Joſeph lib. 2. contra Appion. *Theod.* lib. 9. de ſanand. Græc. Affect.

Epeſ. 4. 5.

Acts 15 28.

diſgrace. To ſpeak of this matter as the cauſe requireth, would require very long diſcourſe. All I will preſently ſay, is this, Whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto Divine Law bindeth us; but yet in ſuch ſort, that Men are not therefore on all ſides reſolved; or for the ſetting down of ſome uniform Judgment to ſtand touching ſuch things, as being neither way matters of neceſſity, are notwithſtanding offenſive and ſcandalous, when there is open oppoſition about them: be it for the ending of ſtrifes, touching matters of Chriſtian belief, wherein the one part may ſeem to have probable cauſe of diſſenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of Polity, Order and Regiment in the Church; I nothing doubt but that Chriſtian men ſhould much better frame themſelves to thoſe Heavenly Precepts, which our Lord and Saviour, with ſo great inſtancy gave us concerning Peace and Unity, if we did all concur in deſire to have the uſe of Ancient Councils again renewed, rather than theſe proceedings continued, which either make all Contentions endleſs, or bring them to one only Determination, and that of all other the worſt, which is by Sword. It followeth therefore, that a new Foundation being laid, we now adjoyn hereunto that which cometh in the next place to be ſpoken of; namely, wherefore God hath himſelf by Scripture, made known ſuch laws as ſerve for direction of Men.

Joh. 14. 27.

Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known ſuch Supernatural Laws, as do ſerve for Mens direction.

11. All things (God only excepted) beſides the Nature which they have in themſelves, receive externally ſome Perfection from other things, as hath been ſhewed. In ſo much, as there is in the whole World no one thing great or ſmall, but either in reſpect of knowledge or of uſe, it may unto our Perfection add ſomewhat. And whatſoever ſuch Perfection there is, which our nature may acquire, the ſame we properly term our good, our *Sovereign Good* or *Bleſſedneſs*; that wherein the higheſt degree of all our perfections conſiſteth, that which being once attained unto, there can reſt nothing further to be deſired; and therefore with it our ſouls are fully content and ſatisfied in that they have, they rejoyce and thirſt for no more: Wherefore of good things deſired, ſome are ſuch, that for themſelves we covet them not, but only becauſe they ſerve as Inſtruments unto that for which we are to ſeek: Of this ſort, are Riches: Another kind there is, which although we deſire for it ſelf, as Health, and Vertue, and Knowledge; nevertheleſs, they are not the laſt mark whereat we aim, but have their further end whereunto they are referred: So as in them we are not ſatisfied, as having attained the utmoſt we may, but our deſires do ſtill proceed. Theſe things are linked, and as it were chained one to another. We labour to eat, and we eat to live, and we live to do good, and the good which we do is a ſeed ſown with reference unto a future Harveſt. But we muſt come at the length to ſome pauſe: For if every thing were to be deſired for ſome other without any ſtint, there could be no certain end propoſed unto our Actions, we ſhould go on we know not whither; yea, whatſoever we do, were in vain, or rather nothing at all were poſſible to be done. For as to take away the firſt efficient of our Being, were to annihilate utterly our perſons; ſo we cannot remove the laſt final cauſe of our working, but we ſhall cauſe whatſoever we work to ceaſe. Therefore ſomething there muſt be deſired for it ſelf ſimply, and for no other: That is ſimply for it ſelf deſirable, unto the nature whereof it is oppoſite and repugnant to be deſired, with relation unto any other. The Ox and the Aſs deſire their food, neither propoſe they unto themſelves any end wherefore; ſo that of them, this is deſired for it ſelf. But why? By reaſon of their imperfection, which cannot otherwiſe deſire it; whereas that which is deſired ſimply for it ſelf, the excellency thereof is ſuch as permitteth it not in any ſort to be referred unto a further end. Now that which Man doth deſire with reference to a further end, the ſame he deſireth in ſuch meaſure as is unto that end convenient; but what he coveteth as good in it ſelf, towards that his deſire is ever infinite. So that unleſs the laſt good of all, which is deſired altogether for it ſelf, be alſo infinite; we do evil in making it our end, even as they who placed their felicity in wealth, or honour or pleaſure, or any thing here attained, becauſe in deſiring any thing as our final perfection, which is not ſo, we do amiſs. Nothing may be infinitely deſired, but that good which indeed is infinite: For the better, the more deſirable; that therefore moſt deſirable, wherein there is infinity of goodneſs: So that if any thing deſirable may be infinite, that muſt needs be the higheſt of all things that are deſired. No good is infinite, but only God; therefore he is our felicity and bliſs; moreover, deſire tendeth unto union with that it deſireth. If then in him we be bleſſed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with him. Again, it is not the poſſeſſion of any good thing can make them happy which have it, unleſs they enjoy the things wherewith they are poſſeſſed. Then are we happy therefore, when fully we enjoy God, as an object wherein the Powers of our Souls are ſatisfied, even with everlaſting delight: So that although we be Men, yet by being unto God united, we live as it were the Life of God. Happineſs therefore is that eſtate whereby we attain, ſo far as poſſibly may be attained, the full poſſeſſion of that which ſimply for it ſelf is to be deſired, and containeth in it after an eminent ſort, the contentation of our deſires, the higheſt degree of all our Perfection. Of ſuch Perfection, capable we are not in this life: for while we are in the World, we are ſubject unto ſundry * imperfections, grief of body, defects of mind; yea the beſt things we do are painful, and the exerciſe of them grievous, being continued without intermiſſion; ſo as in thoſe very actions, whereby we are eſpecially perfected in this life, we are not able to perſiſt; forced we are with very wearineſs, and that often, to interrupt them: Which tedioufneſs cannot fall into thoſe operations that are in the ſtate of bliſs, when our union with God is compleat. Compleat

Gal. 6. 8. *He that ſoweth to the Spirit, ſhall of the Spirit reap Life Everlaſting.*

Vide *Ariſt.* Ethic. lib 10. c. 10. & Metaph. l. 12. cap. 6. & cap. 4. & cap. 30.

* Μόνον ὦ Ἀσκλήπιε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ ἔργον οὐδαμοῦ. τὸ μὴ λίαν κακὸν, ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐστι. Τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν, μόριον τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ ἐλάχιστον. Ἀδύνατον οὖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, κἀγὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ τῷ εἰς νοῦν μοι βαλόντι τί τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ κόσμος πλήρωμά ἐστι τῆς κακίας, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν θεοῦ. *Merc. Triſ.*

union with him, muſt be according unto every power and faculty of our minds, apt to receive ſo glorious an Object. Capable we are of God, both by Underſtanding and Will: By Underſtanding, as he is that Sovereign Truth, which comprehends the rich Treaſures of all Wiſdom: By Will, as he is that Sea of Goodneſs, whereof, whoſo taſteth, ſhall thirſt no more. As the Will doth now work upon that object by deſire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet unobtained, ſo likewiſe upon the ſame hereafter received, it ſhall work alſo by love. *Appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis*, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*. *The longing diſpoſition of them that thirſt, is changed into the ſweet affection of them that taſte, and are repleniſhed.* Whereas we now love the thing that is good, but good eſpecially, in reſpect of benefit unto us; we ſhall then love the thing that is good, only or principally for the goodneſs of beauty in it ſelf. The Soul being in this ſort, as it is active, perfected by love of that infinite good, ſhall, as it is Receptive, be alſo perfected with thoſe Supernatural Paſſions of Joy, Peace and Delight: All this Endleſs and Everlaſting. Which Perpetuity, in regard whereof our bleſſedneſs is termed *A Crown which withereth not*, doth neither depend upon the nature of the thing it ſelf, nor proceed from any natural neceſſity that our Souls ſhould ſo exerciſe themſelves for ever in beholding and loving God, but from the Will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in ſo high a degree, and continue it ſo perfected. Under Man, no Creature in the World is capable of felicity and bliſs: Firſt, becauſe their chiefeſt Perfection conſiſteth in that which is beſt for them, but not in that which is ſimply beſt, as ours doth. Secondly, becauſe whatſoever External Perfection they tend unto, it is not better than themſelves, as ours is. How juſt occaſion have we therefore even in this reſpect with the Prophet to admire the goodneſs of God: Lord, what is Man that thou ſhouldſt exalt him above the works of thy hands, ſo far as to make thy ſelf the Inheritance of his Reſt, and the Subſtance of his Felicity! Now if Men had not naturally this deſire to be happy, how were it poſſible that all Men ſhould have it? All Men have: Therefore this deſire in Man is natural. It is not in our power not to do the ſame; how ſhould it then be in our power to do it coldly or remiſly? ſo that our deſire being natural, is alſo in that degree of earneſtneſs whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God ſhould frame the Hearts of all Men ſo deſirous of that which no Man may obtain? It is an Axiom of Nature, that natural deſire cannot utterly be fruſtrate. This deſire of ours being natural, ſhould be fruſtrate, if that which may ſatisfie the ſame, were a thing impoſſible for Man to aſpire unto. Man doth ſeek a triple Perfection; firſt, a ſenſual, conſiſting in thoſe things which very life it ſelf requireth, either as neceſſary Supplements, or as Beauties and Ornaments thereof; then an Intellectual, conſiſting in thoſe things which none underneath Man, is either capable of, or acquainted with; laſtly, a Spiritual and Divine, conſiſting in thoſe things whereunto we tend by ſupernatural means here, but cannot here attain unto them. They that make the firſt of theſe three the ſcope of their whole life, are ſaid by the Apoſtle to have no God, but only their Belly, to be earthly-minded Men. Unto the ſecond they bend themſelves, who ſeek eſpecially to excell in all ſuch Knowledge and Vertue as doth moſt commend Men. To this branch belongeth the Law of Moral and Civil Perfection: That there is ſomewhat higher than either of theſe two, no other proof doth need than the very Proceſs of Man's deſire, which being natural, ſhould be fruſtrate, if there were not ſome farther thing wherein it might reſt at the length contented, which in the former it cannot do. For Man doth not ſeem to reſt ſatisfied, either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preſerved, or with performance of ſuch actions as advance him moſt deſervedly in eſtimation; but doth further covet, yea oftentimes manifeſtly purſue with great ſedulity and earneſtneſs, that which cannot ſtand him in any ſtead for vital uſe; that which exceedeth the reach of Senſe, yea, ſomewhat above capacity of Reaſon, ſomewhat Divine and Heavenly, which with hidden exultation, it rather ſurmiſeth than conceiveth; ſomewhat it ſeeketh, and what that is directly, it knoweth not; yet very intentive deſire thereof doth ſo incite it, that all other known delights and pleaſures are laid aſide, they give place to the ſearch of this but only ſuſpected deſire. If the Soul of Man did ſerve only to give him Being in this Life, then things appertaining unto this Life, would content him, as we ſee they do other Creatures; which Creatures enjoying what they live by, ſeek no further, but in this contentation do ſhew a kind of acknowledgment, that there is no higher good which doth any way belong unto them. With us it is otherwiſe: For although the Beauties, Riches, Honours, Sciences, Virtues, and Perfections of all Men living, were in the preſent poſſeſſion of one; yet ſomewhat beyond and above all this, there would ſtill be ſought and earneſtly thirſted for. So that Nature even in this Life, doth plainly claim and call for a more Divine Perfection, than either of theſe two that have been mentioned. This laſt and higheſt eſtate of Perfection, whereof we ſpeak, is received of Men in the name of a (*a*) Reward. Rewards do always preſuppoſe ſuch duties performed as are rewardable: Our natural means therefore unto Bleſſedneſs, are our works; nor is it poſſible that Nature ſhould ever find any other way to Salvation, than only this. But examine the works which we do, and ſince the firſt Foundation of the World, what one can ſay, My ways are pure? Seeing then all fleſh is guilty of that for which God hath threatned eternally to puniſh, what poſſibility is there this way to be ſaved? There reſteth therefore, either no way unto Salvation, or if any, then ſurely a way which is Supernatural, a way which could never have entred into the heart of Man, as much as once to conceive or imagine, if God himſelf had not revealed it extraordinarily: For which cauſe, we term it the Myſtery or Secret way of Salvation. And therefore, St. *Ambroſe* in this matter appealeth juſtly from Man to God, (*b*) *Cœli myſterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui ſeipſum ignoravit*: *Let God himſelf that made me, let not Man that knows not himſelf,*

Aug. de Trin. lib. 9. c. ult.

Matth. 25. *The juſt ſhall go into life everlaſting.* Matth 22. *They ſhall be as the Angels of God.* 2 Tim. 4. 8. 1 Pet. 1. 4.

Pſal. 8.

Comment. in Proœm. 2. Metaph.

Phil. 3. 19.

(*a*) Matth. 5. 12. Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. *Aug. de Doct. Chriſt. cap. 6. Summa merces eſt ut ipſo perfruamur.*

(*b*) *Ambroſ. contra Sym.*

himſelf, be my inſtructer concerning the Myſtical way to Heaven. (c) *When Men of excellent wit* (ſaith **Lactantius**) *had wholly betaken themſelves unto ſtudy, after farewell bidden unto all kind, as well of private as publick Action, they ſpared no labour that might be ſpent in the ſearch of Truth; holding it a thing of much more price, to ſeek and to find out the reaſon of all affairs, as well Divine as Human, than to ſtick faſt in the toil of piling up Riches, and gathering together heaps of Honours. Howbeit, they did both fail of their purpoſe, and got not ſo much as to quit their charges; becauſe Truth, which is the ſecret of the moſt High God, whoſe proper handy-work all things are, cannot be compaſſed with that wit and thoſe ſenſes which are our own. For God and Man ſhould be very near Neighbours, if Man's cogitations were able to take a ſurvey of the Counſels and Appointments of that Majeſty Everlaſting. Which being utterly impoſſible, that the Eye of Man by it ſelf ſhould look into the boſome of divine Reaſon: God did not ſuffer him, being deſirous of the Light of Wiſdom, to ſtray any longer up and down, and with bootleſs expence of travel, to wander in darkneſs that had no paſſage to get out by. His Eyes at the length God did open, and beſtow upon him the knowledge of the truth by way of Donative; to the end that Man might both be clearly convicted of folly, and being through Error out of the way, have the path that leadeth unto immortality laid plain before him.* Thus far **Lactantius Firmianus**, to ſhew, that God himſelf is the teacher of the Truth, whereby is made known the Supernatural way of Salvation, and Law for them to live in that ſhall be ſaved. In the Natural Path of Everlaſting Life, the firſt beginning is that ability of doing good, which God in the Day of Man's Creation endued him with; from hence Obedience unto the Will of his Creator, abſolute Righteouſneſs and Integrity in all his Actions; and laſt of all, the Juſtice of God rewarding the worthineſs of his deſerts with the Crown of Eternal Glory. Had *Adam* continued in his firſt eſtate, this had been the way of life unto him and all his Poſterity. Wherein I confeſs notwithſtanding, with the (*d*) wittieſt of the School-Divines, that if we ſpeak of ſtrict Juſtice, God could no way have been bound to requite Man's labours in ſo large and ample manner as Human Felicity doth import; in as much as the dignity of this exceedeth ſo far the others value. But be it, that God of his great Liberality had determined in lieu of Man's endeavours to beſtow the ſame, by the rule of that Juſtice which beſt beſeemeth him, namely, the Juſtice of one that requiteth nothing mincingly, but all with preſſed, and heaped, and even over-enlarged meaſure; yet could it never hereupon neceſſarily be gathered, that ſuch Juſtice ſhould add to the nature of that Reward, the property of everlaſting continuance; ſith Poſſeſſion of Bliſs, though it ſhould be but for a Moment, were an abundant retribution. But we are not now to enter into this conſideration, how gracious and bountiful our good God might ſtill appear in ſo rewarding the Sons of Men, albeit they ſhould exactly perform whatſoever duty their Nature bindeth them unto. Howſoever God did propoſe this Reward, we that were to be rewarded, muſt have done that which is required at our Hands; we failing in the one, it were in Nature an impoſſibility that the other ſhould be looked for. The Light of Nature is never able to find out any way of obtaining the reward of Bliſs, but by performing exactly the Duties and Works of Righteouſneſs. From Salvation therefore and Life all Fleſh being excluded this way, behold how the Wiſdom of God hath revealed a way Myſtical and Supernatural, a way directing unto the ſame end of life, by a courſe which groundeth it ſelf upon the guiltineſs of Sin, and through Sin, deſert of condemnation and death. For in this way, the firſt thing is the tender compaſſion of God, reſpecting us drowned and ſwallowed up in Miſery: The next is Redemption out of the ſame, by the precious Death and Merit of a Mighty Saviour, which hath witneſſed of himſelf, ſaying, *I am the Way*, the way that leadeth us from miſery into Bliſs. John 14. 6. This Supernatural Way had God in himſelf prepared before all Worlds. The way of Supernatural Duty which to us he hath preſcribed, our Saviour in the Goſpel of St. *John* doth note, terming it by an excellency, The Work of God: *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath ſent.* John 6. 29. Not that God doth require nothing unto happineſs at the Hands of Men, ſaving only a naked belief, (for Hope and Charity we may not exclude;) but that without belief all other things are as nothing, and it the ground of thoſe other divine Virtues. Concerning Faith, the principal object whereof is, that Eternal Verity which hath diſcovered the Treaſures of hidden Wiſdom in Chriſt. Concerning Hope, the higheſt object whereof is, that Everlaſting Goodneſs which in Chriſt doth quicken the Dead. Concerning Charity, the final object whereof is, that incomprehenſible Beauty which ſhineth in the Countenance of Chriſt the Son of the Living God. Concerning theſe Virtues, the firſt of which beginning here with a weak apprehenſion of things not ſeen, endeth with the intuitive Viſion of God in the World to come; the ſecond beginning here with a trembling expectation of things far removed, and as yet but only heard of, endeth with Real and Actual Fruition of that which no Tongue can expreſs; the third beginning here with a weak inclination of heart towards him, unto whom we are not able to approach, endeth with endleſs Union; the myſtery whereof is higher than the reach of the thoughts of Men. Concerning that Faith, Hope, and Charity, without which there can be no Salvation; was there ever any mention made, ſaving only in that Law which God himſelf hath from Heaven revealed? There is not in the World a ſyllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of theſe three, more than hath been ſupernaturally received from the Mouth of the Eternal God. Laws therefore concerning theſe things are ſupernatural, both in reſpect of the manner of delivering them, which is Divine; and alſo in regard of the things delivered, which are ſuch as have not in Nature any cauſe from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained, beſides the courſe of Nature, to rectifie Natures obliquity withal.

(c) *Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum ſe doctrinæ penitus dedidiſſent, quicquid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus & privatis & publicis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis ſtudium contulerunt, exiſtimantes multò eſſe præclarius humanarum divinarumq; rerum inveſtigare ac ſcire rationem, quàm ſtruendis opibus aut cumulandis honoribus inhærere. Sed neque adepti ſunt id quod volebant, & operam ſimul atque induſtriam perdiderunt: Quia veritas, id eſt arcanum ſummi Dei qui fecit omnia, ingenio ac propriis ſenſibus non poteſt comprehendi. Alioqui nihil inter Deum hominémque diſtaret, ſi conſilia & diſpoſitiones illius Majeſtatis æternæ cogitatio aſſequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini per ſeipſum ratio divina noteſceret, non eſt paſſus hominem Deus lumen ſapientiæ requirentem diutiùs aberrare, ac ſine ullo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos ejus aliquando, & notionem veritatis munus ſuum fecit, ut & humanam ſapientiam nullam eſſe monſtraret, & erranti ac vago viam conſequendæ immortalitatis oſtenderet,* Lactant. lib. 1. cap. 1.

(d) Scot. lib. 4 Sent. diſt. 49. 6. *Loquendo de ſtrictâ juſtitiâ, Deus nulli noſtrûm propter quæcunque merita eſt debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intenſæ, propter immoderatum exceſſum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita. Sed eſto quod ex liberalitate ſua determinâſſet meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium, tali quidem juſtitiâ qualis decet eum, ſcilicet ſupererogantis in præmiis: Tamen non ſequitur ex hoc neceſſariò, quòd per illam juſtitiam ſit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam præmium, imò abundans fieret retributio in beatudine unius momenti.*

The cauſe why ſo many Natural or Rational Laws are ſet down in Holy Scripture

* *Jus naturale eſt quod in Lege & evangelio continetur*, pag. 1. d. 1.

12. When ſupernatural Duties are neceſſarily exacted, Natural are not rejected as needleſs. The Law of God therefore is, though principally delivered for inſtruction in the one, yet fraught with Precepts of the other alſo: The Scripture is fraught even with Laws of Nature, inſomuch that * *Gratian* defining Natural Right (whereby is meant the right, which exacteth thoſe general duties, that concern Men naturally, even as they are Men) termeth Natural Right, that which the Books of the Law and the Goſpel do contain. Neither is it vain, that the Scripture aboundeth with ſo great ſtore of Laws in this kind: For they are either ſuch as we of our ſelves could not eaſily have found out, and then the benefit is not ſmall, to have them readily ſet down to our Hands; or if they be ſo clear and manifeſt, that no Man endued with reaſon can lightly be Ignorant of them, yet the Spirit, as it were, borrowing them from the School of nature, as ſerving to prove things leſs manifeſt, and to induce a perſwaſion of ſomewhat which were in it ſelf more hard and dark, unleſs it ſhould in ſuch ſort be cleared, the very applying of them unto caſes particular, is not without moſt ſingular uſe and profit many ways for Mens inſtruction. Beſides, be they plain of themſelves or obſcure, the evidence of God's own teſtimony added unto the natural aſſent of Reaſon, concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort and confirm the ſame. Wherefore, in as much as our actions are converſant about things beſet with many circumſtances, which cauſe Men of ſundry wits, to be alſo of ſundry judgments concerning that which ought to be done: Requiſite it cannot but ſeem, the Rule of Divine Law ſhould herein help our imbecillity, that we might the more infallibly underſtand what is good, and what evil. The firſt principles of the Law of Nature are eaſie; hard it were to find Men ignorant of them: But concerning the duty which Natures Law doth require at the Hands of Men in a number of things particular, ſo * far hath the Natural Underſtanding even of ſundry whole Nations been darkned, that they have not diſcerned, no, not groſs iniquity to be ſin. Again, being ſo prone as we are to fawn upon our ſelves, and to be ignorant as much as may be of our own deformities, without the feeling Senſe whereof we are moſt wretched; even ſo much the more, becauſe not knowing them, we cannot as much as deſire to have them taken away: How ſhould our feſtered ſores be cured, but that God hath delivered a Law as ſharp as the two-edged ſword, piercing the very cloſeſt and moſt unſearchable corners of the heart, which the Law of Nature can hardly, Human Laws by no means poſſibly reach unto? Hereby we know even ſecret concupiſcence to be ſin, and are made fearful to offend, though it be but in a wandring cogitation. Finally, of thoſe things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needful, and not impoſſible to be diſcerned by the Light of Nature it ſelf, are there not many which few Mens natural capacity, and ſome which no Man's hath been able to find out? They are, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, but a few, and they endued with great ripeneſs of wit and judgment, free from all ſuch affairs as might trouble their Meditations, inſtructed in the ſharpeſt and the ſubtileſt points of Learning, who have, and that very hardly, been able to find out but only the Immortality of the Soul. The Reſurrection of the Fleſh, what Man did ever at any time dream of, having not heard it otherwiſe, than from the School of Nature? Whereby it appeareth, how much we are bound to yield unto our Creator, the Father of all Mercy, Eternal Thanks, for that he hath delivered his Law unto the World? a Law wherein ſo many things are laid open, clear, and manifeſt; as a Light, which otherwiſe would have been buried in darkneſs, not without the hazard, or rather not with the hazard, but with the certain loſs of infinite thouſands of Souls, moſt undoubtedly now ſaved. We ſee therefore that our ſovereign good is deſired naturally; that God the Author of that natural deſire, had appointed natural means whereby to fulfill it; that Man having utterly diſabled his Nature unto thoſe means, hath had other revealed from God, and hath received from Heaven a Law to teach him, how that which is deſired naturally, muſt now ſupernaturally be attained. Finally we ſee, that becauſe thoſe latter exclude not the former quite and clean as unneceſſary, therefore together with ſuch Supernatural duties, as could not poſſibly have been otherwiſe known to the World, the ſame Law that teacheth them, teacheth alſo with them ſuch Natural duties, as could not by light of Nature eaſily have been known.

* Joſeph. lib ſecundo contra Appio. *Lacedæmonii quomodo non ſunt ob inhoſpitalitatem reprehendendi, fœdumque neglectum nuptiarum? Elienſes verò & Thebani ob coitum cum maſculis planè impudentem & contra naturam, quem rectè & utiliter exercere putabant? Cumq; hæc omnino perpetrarent, etiam ſuis legibus miſcuere.* Vide Th. 12. q. 49. 4, 5, 6 *Lex naturæ ſic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, ut latrocinium non reputarent peccatum.* Auguſt. *Aut quiſquis author eſt*, lib. de quæſt. nov. & vet. teſt. *Quis neſciat quid bonæ vitæ conveniat, aut ignoret quia quod ſibi fieri non vult, aliis minimè debeat facere? At verò ubi naturalis lex evanuit oppreſſa conſuetudine delinquendi, tunc oportuit manifeſtari ſcriptis, ut Dei judicium omnes audirent: Non quòd penitus obliterata eſt, ſed quia maximâ ejus authoritate carebat, idololatriæ ſtudebatur, timor Dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circà rem proximi avida erat concupiſcentia. Data ergo lex eſt, ut quæ ſciebantur authoritatem haberent, & quæ latere cæperant, manifeſtarentur.*

The benefit of having Divine Laws written.

Exod. 24. 4. Hoſ. 8. 12.

13. In the firſt Age of the World, God gave Laws unto our Fathers, and by reaſon of the number of their days, their memories ſerved inſtead of Books; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being known to God, he mercifully relieved the ſame, by often putting them in mind of that whereof it behoved them to be ſpecially mindful. In which reſpect we ſee, how many times one thing hath been iterated unto ſundry, even of the beſt and wiſeſt amongſt them. After that the lives of Men were ſhortned, means more durable to preſerve the Laws of God from oblivion and corruption grew in uſe, not without preciſe direction from God himſelf. Firſt therefore of *Moſes* it is ſaid, that he *wrote all the words of God*; not by his own private motion and device: For God taketh this act to himſelf, *I have written.* Furthermore, were not the Prophets following

commanded alſo to do the like? Unto the holy Evangeliſt St. *John*, how often expreſs charge is given, *Scribe, write theſe things*? Concerning the reſt of our Lord's Diſciples, the words of St. *Auguſtine* are, *Quicquid ille de ſuis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc ſcribendum illis tanquam ſuis manibus imperavit.* Now although we do not deny it to be a matter meerly accidental unto the Law of God to be written; although writing be not that which addeth authority and ſtrength thereunto: Finally, though his Laws do require at our Hands the ſame obedience, howſoever they be delivered; his providence notwithſtanding which hath made principal choice of this way to deliver them, who ſeeth not what cauſe we have to admire and magnifie? The ſingular benefit that hath grown unto the World by receiving the Laws of God, even by his own appointment committed unto writing, we are not able to eſteem as the value thereof deſerveth. When the queſtion therefore is, whether we be now to ſeek for any revealed Law of God, otherwhere than only in the ſacred Scripture; whether we do now ſtand bound in the ſight of God to yield to Traditions urged by the Church of *Rome*, the ſame obedience and reverence we do to his Written Law, honouring equally, and adoring both as Divine; Our anſwer is, No. They that ſo earneſtly plead for the Authority of Tradition, as if nothing were more ſafely conveyed, than that which ſpreadeth it ſelf by report, and deſcendeth by relation of former Generations, unto the Ages that ſucceed, are not all of them (ſurely a miracle it were, if they ſhould be) ſo ſimple, as thus to perſwade themſelves; howſoever if the ſimple were ſo perſwaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enjoy the Benefit, as they account it, of that common Error. What hazard the Truth is in, when it paſſeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh; they are not, they cannot poſſibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this mind, conſider but only that little of things Divine, which the * Heathen have in ſuch ſort received. How miſerable had the ſtate of the Church of God been long ere this, if wanting the Sacred Scripture, we had no Record of his Laws, but only the memory of Man, receiving the ſame by report and relation from his Predeceſſors? By Scripture, it hath in the Wiſdom of God ſeemed meet to deliver unto the World much, but perſonally expedient to be practiſed of certain Men; many deep and profound points of Doctrine, as being the main original ground whereupon the Precepts of duty depend; many Prophecies, the clear performance whereof might confirm the World in belief of things unſeen; many Hiſtories to ſerve as Looking-glaſſes to behold the Mercy, the Truth, the Righteouſneſs of God towards all that faithfully ſerve, obey and honour him; yea, many entire Meditations of Piety, to be as Patterns and Preſidents in caſes of like Nature; many things needful for Explication, many for Application unto particular occaſions, ſuch as the Providence of God from time to time hath taken, to have the ſeveral Books of his holy Ordinance written. Be it then, that together with the principal neceſſary Laws of God, there are ſundry other things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant, and yet be ſaved: What? ſhall we hereupon think them needleſs? ſhall we eſteem them as riotous Branches, wherewith we ſometimes behold moſt pleaſant Vines overgrown? Surely no more than we judge our hands or our eyes ſuperfluous, or what part ſoever; which if our Bodies did want, we might notwithſtanding any ſuch defect, retain ſtill the compleat Being of Men. As therefore a compleat Man is neither deſtitute of any part neceſſary, and hath ſome parts, whereof, though the want could not deprive him of his eſſence, yet to have them, ſtandeth him in ſingular ſtead in reſpect of the ſpecial uſes, for which they ſerve: In like ſort, all thoſe writings which contain in them the Law of God, all thoſe venerable Books of Scripture, all thoſe ſacred Tomes and Volumes of holy Writ, they are with ſuch abſolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lack whereof might deprive us of life; nor any thing in ſuch wiſe aboundeth, that as being ſuperfluous, unfruitful, and altogether needleſs, we ſhould think it no loſs or danger at all, if we did want it.

Apoc. 1. 11. & 14 13. *Aug. lib.* 1. *de Conſ. Evang. cap. ult.*

* I mean thoſe Hiſtorical Matters concerning the antient ſtate of the firſt World, the Deluge, the Sons of *Noah*, the Children of *Iſrael's* deliverance out of *Ægypt*, the life and doings of *Moſes* their Captain, with ſuch like: The certain truth whereof delivered in holy Scripture, is of the Heathen which had them only by report, ſo intermingled with fabulous vanities, that the moſt which remaineth in them to be ſeen, is the ſhew of dark and obſcure ſteps, where ſome part of the Truth hath gone.

14. Although the Scripture of God therefore be ſtored with infinite variety of matter in all kinds, although it abound with all ſorts of Laws, yet the principal intent of Scripture is to deliver the Laws of Duties Supernatural. Oftentimes it hath been in very ſolemn manner diſputed, whether all things neceſſary unto ſalvation, be neceſſarily ſet down in the holy Scriptures, or no. If we define that neceſſary unto Salvation, whereby the way to Salvation is in any ſort made more plain, apparent and eaſie to be known; then is there no part of true Philoſophy, no Art of account, no kind of Science, rightly ſo called, but the Scripture muſt contain it. If only thoſe things be neceſſary, as ſurely none elſe are, without the knowledge and practice whereof, it is not the will and pleaſure of God to make any ordinary grant of Salvation; it may be notwithſtanding, and oftentimes hath been demanded, how the Books of holy Scripture contain in them all neceſſary things, when of things neceſſary the very chief is to know what Books we are bound to eſteem holy; which Point is confeſs'd impoſſible for the Scripture it ſelf to teach. Whereunto we may anſwer with truth, that there is not in the World any Art or Science, which propoſing unto it ſelf an end (as every one doth ſome end or other) hath been therefore thought defective, if it have not delivered ſimply whatſoever is needful to the ſame end; but all kinds of knowledge have their certain bounds and limits; each of them preſuppoſeth many neceſſary things learned in other Sciences and known before-hand. He that ſhould take upon him to teach Men how to be eloquent in pleading cauſes, muſt needs deliver unto them whatſoever Precepts are requiſite unto that end; otherwiſe he doth not the thing which he taketh upon him. Seeing then no Man can plead eloquently, unleſs he be able firſt to ſpeak; it followeth, that ability of ſpeech is in this caſe a thing moſt neceſſary. Notwithſtanding every Man would think it ridiculous, that he, which undertaketh by writing to inſtruct an Orator, ſhould therefore deliver all the Precepts of Grammar; becauſe his profeſſion is to deliver Precepts neceſſary unto eloquent ſpeech; yet ſo,

The ſufficiency of Scripture unto the end, for which it was inſtituted.

Utrùm cognitio ſupernaturalis neceſſaria viatori, ſit ſufficienter tradita in ſacrâ Scriptura? This queſtion propoſed by *Scotus*, is affirmatively concluded.

that they which are to receive them be taught before-hand, ſo much of that which is thereunto neceſſary, as comprehendeth the skill of ſpeaking. In like ſort, albeit Scripture do profeſs to contain in it all things which are neceſſary unto ſalvation; yet the meaning cannot be ſimply of all things which are neceſſary; but all things that are neceſſary in ſome certain kind or form; as all things that are neceſſary, and either could not at all, or could not eaſily be known by the light of Natural diſcourſe; all things which are neceſſary to be known, that we may be ſaved; but known with preſuppoſal of Knowledge, concerning certain Principles, whereof it receiveth us already perſwaded, and then inſtructeth us in all the reſidue that are neceſſary. In the number of theſe Principles one is the ſacred Authority of Scripture. Being therefore perſwaded by other means that theſe Scriptures are the Oracles of God, themſelves do then teach us the reſt, and lay before us all the duties which God requireth at our Hands, as neceſſary unto ſalvation. Further, there hath been ſome doubt likewiſe, whether *containing in Scripture*, do import expreſs ſetting down in plain terms, or elſe *comprehending* in ſuch ſort, that by reaſon we may from thence conclude all things which are neceſſary. Againſt the former of theſe two conſtructions, inſtance hath ſundry ways been given. For our belief in the Trinity, the Co-eternity of the Son of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, the duty of Baptizing Infants: Theſe, with ſuch other principal points, the neceſſity whereof is by none denied, are notwithſtanding in Scripture no where to be found by expreſs literal mention, only deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kind of comprehenſion in Scripture being therefore received, ſtill there is doubt how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and compleat meaſure of things neceſſary be made up. For let us not think that as long as the World doth endure, the wit of Man ſhall be able to ſound the bottom of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; eſpecially, if things contained by collection do ſo far extend, as to draw in whatſoever may be at any time out of Scripture, but probably and conjecturally ſurmized. But let neceſſary collection be made requiſite, and we may boldly deny, that of all thoſe things which at this day are with ſo great neceſſity urged upon this Church, under the name of reformed Church-Diſcipline, there is any one which their Books hitherto have made manifeſt to be contained in the Scripture. Let them, if they can, alledge but one properly belonging to their cauſe, and not common to them and us, and ſhew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to be neceſſary. It hath been already ſhewed, how all things neceſſary unto ſalvation, in ſuch ſort as before we have maintained, muſt needs be poſſible for Men to know; and that many things are in ſuch ſort neceſſary, the knowledge whereof is by the light of Nature impoſſible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth, that either all Fleſh is excluded from poſſibility of ſalvation, which to think were moſt barbarous; or elſe, that God hath by ſupernatural means revealed the way of life ſo far forth as doth ſuffice. For this cauſe, God hath ſo many times and ways ſpoken to the Sons of Men; neither hath he by ſpeech only, but by writing alſo inſtructed and taught his Church. The cauſe of writing hath been, to the end that things by him revealed unto the World, might have the longer continuance, and the greater certainty of aſſurance; by how much that which ſtandeth on Record, hath in both thoſe reſpects preheminence above that which paſſeth from hand to hand, and hath no Pens, but the Tongues; no Books, but the Ears of Men to record it. The ſeveral Books of Scripture having had each ſome ſeveral occaſion and particular purpoſe, which cauſed them to be written; the Contents thereof are according to the exigence of that ſpecial end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth, that every Book of holy Scripture doth take out of all kinds of truth, (*a*) Natural, (*b*) Hiſtorical, (*c*) Foreign, (*d*) Supernatural, ſo much as the matter handled requireth. Now for as much as there have been reaſons alledged ſufficient to conclude, that all things neceſſary unto ſalvation muſt be made known, and that God himſelf hath therefore revealed his Will, becauſe otherwiſe Men could not have known ſo much as is neceſſary; his ſurceaſing to ſpeak to the World ſince the publiſhing of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the delivery of the ſame in writing, is unto us a manifeſt token that the way of ſalvation is now ſufficiently opened, and that we need no other means for our full inſtruction, than God hath already furniſhed us withal. The main drift of the whole New Teſtament, is that which St. *John* ſetteth down as the purpoſe of his own Hiſtory, *Theſe things are written that ye might believe, that Jeſus is Chriſt the Son of God, and that in believing, ye might have life through his Name.* The drift of the Old, that which the Apoſtle mentioneth to *Timothy, The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto Salvatton.* So that the general end both of Old and New, is one; the difference between them conſiſting in this, That the Old did make wiſe by teaching ſalvation through Chriſt that ſhould come; the New, by teaching that Chriſt the Saviour is come; and that Jeſus whom the Jews did crucifie, and whom God did raiſe again from the dead, is he. When the Apoſtle therefore affirmeth unto *Timothy*, that the Old was able to make him wiſe to ſalvation, it was not his meaning, that the Old alone can do this unto us, which live ſithence the publication of the New. For he ſpeaketh with preſuppoſal of the Doctrine of Chriſt, known alſo unto *Timothy*; and therefore firſt it is ſaid, *Continue thou in thoſe things which thou haſt learned, and art perſwaded, knowing of whom thou haſt been taught them.* Again, thoſe Scriptures he granteth, were able to make him wiſe to ſalvation; but he addeth, *through the Faith which is in Chriſt.* Wherefore without the Doctrine of the New Teſtament, teaching that Chriſt hath wrought the Redemption of the World; which Redemption the Old did foreſhew he ſhould work; it is not the former alone, which can on our behalf perform ſo much as the Apoſtle doth avouch, who preſuppoſeth this, when he magnifieth that ſo highly. And as his words concerning the Books of Ancient Scripture, do not take place, but with preſuppoſal of the Goſpel of Chriſt embraced; ſo our own words alſo, when we extol the compleat ſufficiency of the whole intire Body of the Scripture, muſt in like ſort be underſtood with this caution, That the benefit of Natures Light be not thought excluded as unneceſſary, becauſe the neceſſity of a Diviner Light is magnified. There is in Scripture therefore

(*a*) Epheſ. 5. 29.
(*b*) 2 Tim. 3. 8.
(*c*) Tit. 1. 12.
(*d*) 2 Pet. 2. 4

John. 20. 31.

2 Tim 3. 15.

2 Tim. 3. 14

Verſ. 15.

no

efect, but that any Man, what place or calling ſoever he hold in the Church of God, may have
ereby the light of his natural Underſtanding ſo perfected, that the one being relieved by the
her, there can want no part of needful inſtruction unto any good work which God himſelf
quireth, be it Natural, or Supernatural, belonging ſimply unto Men, as Men; or unto Men, as
ey are united in whatſoever kind of Society. It ſufficeth therefore, that Nature and Scripture do
rve in ſuch full ſort, that they both joyntly, and not ſeverally either of them, be ſo compleat, that
nto Everlaſting felicity we need not the knowledge of any thing more than theſe two may eaſily fur-
iſh our minds with on all ſides: And therefore they which add Traditions, as a part of Supernatural
eceſſary Truth, have not the Truth, but are in Error: For they only plead, that whatſoever God
evealeth as neceſſary for all Chriſtian Men to do or believe, the ſame we ought to embrace, whe-
her we have received it by writing or otherwiſe, which no Man denieth; when that which they
hould confirm, who claim ſo great reverence unto Traditions, is, that the ſame Traditions are ne-
eſſarily to be acknowledged divine and holy. For we do not reject them, only becauſe they are not
n the Scripture, but becauſe they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwiſe ſufficiently by any
Reaſon be proved to be of God. That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be ſo, we
deny not but it hath in his kind, although unwritten, yet the ſelf-ſame force and authority with
he written Laws of God. It is by ours acknowledged, *That the Apoſtles did in every Church inſtitute
and ordain ſome Rites and Cuſtoms, ſerving for the ſeemlineſs of Church-Regiment*; *which Rites and
Cuſtoms they have not committed unto writing*. Thoſe Rites and Cuſtoms being known to be Apoſto-
lical, and having the Nature of things changeable, were no leſs to be accounted of in the Church,
than other things of the like degree; that is to ſay, capable in like ſort of alteration, although
ſet down in the Apoſtles writings. For both being known to be Apoſtolical, it is not the man-
ner of delivering them unto the Church, but the Author from whom they proceed, which doth give
them their force and credit.

Whitakerus adverſus *Bellarmin.* quæſt. 6. cap. 6.

Of Laws Poſitive contained in Scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general uſe of Scripture.

15. Laws being impoſed either by each Man upon himſelf, or by a publick Society, upon the particulars thereof; or by all the Nations of Men, upon every ſeveral Society; or by the Lord himſelf, upon any or every of theſe: There is not amongſt theſe four kinds any one, but containeth ſundry both Natural and Poſitive Laws. Impoſſible it is, but that they ſhould fall into a number of groſs Errors, who only take ſuch Laws for Poſitive, as have been made or invented of Men; and holding this poſition, hold alſo that all Poſitive, and none but Poſitive Laws are mutable. Laws Natural do always bind; Laws Poſitive not ſo, but only after they have been expreſly and wittingly impoſed. Laws Poſitive there are in every of thoſe kinds before mentioned. As in the firſt kind, the Promiſes which we have paſt unto Men, and the Vows we have made unto God; for theſe are Laws which we tie our ſelves unto, and till we have ſo tied our ſelves, they bind us not. Laws Poſitive in the ſecond kind, are ſuch as the civil Conſtitutions peculiar unto each particular Commonweal. In the third kind, the Law of Heraldry in War, is poſitive: And in the laſt, all the Judicials which God gave unto the People of *Iſrael* to obſerve. And although no Laws but Poſitive be mutable; yet all are not mutable, which be Poſitive. Poſitive Laws are either permanent, or elſe changeable, according as the matter it ſelf is, concerning which they were firſt made. Whether God or Man be the maker of them, alteration they ſo far forth admit, as the matter doth exact. Laws that concern Supernatural duties, are all Poſitive; and either concern Men ſupernaturally, as Men, or elſe as parts of a Supernatural Society, which Society we call the Church. To concern Men as Men ſupernaturally, is to concern them as duties, which belong of neceſſity to all, and yet could not have been known by any to belong unto them, unleſs God had opened them himſelf; in as much as they do not depend upon any natural ground at all, out of which they may be deduced, but are appointed of God to ſupply the defect of thoſe natural ways of ſalvation, by which we are not now able to attain thereunto. The Church being a Supernatural Society, doth differ from natural Societies in this, that the Perſons unto whom we aſſociate our ſelves, in the one, are Men, ſimply conſidered as Men: But they to whom we be joyned in the other, are God, Angels and Holy Men. Again, the Church being both a Society, and a Society Supernatural: Although as it is a Society, it have the ſelf-ſame original grounds which other Politick Societies have, namely, the Natural inclination which all Men have unto ſociable life, and conſent to ſome certain Bond of Aſſociation; which Bond is the Law that appointeth what kind of order they ſhall be aſſociated in: Yet unto the Church, as it is a Society Supernatural, this is peculiar; that part of the Bond of their Aſſociation which belongs to the Church of God, muſt be a Law Supernatural, which God himſelf hath revealed concerning that kind of worſhip which his People ſhall do unto him. The ſubſtance of the ſervice of God therefore, ſo far forth as it hath in it any thing more than the Law of Reaſon doth teach, may not be invented of Men, as it is amongſt the Heathens; but muſt be received from God himſelf, as always it hath been in the Church, ſaving only when the Church hath been forgetful of her duty. Wherefore to end with a general Rule concerning all the Laws which God hath tied Men unto: Thoſe Laws Divine that belong, whether naturally or ſupernaturally, either to Men as Men, or to Men as they live in Politick Society, or to Men as they are of that Politick Society which is the Church, without any further reſpect had unto any ſuch variable accident; as the Eſtate of Men, and of Societies of Men, and of the Church it ſelf in this World is ſubject unto; all Laws that ſo belong unto Men, they belong for ever, yea, although they be Poſitive Laws, unleſs being Poſitive, God himſelf which made them, alter them. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſubject or matter of Laws in general, is thus far forth conſtant: Which matter is that for the ordering whereof Laws were inſtituted, and being inſtituted, are not changeable without cauſe: neither can they have cauſe of change, when that which gave them their firſt inſtitution, remaineth for ever one and the ſame. On the other ſide, Laws that were made for Men, or Societies, or Churches, in regard of their being ſuch, as they do not always continue, but may perhaps be clean other=

Iſa. 29 13. *Their fear towards me was taught by the precept of Men* otherwiſe a while after, and ſo may require to be otherwiſe ordered than before; the Laws of God himſelf, which are of this Nature, no Man endued with common ſenſe, will ever deny to be of a different conſtitution from the former, in reſpect of the ones conſtancy, and the mutability of the other. And this doth ſeem to have been the very cauſe why St. *John* doth ſo peculiarly term the doctrine that teacheth ſalvation by Jeſus Chriſt, *Evangelium æternum, An eternal Goſpel*; becauſe there can be no reaſon wherefore the publiſhing thereof ſhould be taken away, and any other inſtead of it proclaimed, as long as the World doth continue: Whereas the whole Law of Rites and Ceremonies, although delivered with ſo great ſolemnity, is notwithſtanding clean abrogated, in as much as it had but temporary cauſe of God's ordaining it. But that we may at the length conclude this firſt general introduction unto the Nature and Original Birth, as of all other Laws, ſo likewiſe of thoſe which the Sacred Scriptute containeth; concerning the Author whereof, even Infidels have confeſſed, that he can neither err nor deceive; Albeit, about things eaſie and manifeſt unto all Men by common ſenſe, there needeth no higher conſultation; becauſe as a Man whoſe wiſdom is in weighty affairs admired, would take it in ſome diſdain to have his counſel ſolemnly asked about a toy; ſo the meanneſs of ſome things is ſuch, that to ſearch the Scripture of God for the ordering of them, were to derogate from the reverend Authority and Dignity of the Scripture, no leſs than they do by whom Scriptures are in ordinary talk very idly applied unto vain and childiſh trifles; yet better it were to be ſuperſtitious, than prophane: To take from thence our direction, even in all things great or ſmall, than to wade through matters of principal weight and moment, without ever caring what the Law of God hath, either for or againſt our deſigns. Concerning the cuſtom of the very Paynims, thus much *Strabo* witneſſeth, (*a*) *Men that are civil, do lead their lives after one common Law, appointing them what to do. For that otherwiſe a multitude ſhould with harmony amongſt themſelves, concur in the doing of one thing,* (*for this is civilly to Live*) *or that they ſhould in any ſort manage community of Life, it is not poſſible. Now Laws or Statutes are of two ſorts: For they are either received from Gods, or elſe from Men. And our ancient Predeceſſors did ſurely moſt honour and reverence that which was from the Gods: For which cauſe, Conſultation with Oracles, was a thing very uſual and frequent in their times.* Did they make ſo much account of the voice of their Gods, which in truth were no Gods; and ſhall we neglect the precious benefit of conference with thoſe Oracles of the true and living God, whereof ſo great ſtore is left to the Church, and whereunto there is ſo free, ſo plain, and ſo eaſie acceſs for all Men? (b) *By thy Commandments* (this was *Davids* confeſſion unto God) *thou haſt made me wiſer than mine Enemies*: Again, *I have had more underſtanding than all my Teachers, becauſe thy teſtimonies are my Meditations.* What pains would not they have beſtowed in the ſtudy of theſe Books, who travelled Sea and Land to gain the treaſure of ſome few days talk with Men, whoſe wiſdom the World did make any reckoning of? (*c*) That little which ſome of the Heathens did chance to hear concerning ſuch matter as the ſacred Scripture plentifully containeth, they did in wonderful ſort affect; their ſpeeches, as oft as they make mention thereof, are ſtrange, and ſuch as themſelves could not utter as they did other things: But ſtill acknowledged that their wits, which did every where elſe conquer hardneſs, were with profoundneſs here over-matched. Wherefore ſeeing that God hath endued us with Senſe, to the end that we might perceive ſuch things as this preſent life doth need; and with Reaſon, leſt that which Senſe cannot reach unto, being both now, and alſo in regard of a future eſtate hereafter neceſſary to be known, ſhould lie obſcure: Finally, with the Heavenly ſupport of Prophetical Revelation, which doth open thoſe hidden Myſteries that Reaſon could never have been able to find out, or to have known the neceſſity of them unto our everlaſting good: Uſe we the precious gifts of God, unto his glory and honour that gave them, ſeeking by all means to know what the Will of our God is, what righteous before him; in his ſight what holy, perfect and good, that we may truly and faithfully do it.

Apoc 14. 6

Κομιδῆ ἄρα ὁ Θεὸς ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς ἔν τε ἔργῳ, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς μεθίσαται οὔτε ἄλλους ἐξαπατᾷ, οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίας, οὔτε κατὰ λόγους, οὔτε κατὰ σημείων πομπάς, οὐδ' ὕπαρ οὐδ' ὄναρ. *Plato* in fine 2. Polit.

(a) Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προστάγματος κοινοῦ ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἕν τι καὶ ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἡρμοσμένως ἀλλήλοις, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι· καὶ ἄλλως πως νέμειν βίον κοινόν. Τὸ δὲ πρόσταγμα διττόν· ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἵ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπρέσβευον μᾶλλον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος ἦν τότε πολύς. *Stra.* Geogr. lib. 16.

(*b*) Pſal. 119. 98.

(*c*) Vide Orphei Carmina. Ὧν γὰρ ὁ νοῦς ἀπολείπεται πρὸς ταῦτ' ἡ προφητεία φθάνει. *Philo de Moſ.*

A Concluſion, ſhewing how all this belongeth to the cauſe in queſtion.

16. Thus far therefore we have endeavoured in part to open, of what nature and force Laws are, according unto their ſeveral kinds: The Law which God with himſelf hath eternally ſet down to follow in his own works: The Law which he hath made for his Creatures to keep: The Law of natural and neceſſary Agents: The Law which Angels in Heaven obey: The Law whereunto by the Light of Reaſon, Men find themſelves bound, in that they are Men: The Law which they make by compoſition for Multitudes and Politick Societies of Men to be guided by: The Law which belongeth unto each Nation: The Law that concerneth the Fellowſhip of all: And laſtly, The Law which God himſelf hath ſupernaturally revealed. It might peradventure have been more popular and more plauſible to vulgar Ears, if this firſt diſcourſe had been ſpent in extolling the force of Laws, in ſhewing the great neceſſity of them when they are good, and in aggravating their offence, by whom Publick Laws are injuriouſly traduced. But for as much as with ſuch kind of matter the Paſſions of Men are rather ſtirred one way or other, than their knowledge any way ſet forward unto the tryal of that whereof there is doubt made: I have therefore turned aſide from that beaten Path, and choſen, though a leſs eaſie, yet a more profitable way, in regard of the end we propoſe. Leſt therefore any Man ſhould marvel whereunto all theſe things tend, the drift and purpoſe of all is this, even to ſhew in what manner, as every good and perfect gift, ſo this very gift of good and perfect Laws is derived from the Father of Lights, to teach Men a reaſon why juſt and reaſonable Laws are of ſo great force, of ſo great uſe in the World; and to inform their minds with ſome method of reducing the Laws, whereof there is preſent controverſie, unto their firſt original cauſes, that ſo it may be in every particular Ordinance thereby the better diſcerned, whether the ſame be reaſonable, juſt and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be thorowly underſtood, or ſoundly judged of, till the very firſt cauſes and principles from which originally it ſpringeth, be made manifeſt? If all parts of knowledge have been thought by wiſe Men to be then moſt orderly delivered and proceeded in, when they are drawn to their firſt original; ſeeing that our whole queſtion concerneth the quality of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, let it not ſeem a labour ſuperfluous, that in the entrance thereunto, all theſe ſeveral kinds of Laws have been conſidered; in as much as they all concur as principles

Jam. 1. 17.

Ariſt. Phyſ. l. 1. cap. 1.

ples, they all have their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifeſt manner: by means whereof it cometh to paſs, that the force which they have, is not obſerved of many. Eaſier a great deal it is for Men by Law, to be taught what they ought to do, than inſtructed how to judge as they ſhould do of Law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally unto all; the other, ſuch as none but the wiſer and more judicious ſort can perform. Yea, the wiſeſt are always touching this point, the readieſt to acknowledge, that ſoundly to judge of a Law, is the weightieſt thing which any Man can take upon him. But if we will give judgment of the Laws under which we live; firſt, let that Law eternal be always before our Eyes, as being of Principal force and moment to breed in religious minds a dutiful eſtimation of all Laws, the uſe and benefit whereof we ſee; becauſe there can be no doubt, but that Laws apparently good, are (as it were) things copied out of the very Tables of that High Everlaſting Law, even as the Book of that Law hath ſaid concerning it ſelf, *By me Kings Reign, and by me Princes decree Juſtice.* Not as if Men did behold that Book, and accordingly frame their Laws; but becauſe it worketh in them, becauſe it diſcovereth, and (as it were) readeth it ſelf to the World by them, when the Laws which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceive not the goodneſs of Laws made; nevertheleſs, ſith things in themſelves may have that which we peradventure diſcern not: Should not this breed a fear in our hearts, how we ſpeak or judge in the worſe part concerning that, the unadviſed diſgrace whereof may be no mean diſhonour to him, towards whom we profeſs all ſubmiſſion and awe? Surely there muſt be very manifeſt iniquity in Laws, againſt which we ſhall be able to juſtifie our contumelious Invectives. The chiefeſt root whereof, when we uſe them without cauſe, is ignorance, how Laws inferior are derived from that ſupream or higheſt Law. The firſt that receive impreſſion from thence are Natural agents. The Law of whoſe operations might be haply thought leſs pertinent, when the queſtion is about Laws for Human actions, but that in thoſe very actions which moſt ſpiritually and ſupernaturally concern Men, the Rules and Axioms of Natural operations have their force. What can be more immediate to our Salvation, than our perſwaſion concerning the Law of Chriſt towards his Church? What greater aſſurance of love towards his Church, than the knowledge of that Myſtical Union, whereby the Church is become as near unto Chriſt, as any one part of his Fleſh is unto another? That the Church being in ſuch ſort his, he muſt needs protect it; what proof more ſtrong, than if a manifeſt Law ſo require, which Law it is not poſſible for Chriſt to violate? And what other Law doth the Apoſtle for this alledge, but ſuch as is both common unto Chriſt with us, and unto us with other things Natural, *No Man hateth his own fleſh; but doth love and cheriſh it?* The Axioms of that Law therefore, whereby Natural agents are guided, have their uſe in the Moral, yea, even in the Spiritual actions of Men, and conſequently in all Laws belonging unto Men howſoever. Neither are the Angels themſelves ſo far ſevered from us in their kind and manner of working, but that between the Law of their Heavenly operations, and the Actions of Men in this our ſtate of mortality, ſuch correſpondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in ſome ſort the one, for the others more perfect direction. Would Angels acknowledge themſelves Fellow-ſervants with the Sons of Men, but that both having one Lord, there muſt be ſome kind of Law which is one and the ſame to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker, both a Pattern and a Spur? Or would the Apoſtles, ſpeaking of that which belongeth unto Saints, as they are linked together in the Bond of Spiritual Society, ſo often make mention how Angels are therewith delighted; if in things publickly done by the Church, we are not ſomewhat to reſpect what the Angels of Heaven do? Yea, ſo far hath the Apoſtle St. *Paul* proceeded, as to ſignifie that even about the outward Orders of the Church, which ſerve but for comelineſs, ſome regard is to be had of Angels; who beſt like us when we are moſt like unto them in all parts of decent demeanour. So that the Law of Angels we cannot judge altogether impertinent unto the affairs of the Church of God. Our largeneſs of ſpeech, how Men do find out what things Reaſon bindeth them of neceſſity to obſerve, and what it guideth them to chuſe in things which are left as Arbitrary; the care we have had to declare the different Nature of Laws which ſeverally concern all Men, from ſuch as belong unto Men, either civilly or ſpiritually aſſociated; ſuch as pertain to the Fellowſhip which Nations, or which Chriſtian Nations have amongſt themſelves; and in the laſt place, ſuch as concerning every or any of theſe God himſelf hath revealed by his holy Word; all ſerveth but to make manifeſt, that as the Actions of Men are of ſundry diſtinct kinds, ſo the Laws thereof muſt accordingly be diſtinguiſhed. There are in Men operations, ſome Natural, ſome Rational, ſome Supernatural, ſome Politick, ſome finally Eccleſiaſtical: Which if we meaſure not each by his own proper Law, whereas the things themſelves are ſo different, there will be in our underſtanding and judgment of them, confuſion. As that firſt Error ſheweth whereon our oppoſites in this cauſe have grounded themſelves: For as they rightly maintain, that God muſt be glorified in all things, and that the actions of Men cannot tend unto his glory, unleſs they be framed after his Law: So it is their Error, to think that the only Law which God hath appointed unto Men in that behalf, is the Sacred Scripture. By that which we Work naturally, as when we breath, ſleep, move, we ſet forth the glory of God as Natural agents do, albeit we have no expreſs purpoſe to make that our end, nor any adviſed determination therein to follow a Law, but do that we do (for the moſt part) not as much as thinking thereon. In reaſonable and moral actions, another Law taketh place; a Law by the obſervation whereof we glorifie God in ſuch ſort, as no Creature elſe under Man is able to do; becauſe other Creatures have not judgment to examine the quality of that which is done by them; and therefore in that they do, they neither can accuſe nor approve themſelves. Men do both, as the Apoſtle teacheth; yea, thoſe Men which have no written Law of God to ſhew what is good or evil, carry written in their Hearts the Univerſal Law of Mankind, the Law of Reaſon, whereby they judge as by a Rule which God hath given unto all Men for that purpoſe. The Law of Reaſon doth ſomewhat direct Men how to honour God as their Creator; but how to Gloriſie God in ſuch ſort as is required, to the end, he may be an everlaſting Saviour; this we are taught by a Divine Law,

Ariſt. Ethic. 10. Τὸ κρῖναι ὀρθῶς, μέγιστον. Maximum eſt de legum qualitate judicium.

Prov. 8. 15.

Epheſ. 5. 29.

Apoc. 19. 10.

1 Pet. 1. 12.
Epheſ 3 10.
1 Tim. 5. 21.

1 Cor. 11. 10.

Pſal. 148 7, 8, 9.

Rom. 1. 21.

Rom. 2. 15.

which Law both aſcertaineth the truth, and ſupplieth unto us the want of that other Law. So that in Moral actions, Divine Law helpeth exceedingly the Law of Reaſon to guide Man's Life; but in Supernatural, it alone guideth. Proceed we further, let us place Man in ſome publick Society with others, whether Civil or Spiritual; and in this caſe there is no remedy, but we muſt add yet a further Law. For although, even here likewiſe, the Laws of Nature and Reaſon be of neceſſary uſe; yet ſomewhat over and beſides them is neceſſary, namely, Human and Poſitive Law, together with that Law which is of commerce between Grand Societies, the Law of Nations, and of Nations Chriſtian. For which cauſe, the Law of God hath likewiſe ſaid, *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers.* The publick Power of all Societies, is above every Soul contained in the ſame Societies. And the principal uſe of that Power is to give Laws unto all that are under it; which Laws in ſuch caſe we muſt obey, unleſs there be reaſon ſhewed, which may neceſſarily inforce, That the Law of Reaſon, or of God doth enjoyn the contrary: Becauſe except our own private, and but probable reſolutions, be by the Law of Publick Determinations over-ruled, we take away all poſſibility of ſociable life in the World. A plainer example whereof, than our ſelves, we cannot have. How cometh it to paſs, that we are at this preſent day ſo rent with mutual contentions, and that the Church is ſo much troubled about the Polity of the Church? No doubt, if Men had been willing to learn how many Laws their actions in this life are ſubject unto, and what the true force of each Law is, all theſe controverſies might have died the very Day they were firſt brought forth. It is both commonly ſaid, and truly, That the beſt Men otherwiſe are not always the beſt in regard of Society. The reaſon whereof is, for that the Law of Mens actions is one, if they be reſpected only as Men; and another, when they are conſidered as parts of a Politick Body. Many Men there are, than whom nothing is more commendable when they are ſingled: And yet in Society with others, none leſs fit to anſwer the duties which are looked for at their Hands. Yea, I am perſwaded, that of them with whom in this cauſe we ſtrive, there are whoſe betters among Men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongſt Men, but in ſome Wilderneſs by themſelves. The cauſe of which their diſpoſition ſo unframable unto Societies wherein they live, is, for that they diſcern not aright, what place and force theſe ſeveral kinds of Laws ought to have in all their actions. Is there queſtion either concerning the Regiment of the Church in general, or about Conformity between one Church and another, or of Ceremonies, Offices, Powers, Juriſdictions in our own Church? Of all theſe things, they judge by that rule which they frame to themſelves with ſome ſhew of probability; and what ſeemeth in that ſort convenient, the ſame they think themſelves bound to practice, the ſame by all means they Labour mightily to uphold; whatſoever any Law of Man to the contrary hath determined, they weigh it not. Thus by following the law of Private Reaſon, where the Law of Publick ſhould take place, they breed diſturbance. For the better inuring therefore of Men's minds with the true diſtinction of Laws, and of their ſeveral force, according to the different kind and quality of our actions, it ſhall not peradventure be amiſs to ſhew in ſome one example, how they all take place. To ſeek no further, let but that be conſidered, than which there is not any thing more familiar unto us, our food. What things are food, and what are not, we judge naturally by ſenſe, neither need we any other Law to be our Director in that behalf, than the ſelf-ſame which is common unto us with Beaſts. But when we come to conſider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodneſs hath provided for all things living; the Law of Reaſon doth here require the duty of thankfulneſs at our Hands towards him, at whoſe Hands we have it. And leſt Appetite in the uſe of Food, ſhould lead us beyond that which is meet, we owe in this caſe obedience to that Law of Reaſon, which teacheth mediocrity in meats and drinks. The ſame things Divine Law teacheth alſo, as at large we have ſhewed it doth all parts of Moral Duty, whereunto we all of neceſſity ſtand bound, in regard of the life to come. But of certain kinds of food the Jews ſometime had, and we our ſelves likewiſe have a Myſtical, Religious and Supernatural uſe; they of their Paſchal Lamb and Oblations; we of our Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt: Which uſe none but Divne Law could inſtitute. Now as we live in Civil Society, the State of the Commonwealth wherein we live, both may and doth require certain Laws concerning food; which Laws, ſaving only that we are Members of the Commonwealth, where they are of force, we ſhould not need to reſpect as Rules of Action; whereas now in their place and kind, they muſt be reſpected and obeyed. Yea, the ſelf-ſame matter is alſo a ſubject wherein ſometime Eccleſiaſtical Laws have place; ſo that unleſs we will be Authors of Confuſion in the Church, our private diſcretion, which otherwiſe might guide us a contrary way, muſt here ſubmit it ſelf to be that way guided, which the publick Judgment of the Church hath thought better. In which caſe, that of *Zonaras* concerning Faſts may be remembred. *Faſtings are good, but let good things be done in good and convenient manner. He that tranſgreſſeth in his Faſting the Orders of the holy Fathers,* the Poſitive Laws of the Church of Chriſt, muſt be plainly told, *that good things do loſe the grace of their goodneſs, when in good ſort they are not performed.* And as here Mens private fancies muſt give place to the higher Judgment of that Church, which is in Authority a Mother over them: So the very Actions of whole Churches have, in regard of Commerce and Fellowſhip with other Churches, been ſubject to Laws concerning food, the contrary unto which Laws had elſe been thought more convenient for them to obſerve; as by that order of Abſtinence from things Strangled and Blood may appear; an order grounded upon that Fellowſhip which the Churches of the Gentiles had with the Jews. Thus we ſee how even one and the ſelf-ſame thing is under divers conſiderations conveyed through many Laws; and that to meaſure by any one kind of Law all the Actions of Men, were to confound the admirable Order wherein God hath diſpoſed all Laws, each as in nature, ſo in degree, diſtinct from other. Wherefore that here we may briefly end. Of Law there can be no leſs acknowledged, than that her Seat is the Boſom of God, her Voice the Harmony of the World: All things in Heaven and Earth do her homage, the very leaſt as feeling her care, and the greateſt as not exempted from her Power: Both Angels, and Men, and Creatures of what condition ſoever, though each in different ſort and manner, yet all with uniform conſent, admiring her as the Mother of their Peace and Joy.

Rom. 13. 1.

Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῆ ἀρετῆ δύνανται χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσι. *Ariſt.* Ethic. lib. 5. cap. 3.

Job. 34. 3.

Pſal. 145. 15, 16.

[a] Οτι οὐ καλὸν τὸ καλὸν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνηται· *Zonar.* in Can. Apoſt. 66.

Acts 15. 20.

OF THE LAWS OF Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

BOOK II.

Concerning their firſt Poſition who urge Reformation in the Church of England *: Namely, That Scripture is the only rule of all things, which in this life may be done by Men.*

The Matter contained in this Second Book.

1. *An Anſwer to their firſt Proof brought out of Scripture,* Prov. 2. 9.
2. *To their ſecond,* 1 Cor. 10. 31.
3. *To their third,* 1 Tim. 4. 5.
4. *To their fourth,* Rom. 14. 23.
5. *To their proofs out of Fathers, who diſpute negatively from the Authority of Holy Scripture.*
6. *To their proof by the Scriptures cuſtom of diſputing from Divine Authority negatively.*
7. *An Examination of their Opinion concerning the force of Arguments taken from human Authority, for the ordering of Mens actions and perſwaſions.*
8. *A Declaration what the Truth is in this matter.*

AS that which in the Title hath been propoſed for the matter whereof we treat is only the Eccleſiaſtical Law whereby we are governed; So neither is it my purpoſe to maintain any other thing, than that which therein Truth and Reaſon ſhall approve. For concerning the dealings of Men, who adminiſter Government, and unto whom the Execution of that Law belongeth, they have their Judge who ſitteth in Heaven, and before whoſe Tribunal-Seat they are accountable for whatſoever abuſe or corruption, which (being worthily miſliked in this Church) the want either of Care or of Conſcience in them hath bred. We are no Patrons of thoſe things therefore; the beſt defence whereof is ſpeedy redreſs and amendment. That which is of God we defend to the uttermoſt of that ability which he hath given: That which is otherwiſe, let it wither even in the root from whence it hath ſprung. Wherefore all theſe abuſes being ſevered and ſet apart, which riſe from the corruption of Men, and not from the Laws themſelves: Come we to thoſe things which in the very whole entire form of our Church-Polity have been (as we perſwade our ſelves) injuriouſly blamed by them who endeavour to overthrow the ſame, and inſtead thereof to eſtabliſh a much worſe; only through a ſtrong miſconceit they have, that the ſame is grounded on Divine Authority. Now, whether it be that through an earneſt longing deſire to ſee things brought to a peaceable end; I do but imagine the matters whereof we contend, to be fewer than indeed they are; or elſe for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be diſcuſt by reaſon, than otherwiſe they ſeem when by heat of contention they are divided into many ſlips, and of every Branch an heap is made: Surely, as now we have drawn them together, chooſing out thoſe things which are requiſite to be ſeverally all diſcuſt, and omitting ſuch mean Specialities as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themſelves; I know no cauſe why either the number or the length of theſe Controverſies ſhould diminiſh our hope of ſeeing them end with concord and love on all ſides; which of his infinite love and goodneſs, the Father of all peace and unity grant. Unto which Scope that our endeavour may the more directly tend, it ſeemeth fitteſt that firſt thoſe things be examined, which are as ſeeds from whence the reſt that enſue have grown. And of ſuch the moſt general is, that, wherewith we are here to make our entrance: A Queſtion not moved (I think) any where in other Churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be ſoon (I truſt) determined: The rather for that it hath grown from no other root than only a deſire to enlarge the neceſſary uſe of the Word of God; which deſire hath begotten an Error, inlarging it further than (as we are perſwaded) ſoundneſs of truth will bear. For whereas God hath left ſundry kinds of Laws unto Men, and by all thoſe Laws the actions of Men are in ſome ſort directed: They hold that one only Law, the Scripture, muſt be the Rule to direct in all things, even ſo far as to the *taking up of a Ruſh or Straw*. About which point there ſhould not need any queſtion to grow, and that which is grown might preſently end, if they did yield but to theſe two reſtraints: The firſt is, Not to extend the actions whereof they ſpeak, ſo low as that Inſtance doth import, of taking up a Straw, but rather keep themſelves at the leaſt within the compaſs of Moral Actions, Actions which have in them Vice or Virtue: The ſecond, Not to exact at our Hands for every action the knowledge of ſome place of Scripture, out of which we ſtand bound to deduce it, as by divers Teſtimonies they ſeek to enforce; but rather, as the truth is, ſo to acknowledge, that it ſufficeth if ſuch actions be framed according to the Law of Reaſon; the general Axioms, Rules and Principles of which Law, being ſo frequent in Holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard, even out of Scripture ſuch duties may be deduced by ſome kind of Conſequence (as by long circuit of Deduction it may be that even all Truth, out of any Truth, may be concluded;) howbeit no Man bound in ſuch ſort to deduce all his actions out of Scripture, as if either the place be to him unknown whereon they may be concluded, or the reference unto that place not preſently conſidered of, the actions ſhall in that reſpect be condemned as unlawful. In this we diſſent, and this we are preſently to examine.

T.C.l.1.p.59, 60.

1. In all parts of knowledge rightly ſo termed, things moſt general are moſt ſtrong; thus it muſt be, in as much as the certainty of our perſwaſion touching particulars, dependeth altogether upon the credit of thoſe Generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore every cauſe admit not ſuch Infallible Evidence of proof, as leaveth no poſſibility of doubt or ſcruple behind it; yet they who claim the general aſſent of the whole world unto that which they teach, and do not fear to give very hard and heavy ſentence upon as many as refuſe to embrace the ſame, muſt have ſpecial regard that their firſt Foundations and Grounds be more than ſlender probabilities. This whole Queſtion which hath been moved about the kind of Church-Regiment, we could not but for our own reſolution's ſake, endeavour to unrip and ſift; following therein as near as we might, the conduct of that judicial Method which ſerveth beſt for invention of Truth. By means whereof, having found this the Head-Theorem of all their diſcourſes, who plead for the change of Eccleſiaſtical Government in *England*, namely, *That the Scripture of God is in ſuch ſort the rule of human actions, that ſimply whatſoever we do, and are not by it directed thereunto, the ſame is ſin*; we hold it neceſſary that the proofs hereof be weighed: Be they of weight ſufficient or otherwiſe, it is not ours to judge and determine; only what difficulties there are, which as yet with-hold our aſſent, till we be further and better ſatisfied, I hope, no indifferent amongſt them will ſcorn or refuſe to hear. Firſt, therefore whereas they alledge, *That Wiſdom* doth teach Men *every good way*; and have thereupon inferred, that no way is good in any kind of action, unleſs Wiſdom do by Scripture lead unto it: See they not plainly how they reſtrain the manifold ways which Wiſdom hath to teach Men by unto one only way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of Wiſdom are large, and within them much is contained. Wiſdom was *Adam's* Inſtructor in Paradiſe: Wiſdom endued the Fathers who lived before the Law, with the knowledge of holy things; by the Wiſdom of the Law of God, *David* attained to excell others in underſtanding; and *Solomon* likewiſe to excell *David*, by the ſelf-ſame Wiſdom of God, teaching him many things beſides the Law. The ways of well-doing are in number even as many, as are the kinds of voluntary actions: So that whatſoever we do in this World, and may do it ill, we ſhew our ſelves therein by well-doing to be wiſe. Now if Wiſdom did teach Men by Scripture not only all the ways that are right and good in ſome certain kind, according to that of (a) St. *Paul*, concerning the uſe of Scripture; but did ſimply without any manner of exception, reſtraint or diſtinction, teach every way of doing well: There is no Art but Scripture ſhould teach it, becauſe every Art doth teach the way how to do ſomething or other well. To teach Men therefore Wiſdom profeſſeth, and to teach them every good way: But not every good way by one way of teaching. Whatſoever either Men on Earth, or the Angels of Heaven do know, it is as a drop of that unemptiable Fountain of Wiſdom; which Wiſdom hath diverſly imparted her treaſures unto the World. As her ways are of ſundry kinds, ſo her manner of teaching is not meerly one and the ſame. Some things ſhe openeth by the ſacred Books of Scripture; ſome things by the glorious works of Nature: With ſome things ſhe inſpireth them from above by ſpiritual influence; in ſome things ſhe leadeth and traineth them only by worldly experience and practice. We may not ſo in any one ſpecial kind admire her, that we diſgrace her in any other; but let all her ways be according unto their place and degree adored.

The firſt pretended proof of the firſt Poſition out of Scripture. Prov. 2. 9. *T.C.l.1.p.20.* I ſay, That the Word of God containeth whatſoever things can fall into any part of Man's life. For ſo *Solomon* ſaith in the ſecond Chapter of the *Proverbs*, *My Son, if thou receive my words*, &c. *then thou ſhalt underſtand Juſtice, and Judgment and Equity, and every good way.*

Pſal. 119. 95.

(a) 2 Tim. 3. 16. *The whole Scripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to inſtruct in righteouſneſs, that the Man of God may be abſolute, being made perfect unto all good works.* He meaneth all and only thoſe good works which belong unto us as we are Men of God, and which unto ſalvation are neceſſary. Or if we underſtand by Men of God, God's Miniſters, there is not required in them an univerſal skill of every good work or way, but an ability to teach whatſoever Men are bound to do that they may be ſaved: And with this kind of knowledge the Scripture ſufficeth to furniſh them as touching matter.

The ſecond Proof out of Scripture. 1 Cor. 10. 31. *T. C. l. 1. p. 26.* S. *Paul* ſaith, *that whether we eat or drink, or whatſoever we do, we muſt do it to the glory of God;* but no Man can glorifie God in any thing but by obedience; and there is no obedience but in reſpect of the commandment and word of God; therefore it followeth, that the Word of God directeth a Man in all his actions.

2. That *all things be done to the Glory of God*, the bleſſed Apoſtle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that Virtue Divine, which being made manifeſt, cauſeth Men and Angels to extoll his greatneſs, and in regard thereof to fear him. By being glorified, it is not meant, that he doth receive any augmentation of Glory at our Hands; but his Name we glorifie, when we teſtifie our acknowledgment of his Glory. Which albeit we moſt effectually do by the virtue of obedience; nevertheleſs it may be perhaps a Queſtion, whether St. *Paul* did mean that we ſin as oft as ever we go about any thing without an expreſs intent and purpoſe to obey God therein. He ſaith of himſelf, *I do in all things pleaſe all Men, ſeeking not mine own commodity, but* rather the good *of many, that they may be ſaved.* Shall it hereupon be thought, that St. *Paul* did not move either Hand or Foot, but with expreſs intent even thereby to further the common ſalvation of Men? We move, we ſleep, we take the Cup at the Hand of our Friend, a number of things we oftentimes do, only to ſatisfie ſome natural deſire, without preſent, expreſs, and actual reference unto any Commandment of God. Unto his glory even theſe things are done which we naturally perform, and not only that which morally and ſpiritually we do. For by every effect proceeding from the moſt concealed inſtincts of Nature, his power is made manifeſt. But it doth not therefore follow, that of neceſſity we ſhall ſin, unleſs we expreſly intend this in every ſuch particular. But be it a thing which requireth no more than only our general preſuppoſed willingneſs to pleaſe God in all things, or be it a matter wherein we cannot ſo glorifie the Name of God as we ſhould, without an actual intent to do him in that particular ſome ſpecial obedience; yet for any thing there is in this ſentence alledged to the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actual intelligent deſire to fulfill that Law which maketh known what his will is, although no ſpecial clauſe or ſentence of Scripture be in every ſuch action ſet before Men's Eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the only Law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done; but there are other kinds of Laws which notifie the will of God, as in the former Book hath been proved at large: nor is there any Law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory. *Do therefore all things unto the glory of God,* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *be inoffenſive both to the Jews and Grecians, and the Church of God; even as I pleaſe all Men in all things, not ſeeking mine own commodity, but manies, that they may be ſaved.* In the leaſt thing done diſobediently towards God, or offenſively againſt the good of Men, whoſe benefit we ought to ſeek for as for our own, we plainly ſhew that we do not acknowledge God to be ſuch as indeed he is, and conſequently that we glorifie him not. This the bleſſed Apoſtle teacheth; but doth any Apoſtle teach that we cannot glorifie God otherwiſe than only in doing what we find that God in Scripture commandeth us to do? The Churches diſperſed amongſt the Heathen in the Eaſt-part of the World, are by the Apoſtle St. *Peter* exhorted, to have their *converſation honeſt amongſt the Gentiles, that they which ſpeak evil of them as of evil doers, might by the good works which they ſhould ſee, glorifie God in the day of viſitation.* As long as that which Chriſtians did was good, and no way ſubject unto juſt reproof, their virtuous converſation was a mean to work the Heathens converſion unto Chriſt. Seeing therefore this had been a thing altogether impoſſible, but that Infidels themſelves did diſcern, in matters of life and converſation, when believers did well, and when otherwiſe; when they glorified their Heavenly Father, and when not: It followeth, that ſome things wherein God is glorified, may be ſome other way known than only by the ſacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being utterly ignorant, did notwithſtanding judge rightly of the quality of Chriſtian Mens actions. Moſt certain it is, that nothing but only Sin doth diſhonour God. So that to glorifie him in all things, is to do nothing whereby the Name of God may be blaſphemed; nothing whereby the ſalvation of Jew or Grecian, or any in the Church of Chriſt may be let or hindred; nothing whereby his Law is tranſgreſſed. But the Queſtion is, whether only Scripture do ſhew whatſoever God is glorified in.

1 Pet. 2. 11.

Rom. 2. 34.

1 Cor. 10 32.
Rom. 2. 23.

The third Scripture-proof, 1 *Tim.* 4. 5. and that which S. *Paul* ſaid of meats and drinks that they are ſanctified unto us by the Word of God, the ſame is to be underſtood of all things elſe whatſoever we have the uſe of. *T. C. l. 1. p. 20.*

3. And though Meats and Drinks be ſaid to be ſanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer, yet neither is this a reaſon ſufficient to proev, That by Scripture we muſt of neceſſity be directed, in every light and common thing, which is incident unto any part of Man's life. Only it ſheweth that unto us the Word, that is to ſay, the Goſpel of Chriſt, having not delivered any ſuch difference of things clean and unclean, as the Law of *Moſes* did unto the Jews, there is no cauſe but that we may uſe indifferently all things, as long as we do not (like Swine) take the benefit of them without a thankful acknowledgment of his liberality and goodneſs, by whoſe Providence they are enjoyed. And therefore the Apoſtle gave warning before-hand to take heed of ſuch as ſhould enjoyn to *abſtain from Meats, which God hath created to be received with thankſgiving, by them which believe and know the Truth. For every Creature of God is good, and nothing to be refuſed, if it be received with thankſgiving, becauſe it is ſanctified by the Word of God and Prayer.* The Goſpel, by not making many things unclean, as the Law did, hath ſanctified thoſe things generally to all, which particularly each Man unto himſelf muſt ſanctifie by a reverend and holy uſe: Which will hardly be drawn ſo far as to ſerve their purpoſe, who have imagined the word in ſuch ſort to ſanctifie all things, that neither Food can be taſted, nor Raiment put on, nor in the World any thing done, but this deed muſt needs be ſin in them, which do not firſt know it appointed unto them by Scripture before they do it.

1 Tim. 4.

The fourth Scripture-proof, *Rom.* 14 23. *T. C. l. 1. p. 17.*

4. But to come unto that which of all other things in Scripture is moſt ſtood upon; that place of St. *Paul* they ſay, is of all other moſt clear, where *ſpeaking of thoſe things which are called indifferent*, in the end he concludeth, *that whatſoever is not of Faith, is Sin; but Faith is not but in reſpect of the Word of God; therefore whatſoever is not done by the Word of God, is Sin.* Whereunto we anſwer, that albeit the name of Faith being properly and ſtrictly taken, it muſt needs have reference unto ſome uttered word, as the Object of belief: nevertheleſs, ſith the ground of credit is the credibility of things credited; and things are made credible, either by the known condition

Z 2 and

Psal. 19. 8. Apoc. 3. 14. 2 Cor. 1. 18. and quality of the utterer, or by the manifeſt likelyhood of Truth, which they have in themſelves; hereupon it riſeth, that whatſoever we are perſwaded of, the ſame we are generally ſaid to believe. In which generality the Object of Faith may not ſo narrowly be reſtrained, as if the ſame did extend no further than to the only Scriptures of God. John 10. 38. John 20. 25. *Though* (ſaith our Saviour) *ye believe not me, believe my works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him. The other Diſciples ſaid unto* Thomas, *we have ſeen the Lord*; but his anſwer unto them was, *Except I ſee in his Hands the print of the Nails, and put my finger into them, I will not believe.* Can there be any thing more plain, than that which by theſe two Sentences appeareth? Namely, That there may be a certain belief grounded upon other aſſurance than Scripture; any thing more clear, than that we are ſaid not only to believe the things which we know by anothers relation, but even whatſoever we are certainly perſwaded of, whether it be by reaſon, or by ſenſe? For as much therefore as (a) it is granted that St. *Paul* doth mean nothing elſe by *Faith*, but only *a full perſwaſion that that which we do is well done*; againſt which kind of Faith or perſwaſion, as St. *Paul* doth count it ſin to enterprize any thing, (b) ſo likewiſe ſome of the very Heathen have taught, as *Tully, That nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubteſt, whether it be right or wrong*; whereby it appeareth that even thoſe which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did ſee much of the equity of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian Man; I hope we ſhall not ſeem altogether unneceſſarily to doubt of the ſoundneſs of their opinion, who think ſimply that nothing but only the Word of God, can give us aſſurance in any thing we are to do, and reſolve us that we do well. For might not the Jews have been fully perſwaded that they did well to think (if they had ſo thought) that in Chriſt God the Father was, although the only ground of this their Faith, had been the wonderful works they ſaw him do? Might not, yea, did not *Thomas* fully in the end perſwade himſelf, that he did well to think that Body which now was raiſed, to be the ſame which had been Crucified? John. 20. 29. That which gave *Thomas* this aſſurance was his ſenſe; *Thomas becauſe thou haſt ſeen, thou believeſt*, ſaith our Saviour. What Scripture had *Tully* for his aſſurance? Yet I nothing doubt, but that they who alledge him think he did well to ſet down in Writing, a thing ſo conſonant unto truth. Finally, we all believe that the Scriptures of God are ſacred, and that they have proceeded from God, our ſelves we aſſure that we do right well in ſo believing. We have for this point a Demonſtration ſound and infallible. But it is not the Word of God which doth or poſſibly can aſſure us, that we do well to think it his Word. For if any one Book of Scripture did give teſtimony to all; yet ſtill that Scripture which giveth credit to the reſt, would require another Scripture to give credit unto it; neither could we ever come unto any pauſe whereon to reſt our aſſurance this way; ſo that unleſs beſide Scripture, there were ſomething which might aſſure us that we do well, we could not think we do well; no, not in being aſſured that Scripture is a ſacred and holy Rule of well-doing. On which determination we might be contented to ſtay our ſelves without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawn on into a larger ſpeech, by reaſon of their ſo great earneſtneſs, who beat more and more upon theſe laſt alledged words, as being of all other moſt pregnant. Whereas therefore they ſtill argue, That *whereſoever faith is wanting, there is ſin*; T.C.l.2.p.58. and, *in every action not commanded, faith is wanting*; Ergo, *in every action not commanded, there is ſin*: I would demand of them; Firſt, for as much as the nature of things indifferent, is neither to be commanded, nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrary; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of Faith, ſin be committed, when any thing not commanded is done. So that of neceſſity they muſt add ſomewhat, and at leaſt-wiſe thus ſet it down: In every action not commanded of God, or permitted with approbation, Faith is wanting, and for want of Faith there is ſin. The next thing we are to enquire is, What thoſe things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be ſo permitted? When there are unto one end ſundry means; as for example, for the ſuſtenance of our Bodies many kinds of Food, many ſorts of Raiment to cloath our nakedneſs, and ſo in other things of like condition: Here the end it ſelf being neceſſary, but not ſo any one mean thereunto; neceſſary that our bodies ſhould be both fed and cloathed, howbeit no one kind of Food or Raiment neceſſary; therefore we hold theſe things free in their own Nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our own diſcretion, except a principal Bond of ſome higher duty remove the indifferency that ſuch things have in themſelves. Acts 5. Their indifferency is removed, if either we take away our own liberty, as *Ananias* did, for whom to have ſold or held his poſſeſſions it was indifferent, till his ſolemn Vow and Promiſe unto God had ſtrictly bound him one only way: or if God himſelf have preciſely abridged the ſame, by reſtraining us unto, or by barring us from ſome one or more things of many, which otherwiſe were in themſelves altogether indifferent. Exod. 28. 4, 43. Many faſhions of Prieſtly Attire there were, whereof *Aaron* and his Sons might have had their free choice without ſin, but that God expreſly tyed them unto one. Levit. 11. All Meats indifferent unto the Jew, were it not that God by name excepted ſome, as Swines-fleſh. Impoſſible therefore it is we ſhould otherwiſe think, than that what things God doth neither command nor forbid, the ſame he permitteth with approbation either to be done or left undone. 1 Cor. 6. 12. *All thing are lawful unto me*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking as it ſeemeth, in the perſon of the Chriſtian Gentile, for maintenance of liberty in things indifferent: whereunto his anſwer is, that nevertheleſs, *All things are not expedient*; in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not always equally expedient. Now in things although not commanded of God, yet lawful, becauſe they are permitted, the Queſtion is, What light ſhall ſhew us the conveniency which one hath above another? For anſwer, their final Determination is, That *whereas the Heathen did ſend Men for the difference of good and evil to the light of reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth us to the School of Chriſt in his Word, which only is able through faith to give us aſſurance and reſolution in our doings.* Which word *Only*, is utterly without poſſibility of ever being proved. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that unleſs the Word of the Lord had determined of the free uſe of them, there could have been no lawful uſe of them at all; which notwithſtanding is untrue, becauſe it is not the Scriptures ſetting down ſuch things as indifferent, but their not ſetting down as neceſſary, that doth make them to be indifferent; yet this to our preſent purpoſe ſerveth nothing at all. We enquire not now, whether any thing be free to be uſed, which Scripture hath not ſet down as free? But concerning things known and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in chuſing any one of them before another, we ſin, if any thing but Scripture direct us in this our choice. When many meats are ſet before me, all are indifferent, none unlawful; I take one as moſt convenient. If Scripture require me ſo to do, then is not the thing indifferent, becauſe I muſt do what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent, I might take any, Scripture doth not require of me to take any ſpecial choice of one: I do notwithſtanding make choice of one, my diſcretion teacheth me ſo to do. A hard caſe, that hereupon I ſhould be juſtly condemned of ſin. Nor let any Man think that, following the judgment of natural diſcretion in ſuch caſes, we can have no aſſurance that we pleaſe God. For to the Author and God of our nature, how ſhall any operation proceeding in natural ſort, be in that reſpect unacceptable? The nature which himſelf hath given to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exerciſe the ſame any way without commandment of his to the contrary. My deſire is, to make this cauſe ſo manifeſt, that if it were poſſible, no doubt or ſcruple concerning the ſame might remain in any Man's cogitation. Some truths there are, the verity whereof time doth alter: As it is now true that Chriſt is riſen from the dead; which thing was not true at ſuch time as Chriſt was living on Earth, and had not ſuffered. It would be known therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the ſinful ſtain of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertain unto us only, or a perpetual truth, in ſuch ſort that from the firſt beginning of the World, unto the laſt conſummation thereof, it neither hath been, nor can be otherwiſe. I ſee not how they can reſtrain this unto any particular time, how they can think it true now, and not always true, that in every action not commanded there is, for want of Faith, ſin. Then let them caſt back their eyes unto former generations of Men, and mark what was done in the prime of the World: *Seth, Enoch, Noah, Sem, Abraham, Job*, and the reſt that lived before any ſyllable of the Law of God was written, did they not ſin as much as we do in every action not commanded? That which God is unto us by his ſacred Word, the ſame he was unto them by ſuch like means as *Eliphaz* in *Job* deſcribed. If thererfore we ſin in every action which the Scripture commandeth us not: it followeth that they did the like in all ſuch actions as were not by Revelation from Heaven exacted at their Hands: Unleſs God from Heaven did by viſion ſtill ſhew them what to do, they might do nothing; not eat, not drink, not ſleep, not move. Yea, but even as in darkneſs, candle-light may ſerve to guide Men's ſteps, which to uſe in the day were madneſs; ſo when God had once delivered his Law in writing, it may be, they are of opinion, that then it muſt needs be ſin for Men to do any thing, which was not there commanded them to do, whatſoever they might do before. Let this be granted, and it ſhall hereupon plainly enſue, either that the light of Scripture once ſhining in the World, all other light of Nature is therewith in ſuch ſort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer uſe it; or if it ſtand us in any ſtead, yet as *Ariſtotle* ſpeaketh of Men whom nature hath framed for the ſtate of ſervitude, ſaying, *They have reaſon ſo far forth as to conceive when others direct them*, but little or none in directing themſelves by themſelves; ſo likewiſe our natural capacity and judgment muſt ſerve us only for the right underſtanding of that which the ſacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who ſucceeded *Moſes*, or the bleſſed Apoſtles which followed them, been ſettled in this perſwaſion, never would they have taken ſo great pains in gathering together natural Arguments, thereby to teach the faithful their Duties. To uſe unto them any other Motive than *Scriptum eſt, thus it is written*, had been to teach them other grounds of their Actions than Scripture; which, I grant, they alledge commonly, but not only. Only Scripture they ſhould have alledged, had they been thus perſwaded, that ſo far forth we do ſin, as we do any thing otherwiſe directed than by Scripture. S. *Auguſtine* was reſolute in points of Chriſtianity to credit none, how godly and learned ſoever he were, unleſs he confirmed his ſentence by the Scripture, *or by ſome reaſon not contrary to them.* Let them therefore with S. *Auguſtine* reject and condemn that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on ſome reaſon not contrary to Scripture, and we are ready to give them our Hands in token of friendly conſent with them.

(a) And if any will ſay, that St. *Paul* meaneth there a full πληροφορίαν and perſwaſion, that that which he doth is well done, I grant it: But from whence can that ſpring but from Faith? How can we perſwade and aſſure our ſelves that we do well, but whereas we have the Word of God for our warrant? *T.C.l.1.c.27.* (b) What alſo that ſome even of thoſe Heathen Men have taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubteſt whether it be right or wrong? Whereby it appeareth, that even thoſe which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did ſee much of the equity of this which the Apoſtle requireth of a Chriſtian Man: And that the chiefeſt difference is, that where they ſent Men for the difference of good and evil to the light of Reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth them to the School of Chriſt in his Word, which only is able through faith to give them aſſurance and reſolution in their doings, *T.C.l.1.p.60.*

Job 4. 19.

Ariſt. Pol. 1.

Auguſt. Ep. 18.

The Firſt Aſſertion endeavoured to be proved by the uſe of taking Arguments Negatively from the Authority of Scripture: which kind of diſputing is uſual in the Fathers.

5. But againſt this it may be objected, and is, That the Fathers do nothing more uſually in their Books, than draw arguments from the Scripture negatively in reproof of that which is evil; *Scriptures teach it not, avoid it therefore*; theſe diſputes with the Fathers are ordinary, neither is it hard to ſhew that the Prophets themſelves have ſo reaſoned. Which Arguments being ſound and good, it ſhould ſeem that it cannot be unſound or evil to hold ſtill the ſame Aſſertion, againſt which hitherto we have diſputed. For if it ſtand with reaſon thus to argue, ſuch a thing is not taught us in Scripture, therefore we may not receive or allow it: How ſhould it ſeem unreaſonable to think, that whatſoever we may lawfully do, the Scripture by commanding it muſt make it lawful? But how far ſuch Arguments do reach, it ſhall the better appear by conſidering the matter wherein they have been urged. Firſt therefore this we conſtantly deny, that of ſo many Teſtimonies as they are able to produce for the ſtrength of Negative Arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in queſtion) condemn either all opinions as falſe, or all actions as unlawful,

which the Scripture teacheth us not. The moſt that can be collected out of them is only, that in ſome caſes a negative Argument taken from Scripture is ſtrong, whereof no Man endued with judgment can doubt. But doth the ſtrength of ſome Negative argument prove this kind of Negative argument ſtrong, by force whereof all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture preſcribeth not, condemned? The Queſtion between us is concerning matter of Action, what things are lawful, or unlawful for Men to do. The Sentences alledged out of the Fathers, are as peremptory, and as large in every reſpect for matter of Opinion, as of action; which argueth that in truth they never meant any otherwiſe to tie the one than the other unto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tied, as far as each is required in the ſame kind of neceſſity unto Salvation. If therefore it be not lawful to know, and with full perſwaſion to believe much more than Scripture alone doth teach; if it be againſt all Senſe and Reaſon to condemn the knowledge of ſo many Arts and Sciences as are otherwiſe learned than in Holy Scripture, notwithſtanding the manifeſt Speeches of ancient Catholick Fathers which ſeem to cloſe up within the boſom thereof all manner of good and lawful knowledge; wherefore ſhould their words be thought more effectual to ſhew that we may not in deeds and practice, than they are to prove that in ſpeculation and knowledge, we ought not to go any further than the Scripture? Which Scripture being given to teach matters of belief, no leſs than of Action; the Fathers muſt needs be, and are even as plain againſt credit, beſides the relation, as againſt practice, without the injunction of the Scripture. St. *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, *Whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, or of what thing ſoever the queſtion be: I ſay not, if we, but if an Angel from Heaven ſhall tell us any thing beſide that you have received in the Scripture under the* Law *and Goſpel, let him be accurſed.* In like ſort *Tertullian, We may not give our ſelves this liberty to bring in any thing* of our *will, nor chuſe any thing that other Men bring in* of *their will; we have the Apoſtles themſelves for Authors, which themſelves brought nothing of their own Will; but the Diſcipline which they received of Chriſt, they delivered faithfully unto the People*; in which place the name of Diſcipline importeth not, as they who alledge it would fain have it conſtrued, but as any Man who noteth the circumſtance of the place, and the occaſion of uttering the words, will eaſily acknowledge, even the ſelf-ſame thing it ſignifieth, which the name of Doctrine doth; and as well might the one as the other there have been uſed. To help them farther, doth not St. *Jerome*, after the ſelf-ſame manner diſpute, *We believe it not, becauſe we read it not*? Yea, *We ought not ſo much as to know the things which the Book of the* Law *containeth not*, ſaith St. *Hilary*. Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of, or give credit unto, any thing which ſenſe, or experience, or report, or art doth propoſe, unleſs we find the ſame in Scripture? No, it is too plain that ſo far to extend their Speeches, is to wreſt them againſt their true intent and meaning. To urge any thing upon the Church, requiring thereunto that Religious Aſſent of Chriſtian Belief, wherewith the words of the Holy Prophets are received; to urge any thing as part of that ſupernatural and celeſtial revealed Truth which God hath taught, and not to ſhew it in Scripture, this did the ancient Fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable. And thus as their Speeches were meant, ſo by us they muſt be reſtrained. As for thoſe alledged words of *Cyprian, The Chriſtian Religion ſhall find, that out of this Scripture Rules of all Doctrines have ſprung, and that from hence doth ſpring, and hither doth return whatſoever the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline doth contain.* Surely this place would never have been brought forth in this cauſe, if it had been but once read over in the Author himſelf, out of whom it is cited. For the words are uttered concerning that one principal Commandment of Love; in the honour whereof he ſpeaketh after this ſort; *Surely this Commandment containeth the* Law *and the Prophets, and in this one Word is the Abridgment of all the Volumes of Scripture: This Nature, and Reaſon, and the authority of thy Word,* O Lord, *doth proclaim; this we have heard out of thy Mouth; herein the perfection of all Religion doth conſiſt. This is the firſt Commandment and the laſt: This being written in the Book of Life, is* (*as it were*) *an everlaſting leſſon both to Men and Angels.* **Let** *Chriſtian Religion read this one Word, and meditate upon this Commandment, and out of this Scripture it ſhall find the Rules of all Learning to have ſprung, and from hence to have riſen, and hither to return, whatſoever the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline containeth; and that in all things it is vain and bootleſs which Charity confirmeth not.* Was this a ſentence (trow you) of ſo great force to prove that Scripture is the only Rule of all the actions of Men? Might they not hereby even as well prove, that one Commandment of Scripture is the only rule of all things, and ſo exclude the reſt of the Scripture, as now they do all means beſides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much deſire of contradiction cauſeth our ſpeech rather to paſs by number, than to ſtay for weight. Well, but *Tertullian* doth in this caſe ſpeak yet more plainly: *The Scripture* (ſaith he) *denieth what it noteth not*: which are indeed the words of *Tertullian*. But what? The Scripture reckoneth up the Kings of *Iſrael*, and amongſt thoſe Kings *David*; the Scripture reckoneth up the Sons of *David*, and amongſt thoſe Sons, *Solomon*. To prove that amongſt the Kings of *Iſrael*, there was no *David* but only one; no *Solomon* but one in the Sons of *David*, *Tertullian's* Argument will fitly prove. For inaſmuch as the Scripture did propoſe to reckon up all; if there were more, it would have named them. In this caſe the *Scripture denieth the thing it noteth not*. Howbeit I could not but think that Man to do me ſome piece of manifeſt injury, which would

Aug. *cont. liter. Petil. l.* 3. *c.* 6.

Tertul. *de præ- ſcript. adverſ.*

T.C.l. 2. *p.* 81. *Auguſtine* ſaith, whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, *&c.* And leſt the Anſwerer ſhould reſtrain the general ſaying of *Auguſtine* unto the Doctrine of the Goſpel, ſo that he would thereby ſhut out the Diſcipline; even *Tertullian* himſelf, before he was embrued with the Hereſie of *Montanus*, giveth Teſtimony unto the Diſcipline in theſe words, *We may not give our ſelves*, &c.

Hieron. *contra* Helvid.
Hilar. *in Pſal.* 132.

T. C. l. 2. *p* 8. Let him hear what *Cyprian* ſaith, The Chriſtian Religion (ſaith he) ſhall find, that. *&c.*

Verè hoc mandatum legem complectitur & Prophetas, & in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc, Domine, verbi tui clamat authoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audivimus, hic invenit conſummationem omnis Religio. *Primum eſt hoc mandatum & ultimum, hoc in libro vitæ conſcriptum indeficientem & hominibus & Angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc unum verbum & in hoc mandato meditetur Chriſtiana Religio, & inveniet ex* HAC *Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanâſſe, & hinc naſci & huc reverti quicquid Eccleſiaſtica continet diſciplina, & in omnibus irritum eſſe & frivolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.*

Tertul. lib. de Monog.
T. C. l. 2. *p.* 81. And in another place *Tertullian* ſaith, That the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not.

would hereby faſten upon me a general Opinion, as if I did think the Scripture to deny the very Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, becauſe it no where noteth that any ſuch King did Reign. *Tertullian's* ſpeech is probable concerning ſuch matter as he there ſpeaketh of. There was, ſaith *Tertullian*, no ſecond *Lamech*, like to him that had two Wives; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not. As therefore it noteth one ſuch to have been in that Age of the World; ſo had there been more, it would by likelyhood as well have noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? *There was no ſecond* Lamech; *the Scripture denieth what it noteth not.* Were it conſonant unto reaſon to divorce theſe two Sentences, the former of which doth ſhew how the latter is reſtrained, and not marking the former, to conclude by the latter of them, that ſimply whatſoever any Man at this day doth think true, is by the Scripture denied, unleſs it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a caſe ſo weak and feeble hath been ſo much perſiſted in. But to come unto thoſe their Sentences, wherein matters of action are more apparently touched, the Name of *Tertullian* is as before, ſo here again pretended; who writing unto his Wife two Books, and exhorting her in the one to live a Widow, in caſe God before her ſhould take him unto his mercy; and in the other, if ſhe did Marry, yet not to joyn her ſelf to an Infidel, as in thoſe times ſome Widows Chriſtian had done for the advancement of their eſtate in this preſent World; he urged very earneſtly St. *Paul's* words, *Only in the Lord*: whereupon he demanded of them that think they may do the contrary, what Scripture they can ſhew where God hath diſpenſed and granted licenſe to do againſt that which the bleſſed Apoſtle ſo ſtrictly doth enjoyn? And becauſe in defence it might perhaps be replied, Seeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are Infidels, if either party chance to be after converted unto Chriſtanity, this ſhould not make ſeparation between them, as long as the unconverted was willing to retain the other on whom the grace of Chriſt had ſhined; wherefore then ſhould that let the Making of Marriage, which doth not diſſolve Marriage being made? After great reaſons ſhewed why God doth in Converts being Married, allow continuance with Infidels, and yet diſallow that the faithful when they are free ſhould enter into bonds of Wedlock with ſuch, concludeth in the end concerning thoſe Women that ſo Marry, *They that pleaſe not the Lord, do even thereby offend the Lord; they do even thereby throw themſelves into evil*; that is to ſay, while they pleaſe him not by Marrying in him, they do that whereby they incur his diſpleaſure; they make an offer of themſelves into the ſervice of that enemy with whoſe ſervants they link themſelves in ſo near a bond. What one ſyllable is there in all this, prejudicial any way to that which we hold? For the words of *Tertullian* as they are by them alledged, are two ways miſunderſtood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to *all things* in the Neuter Gender, which he ſpeaketh in the Feminine Gender of Womens perſons; and in the latter, where, *received with hurt*, is put inſtead of *willful incurring that which is evil*. And ſo in ſum, *Tertullian* doth neither mean nor ſay, as is pretended, *whatſoever pleaſeth not the Lord, diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is received*; but, *Thoſe Women that pleaſe not the Lord* by their kind of Marrying, *do even thereby offend the Lord, they do even thereby throw themſelves into evil*: Somewhat more ſhew there is in a ſecond place of *Tertullian*, which notwithſtanding when we have examined, it will be found as the reſt are. The Roman Emperors cuſtom was at certain Solemn times to beſtow on his Soldiers a Donative; which Donative they received, wearing Garlands upon their Heads. There were in the time of the Emperors *Severnus* and *Antoninus*, many who being Soldiers had been converted unto Chriſt, and notwithſtanding continued ſtill in that Military courſe of Life. In which Number, one Man there was amongſt all the reſt, who at ſuch a time coming to the Tribune of the Army to receive his Donative, came, but with a Garland in his Hand, and not in ſuch ſort as others did. The Tribune offended hereat, demanded what this great ſingularity ſhould mean: To whom the Soldier, *Chriſtianus ſum, I am a Chriſtian.* Many there were ſo beſides him, which yet did otherwiſe at that time, whereupon grew a Queſtion, Whether a Chriſtian Soldier might herein do as the unchriſtian did, and wear as they wore. Many of them which were very ſound in Chriſtian belief, did rather commend the zeal of this Man, than approve his action. *Tertullian* was at the ſame time a *Montaniſt*, and an enemy unto the Church for condemning that Prophetical Spirit, which *Montanus* and his followers did boaſt they had received; as if in them Chriſt had performed his laſt promiſe; as if to them he had ſent the Spirit that ſhould be their Perfecter and final Inſtructer in the myſteries of Chriſtian Truth. Which exulceration of mind made him take all occaſions of contradiction. Wherefore in honour of that action, and to gall their minds who did not ſo much commend it, he wrote his Book *De Corona Militis*, not diſſembling the ſtomach wherewith he wrote it. For the firſt Man he commended as one more conſtant than the reſt of his Brethren, *Who preſumed*, ſaith he, *that they might well enough ſerve two Lords.* Afterwards choler ſomewhat riſing within him, he addeth, *It doth even remain that they ſhould alſo deviſe how to rid themſelves of his Martyrdoms, towards the Prophecies of whoſe Holy Spirit they have already ſhewed their diſdain. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but ſome of them ſend the Scriptures before, truſs up bag and baggage, make themſelves in a readineſs, that they may fly from City to City; for that is the only point of the Goſpel, which they are careful not to forget. I know even their Paſtors very well, what Men they are; in Peace Lions, Harts in time of trouble and fear*: Now theſe Men, ſaith *Tertullian*, *They muſt be anſwered,*

T. C. l. 2. p. 80. And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not againſt the Word, but that they be according to the Word, it may appear by other places, where he ſaith, that whatſoever pleaſeth not the Lord, diſpleaſeth him, and with hurt is received, *lib. 2. ad uxorem.*

Quæ Domino non placent utiq; Dominum offendunt, utiq; malo ſe inferunt.

T.C. l. 2. p. 81. And to come yet nearer, where he diſputeth againſt the wearing of Crown or Garland (which is indifferent of it ſelf) to thoſe which objecting asked, Where the Scripture ſaith that a Man might not wear a Crown? He anſwereth, by asking where the Scripture ſaith that they may wear? And unto them replying that it is permitted, which is not forbidden, He anſwereth, that it is forbidden, which is not permitted. Whereby appeareth, that the Argument of the Scriptures negatively, holdeth not only in the Doctrine and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, but even in matters arbitrary and variable by the advice of the Church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, unleſs there be ſome Word which doth permit the uſe of them: It is not enough that the Scripture ſpeaketh not againſt them, unleſs it ſpeaks for them; and finally, where it diſpleaſeth the Lord which pleaſeth him not, we muſt of neceſſity have the Word of his Mouth to declare his pleaſure.

ſwered, *Where do we find it written in Scripture* that a Chriſtian Man may wear a Garland? And as Mens ſpeeches uttered in heat of diſtempered affection, have oftentimes much more eagerneſs than weight; ſo he that ſhall mark the Proofs alledged, and the Anſwers to things objected in that Book, will now and then perhaps eſpy the like imbecillity. Such is that Argument whereby they that wore on their Heads Garlands, are charged as tranſgreſſors of Natures Law, and guilty of Sacriledge againſt God the Lord of Nature, inaſmuch as Flowers in ſuch ſort worn can neither be ſmelt nor ſeen well by thoſe that wear them: And God made flowers ſweet and beautiful, that being ſeen and ſmelt unto, they might ſo delight. Neither doth *Tertullian* bewray this weakneſs in ſtriking only, but alſo in repelling their ſtrokes whith whom he contendeth. They ask, ſaith he, *What Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould? For in requiring on the contrary part the aid of Scripture, they do give ſentence beforehand that their part ought alſo by Scripture to be aided*: Which anſwer is of no great force. There is no neceſſity, that if I confeſs I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I ſhould thereby acknowledge my ſelf bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements beſide Scripture may lead me to that, which if Scripture be againſt, they all give place, and are of no value; yet otherwiſe are ſtrong and effectual to perſwade. Which thing himſelf well enough underſtanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many things doth neither command nor forbid, but uſe ſilence; his reſolution in fine, is, that in the Church a number of things are ſtrictly obſerved, whereof no Law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once received and confirmed by uſe, long uſage is a Law ſufficient; that in civil affairs, when there is no other Law, cuſtom it ſelf doth ſtand for Law; that inaſmuch as Law doth ſtand upon Reaſon, to alledge Reaſon ſerveth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatſoever is reaſonable, the ſame is lawful, whoſoever is the Author of it; that the authority of cuſtom is great; finally, that the cuſtom of Chriſtians was then, and had been a long time, not to wear Garlands, and therefore that undoubtedly they did offend, who preſume to violate ſuch a cuſtom, by not obſerving that thing, the very inveterate Obſervation whereof was a Law ſufficient to bind all Men to obſerve it, unleſs they could ſhew ſome higher Law, ſome Law of Scripture to the contrary. This preſuppoſed, it may ſtand then very well with ſtrength and ſoundneſs of reaſon, even thus to anſwer, *Whereas they ask what Scripture forbiddeth them to wear a Garland? We are in this caſe rather to demand, What Scripture commandeth them? They cannot here alledge, that that is permitted which is not forbidden them: No, that is forbidden them which is not permitted.* For long received cuſtom forbidding them to do as they did (if ſo be it did forbid them) there was no excuſe in the world to juſtifie their act, unleſs in the Scripture they could ſhew ſome Law that did licenſe them thus to break a received cuſtom. Now whereas in all the Books of *Tertullian* beſides, there is not ſo much found as in that one, to prove not only that we may do, but that we ought to do ſundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that very Book theſe Sentences are brought to make us believe that *Tertullian* was of a clean contrary Mind. We cannot therefore hereupon yield; we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifeſt the Argument of Scripture negative to be of force, not only in Doctrine and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, but even in matters arbitrary. For *Tertullian* doth plainly hold even in that Book, that neither the matter which he entreateth of was arbitrary, but neceſſary, inaſmuch as the received cuſtom of the Church did tie and bind them not to wear Garlands as the Heathens did; yea, and further alſo he reckoneth up particularly a number of things whereof he expreſly concludeth, *Harum & aliarum ejuſmodi diſciplinarum ſi legem expoſtules Scripturarum, nullam invenies*; which is as much as if he had ſaid in expreſs words, Many things there are which concern the diſcipline of the Church, and the duties of Men, which to abrogate and take away, the Scriptures negatively urged may not in any caſe perſwade us, but they muſt be obſerved, yea, although no Scripture be found which requireth any ſuch thing. *Tertullian* therefore undoubtedly doth not in this Book ſhew himſelf to be of the ſame mind with them, by whom his name is pretended.

The firſt Aſſertion endeavoured to be confirmed by the Scriptures cuſtom of diſputing from Divine authority negatively, 1 *Joh*.2.5. God is light, and there is in him no darkneſs at all. *Heb*.6.18. It is impoſſible that God ſhould lie. *Num*. 23. 19. God is not as Man, that he ſhould lie.

6. But ſith the ſacred Scriptures themſelves afford oftentimes ſuch Arguments as are taken from Divine Authority both one way and other; *The Lord hath commanded, therefore it muſt be*; And again, in like ſort, *He hath not, therefore it muſt not be*; ſome certainty concerning this point ſeemeth requiſite to be ſet down: God himſelf can neither poſſibly err, nor lead into error. For this cauſe his Teſtimonies, whatſoever he affirmeth, are always truth, and moſt infallible certainty. Yea, further, becauſe the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of defect or maim; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are abſolute, and lack nothing which they ſhould have, for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known whereunto he directeth his ſpeech, the Argument negatively is evermore ſtrong and forcible, concerning thoſe things that are apparently requiſite unto the ſame end. As for example, God intending to ſet down ſundry times that which in Angels is moſt excellent, hath not any where ſpoken ſo highly of them as he hath of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; therefore they are not in dignity equal unto him. It is the Apoſtle St. *Paul's* Argument. The purpoſe of

---

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 48. It is not hard to ſhew that the Prophets have reaſoned Negatively. As when in the Perſon of the Lord the Prophet ſaith, *Whereof I have not ſpoken* Jer. 19. 5. *And which never entered into my Heart*. Jer. 7. 31, 32. and where he condemneth them, *becauſe they have not asked counſel at the Mouth of the Lord*. Iſai. 30. 2. And it may be ſhewed, that the ſame kind of Argument hath been uſed in things which are not of the ſubſtance of Salvation or Damnation, and whereof there was no Commandment to the contrary (as in the former there was, *Levit*. 18. 21. and 20. 3. *Deut*. 17. 16.) In *Joſhua* the Children of *Iſrael* are charged by the Prophet, that they asked not counſel at the Mouth of the Lord, when they entred into Covenant with the *Gibeonites*, *Joſhua* 19. 14. And yet that Covenant was not made contrary unto any Commandment of God. Moreover, we read that when *David* had taken this counſel, to build a Temple unto the Lord, albeit the Lord had revealed before in his Word, that there ſhould be ſuch a ſtanding place, where the Ark of the Covenant and the Service ſhould have a certain abiding: And albeit there was no word of God which forbad *David* to build the Temple; yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection and zeal he had to the advancement of his glory) concludeth againſt *David's* Reſolution to build the Temple, with this Reaſon: Namely, that he had given no Commandment of this who ſhould build it, 1 *Chron*. 17. 6.

God was to teach his People, both unto whom they ſhould offer ſacrifice, and what ſacrifice was to be offered. To burn their Sons in fire unto *Baal* he did not command them, he ſpake no ſuch thing, neither came it into his mind: Therefore this they ought not to have done. Which Argument the Prophet *Jeremy* uſeth more than once, as being ſo effectual and ſtrong, that although the thing he reproveth were not only not commanded, but* forbidden them, and that expreſly; yet the Prophet chuſeth rather to charge them with the fault of making a Law unto themſelves, than the crime of Tranſgreſſing a Law which God had made. For when the Lord hath once himſelf preciſely ſet down a form of executing that wherein we are to ſerve him; the fault appeareth greater to do that which we are not, than not to do that which we are commanded. In this we ſeem to charge the Law of God with hardneſs only, in that with fooliſhneſs; in this we ſhew our ſelves weak and unapt to be doers of his Will, in that we take upon us to be Controllers of his Wiſdom: In this we fail to perform the thing which God ſeeth meet, convenient and good; in that we preſume to ſee what is meet and convenient better than God himſelf. In thoſe actions therefore, the whole form whereof God hath of purpoſe ſet down to be obſerved, we may not otherwiſe do than exactly as he hath preſcribed: In ſuch things Negative Arguments are ſtrong. Again, with a Negative Argument *David* is preſſed concerning the purpoſe he had to build a Temple unto the Lord: *Thus ſaith the* Lord, *Thou ſhalt not build me an Houſe to dwell in. Whereſoever I have walked with all Iſrael, ſpake I one word to any of the Judges of Iſrael, whom I commanded to feed my people, ſaying, Why have ye not built me an Houſe?* The Jews urged with a Negative Argument touching the aid which they ſought at the Hands of the King of *Egypt*; *Wo to thoſe rebellious Children* (ſaith the Lord) *which walk forth to go down into Egypt, and have not asked counſel at my Mouth, to ſtrengthen themſelves with the ſtrength of Pharaoh.* Finally, the league of *Joſhua* with the *Gibeonites* is likewiſe with a Negative Argument touched. It was not as it ſhould be: And why? the Lord gave them not that advice: *They ſought not counſel at the Mouth of the Lord.* By the virtue of which examples, if any Man ſhould ſuppoſe the force of Negative Arguments approved, when they are taken from Scripture, in ſuch ſort as we in this queſtion are preſſed therewith, they greatly deceive themſelves. For unto which of all theſe was it ſaid, that they had done amiſs in purpoſing to do, or in doing any thing at all which the Scripture commanded them not? Our Queſtion is, whether all be ſin which is done without direction by Scripture, and not, whether the *Iſraelites* did at any time amiſs by following their own minds, without asking counſel of God. No, it was that Peoples ſingular priviledge, a favour which God vouchſafed them above the reſt of the world, that in the affairs of their Eſtate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himſelf gave them extraordinary direction and counſel, as oft as they ſought it at his Hands. Thus God did firſt by ſpeech unto *Moſes*; after by *Urim* and *Thummim* unto Prieſts; laſtly, by dreams and viſions unto Prophets, from whom in ſuch caſes they were to receive the anſwer of God. Concerning *Joſhua* therefore thus ſpake the Lord unto *Moſes*, ſaying, *He ſhall ſtand before* Eleazar *the Prieſt, who ſhall ask counſel for him by the judgment of* Urim *before the Lord*: whereof had *Joſhua* been mindful, the fraud of the *Gibeonites* could not ſo ſmoothly have paſt uneſpied till there was no help. The Jews had Prophets to have reſolved them from the mouth of God himſelf, whether *Egyptian* aids ſhould profit them, yea, or no: but they thought themſelves wiſe enough, and him unworthy to be of their counſel. In this reſpect therefore was their reproof, though ſharp, yet juſt, albeit there had been no charge preciſely given them that they ſhould always take heed of *Egypt*. But as for *David*, to think that he did evil in determining to build God a Temple, becauſe there was in Scripture no Commandment that he ſhould build it, were very injurious: the purpoſe of his Heart was religious and godly, the act moſt worthy of honour and renown; neither could *Nathan* chuſe but admire his virtuous intent, exhort him to go forward, and beſeech God to proſper him therein. But God ſaw the endleſs troubles which *David* ſhould be ſubject unto, during the whole time of his Regiment, and therefore gave charge to defer ſo good a work till the days of tranquillity and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. *David* ſuppoſed that it could not ſtand with the duty which he owed unto God, to ſet himſelf in an houſe of Cedar-trees, and to behold the Ark of the Lord's Covenant unſettled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by cauſing *Nathan* to ſhew him plainly, that it ſhould be no more imputed unto him for a fault, than it had been unto the Judges of *Iſrael* before him, his caſe being the ſame which theirs was, their times not more unquiet than his, nor more unfit for ſuch an action. Wherefore concerning the force of Negative Arguments ſo taken from the Authority of Scripture, as by us they are denied, there is in all this leſs than nothing. And touching that which unto this purpoſe is borrowed from the Controverſies ſometimes handled between Mr. (a) *Harding* and the worthieſt Divine that *Chriſtendom* hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hundreds of Years, who being brought up together in one Univerſity, it fell out in them which was ſpoken of two others, (b) *They learned in the ſame, that which in contrary Camps they did practiſe.* Of theſe two the one objecting that with us Arguments taken from Authority Negatively are over-common; the Biſhops anſwer hereunto is, that * *this kind of Argument is thought to be good, whenſoever proof is taken of God's Word; and is uſed not only by us, but alſo by* S. Paul, *and by many of the Catholick Fathers.* S. Paul ſaith, (c) *God ſaid, not unto* Abraham, *in thy ſeeds all the Nations of the Earth ſhall be bleſſed; but, in thy ſeed, which is Chriſt; and therefore he thought he made*

* Levit. 18. 21. & 20. 3. Deut. 28. 10.

1 Chron. 17. 6.

Iſai. 30. 1.

Joſh. 9. 14.

Num. 27. 21.

1 Chron. 17.

(a) *T. C. l.* 2. *p.* 50. Mr. *Harding* reproacheth the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* with this kind of reaſoning: unto whom the Biſhop anſwereth, the Argument of Authority negatively, is taken to be good, whenſoever proof is taken of God's Word, and is uſed not only by us, but alſo by many of the Catholick Fathers. A little after he ſheweth the Reaſon why the Argument of Authority of the Scripture Negatively is good; namely, for that the word of God is perfect. In another place unto Mr. *Harding* caſting him in the teeth with Negative Arguments, he alledgeth places out of *Irenæus*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Leo*, which reaſoned Negatively of the Authority of the Scriptures. The places which he alledgeth be very full and plain in generality, without any ſuch reſtraints as the Anſwerer imagined, as they are there to be ſeen. (b) *Vell. Paterc. Jugurtha ac Marius ſub eodem Africano militantes, in iiſdem caſtris didicêre quæ poſtea in contrariis facerent.* * *Art.* 1. *Diviſ.* 29. (c) Gal. 3.

made a good Argument. Likewiſe, ſaith Origen, *the Bread which the Lord gave unto his Diſciples, ſaying unto them, take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reſerved till the next day. Such Arguments* Origen *and other learned Fathers thought to ſtand for good, whatſoever miſliking* Mr. Harding *hath found in them. This kind of proof is thought to hold in God's Commandments, for that they be full and perfect: and God hath ſpecially charged us, that we ſhould neither put to them, nor take from them: And therefore it ſeemeth good unto them that have learned of Chriſt,* Unus eſt magiſter veſter Chriſtus, *and have heard the voice of God the Father from Heaven,* ipſum audite. *But unto them that add to the Word of God what them liſteth, and make God's will ſubject unto their will, and break God's Commandments for their own traditions ſake, unto them it ſeemeth not good.* Again, the *Engliſh* Apology alledging the Example of the *Greeks,* how they have neither private Maſſes, nor mangled Sacraments, nor Purgatories, nor Pardons; it pleaſeth Mr. *Harding* to jeſt out the Matter, to uſe the help of his wits where ſtrength of truth failed him, and to anſwer with ſcoffing at Negatives. The Biſhop's defence in this caſe is, *The ancient learned Fathers having to deal with politick Hereticks, that in defence of their Errors avouched the judgment of all the old Biſhops and Doctors that had been before them, and the general conſent of the Primitive and whole univerſal Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfully as you do now; the better to diſcover the ſhameleſs boldneſs, and nakedneſs of their doctrine, were oftentimes likewiſe forced to uſe the negative, and ſo to drive the ſame Hereticks, as we do you, to prove their Affirmatives, which thing to do it was never poſſible. The antient Father* Irenæus *thus ſtayed himſelf, as we do, by the Negative,* Hoc neque Prophetæ prædicaverunt, neque Dominus docuit, neque Apoſtoli tradiderunt; *This thing neither did the Prophets publiſh, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apoſtles deliver. By a like Negative* Chryſoſtom *ſaith, This tree neither* Paul *planted, nor* Apollos *watered, nor God increaſed. In like ſort* Leo *ſaith, What needeth it to believe that thing that neither the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets have ſpoken, nor the Goſpel hath preached, nor the Apoſtles have delivered? And again, How are the new devices brought in that our Fathers never knew?* S. Auguſtine *having reckoned up a great number of the Biſhops of* Rome, *by a general Negative ſaith thus, in all this order of ſucceſſion of Biſhops, there is not one Biſhop found that was a Donatiſt. S.* Gregory *being himſelf a Biſhop of* Rome, *and writing againſt the Title of Univerſal Biſhop,* ſaith thus, *None of all my Predeceſſors ever conſented to uſe this ungodly Title; No Biſhop of* Rome *ever took upon him this Name of ſingularity. By ſuch Negatives,* Mr. Harding, *we reprove the vanity and novelty of your Religion; We tell you none of the Catholick, antient, learned Fathers, either Greek or* Latin, *ever uſed either your private Maſs, or your half Communion, or your barbarous unknown prayers.* Paul *never planted them,* Apollos *never watered them, God never increaſed them; they are of your ſelves, they are not of God.* In all this there is not a Syllable which any way croſſeth us. For concerning Arguments Negative taken from Human Authority, they are here proved to be in ſome caſes very ſtrong and forcible. They are not in our eſtimation idle reproofs, when the Authors of needleſs innovations are oppoſed with ſuch Negatives, as that of *Leo, How are theſe new devices brought in which our Fathers never knew?* When their grave and reverend Superiours do reckon up unto them, as *Auguſtine* did to the *Donatiſts,* large Catalogues of Fathers, wondered at for their wiſdom, piety and learning, amongſt whom for ſo many Ages before us, no one did ever ſo think of the Churches affairs, as now the World doth begin to be perſwaded; ſurely by us they are not taught to take exception hereat, becauſe ſuch Arguments are Negative. Much leſs when the like are taken from the ſacred authority of Scripture, if the matter it ſelf do bear them. For in truth the queſtion is not, Whether an Argument from Scripture negatively may be good, but whether it be ſo generally good, that in all actions Men may urge it? The Fathers, I grant, do uſe very general and large terms, even as *Hiero* the King did in ſpeaking of *Archimedes, From henceforward whatſoever* Archimedes *ſpeaketh, it muſt be believed.* His meaning was not that *Archimedes* could ſimply in nothing be deceived, but that he had in ſuch ſort approved his skill, that he ſeemed worthy of credit for ever after in matters appertaining unto the Science he was skilful in. In ſpeaking thus largely it is preſumed, that Mens ſpeeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they ſpeak. Let any Man therefore that carrieth indifferency of Judgment, peruſe the Biſhop's ſpeeches, and conſider well of thoſe negatives concerning Scripture, which he produceth out of *Irenæus, Chryſoſtom* and *Leo,* which three are choſen from among the reſidue, becauſe the ſentences of the others (even as one of theirs alſo) do make for defence of Negative Arguments taken from human Authority, and not from divine only. They mention no more reſtraint in the one, than in the other: Yet I think themſelves will not hereby judge, that the Fathers took both to be ſtrong, without reſtraint unto any ſpecial kind of matter, wherein they held ſuch argument forcible. Nor doth the Biſhop either ſay or prove any more, than that an Argument in ſome kinds of matter may be good, although taken negatively from Scripture.

Orig in Levit. Hom. 5.
Matth. 23.
Matth. 17.
Defenſ. par. 5. *cap.* 15. *diviſ.* 1.
Lib. 1. *cap.* 1.
De incomp. nat. Dei, hom. 3.
Epiſt. 93. *c* 12.
Epiſt. 97. *c.* 3.
Epiſt. 165.
Lib. 4. *Ep.* 32.

Their opinion concerning the force of Arguments taken from human authority for the ordering of Men's actions or perſwaſions.

7. An earneſt deſire to draw all things unto the determination of bare and naked Scripture, hath cauſed here much pains to be taken in abating the eſtimation and credit of Man. Which if we labour to maintain as far as Truth and Reaſon will bear, let not any think that we travel about a matter not greatly needful. For the ſcope of all their pleading againſt Man's Authority, is to overthrow ſuch Orders, Laws and Conſtitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon, if they ſhould therefore be taken away, would peradventure leave neither Face nor Memory of Church to continue long in the World, the World eſpecially being ſuch as now it is. That which they have in this caſe ſpoken, I would for brevities ſake let paſs, but that the drift of their ſpeech being ſo dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherefore to ſay that ſimply an Argument taken from Man's Authority, doth hold no way, neither

Affirmatively nor Negatively, is hard. By a Man's Authority we here underſtand the force which his word hath for the aſſurance of anothers mind that buildeth upon it; as the (a) Apoſtle ſome-what did upon their report of the houſe of *Chloe*; and the *Samaritans* in a matter of far greater moment, upon the report of a ſimple Woman. For ſo it is ſaid in St. *John's* Goſpel, (b) *Many of the Samaritans of that City believed in him for the ſaying of the Woman, which teſtified, he hath told me all things that ever I did.* The ſtrength of Mans Authority is Affirmatively ſuch, that the weightieſt affairs in the World depend thereon. In judgment and juſtice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Saith not the Law, that *in the mouth of two or three Witneſſes every word ſhall be confirmed*? This the Law of God would not ſay, if there were in a Man's teſtimony no force at all to prove any thing. And if it be admitted that in matter of Fact, there is ſome credit to be given to the teſtimony of Man, but not in matter of opinion and judgment, we ſee the contrary both acknowledged and univerſally practiſed alſo throughout the World. The ſentences of wiſe and expert Men were never but highly eſteemed. Let the title of a Man's right be called in queſtion, are we not bold to rely and build upon the judgment of ſuch as are famous for their skill in the Laws of this Land? In matter of State, the weight many times of ſome one Man's authority is thought reaſon ſufficient even to ſway over whole Nations. And this is not only with the ſimple ſort, but the learneder and wiſer we are, the more ſuch Arguments in ſome caſes prevail with us. The reaſon why the ſimpler ſort are moved with Authority, is the conſcience of their own ignorance; whereby it cometh to paſs, that having learned Men in admiration, they rather fear to diſlike them, than know wherefore they ſhould allow and follow their judgments. Contrariwiſe with them that are skilful, authority is much more ſtrong and forcible; becauſe they only are able to diſcern how juſt cauſe there is, why to ſome Men's Authority ſo much ſhould be attributed. For which cauſe the name of *Hippocrates* (no doubt) were more effectual to perſwade even ſuch Men as *Galen* himſelf, than to move a ſilly Empirick. So that the very ſelf-ſame Argument in this kind which doth but induce the vulgar ſort to like, may conſtrain the wiſer to yield. And therefore not Orators only with the People, but even the very profoundeſt Diſputers in all faculties have hereby often with the beſt learned prevailed moſt. As for Arguments taken from human Authority, and that negatively, for examples ſake, if we ſhould think the aſſembling of the People of God together by the ſound of a Bell, the preſenting of Infants at the Holy Font, by ſuch as we commonly call their God-fathers, or any other the like received cuſtom to be impious, becauſe ſome Men of whom we think very reverently, have in their Books and Writings no where mentioned or taught that ſuch things ſhould be in the Church; this reaſoning were ſubject unto juſt reproof; it were but feeble, weak and unſound. Notwithſtanding even negatively an Argument from human Authority may be ſtrong; as namely thus: The Chronicles of *England* mention no more than only ſix Kings bearing the name of *Edward*, ſince the time of the laſt Conqueſt; therefore it cannot be there ſhould be more. So that if the queſtion be of the authority of a Man's teſtimony, we cannot ſimply avouch, either that affirmatively, it doth not any way hold, or that it hath only force to induce the ſimpler ſort, and not to conſtrain Men of underſtanding and ripe judgment to yield aſſent, or that negatively it hath in it no ſtrength at all. For unto every of theſe the contrary is moſt plain. Neither doth that which is alledged concerning the infirmity of Men, overthrow or diſprove this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things eſcape them, and in many things they may be deceived; yea, thoſe things which they do know, they may either forget, or upon ſundry indirect conſiderations let paſs, and although themſelves do not err, yet may they through malice or vanity even of purpoſe deceive others. Howbeit, infinite caſes there are wherein all theſe impediments and lets are ſo manifeſtly excluded, that there is no ſhew or colour whereby any ſuch Exception may be taken, but that the teſtimony of Man will ſtand as a ground of infallible aſſurance. That there is a City of *Rome*, that *Pius Quintus* and *Gregory* the thirteenth, and others have been Popes of *Rome*, I ſuppoſe we are certainly enough perſwaded. The ground of our perſwaſion, who never ſaw the Place or Perſons before-named, can be nothing but Man's teſtimony. Will any Man here notwithſtanding alledge thoſe mentioned human infirmities as Reaſons, why theſe things ſhould be miſtruſted or doubted of? yea, that which is more, utterly to infringe the force and ſtrength of Man's teſtimony, were to ſhake the very Fortreſs of God's truth. For whatſoever we believe concerning Salvation by Chriſt, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief; yet the authority of Man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach us the things that are of God, unleſs we did credit Men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do ſignifie thoſe things. Some way therefore, notwithſtanding Man's infirmity, yet his Authority may inforce aſſent. Upon better advice and deliberation ſo much

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 25. When the queſtion is of the authority of a Man, it holdeth neither affirmatively nor negatively. The Reaſon is, becauſe the infirmity of Man can neither attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might ſpeak all things that are to be ſpoken of it; neither yet be free from error in thoſe things which he ſpeaketh or giveth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatively nor negatively compelleth the hearer, but only induceth him to ſome liking or diſliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an Orator to perſwade the ſimpler ſort, than for a Diſputer to enforce him that is learned. (a) 1 Cor. 1. 11. (b) John 4. 34.

Deut. 19. 15. Matth. 18. 16.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 10. Although that kind of Argument of Authority of Men is good neither in human nor divine ſciences; yet it hath ſome ſmall force in human ſciences, foraſmuch as naturally, and in that he is a Man, he may come to ſome ripeneſs of judgment in thoſe ſciences, which in divine matters hath no force at all: as of him which naturally, and as he is a Man, can no more judge of them, than a blind Man of colours; yea, ſo far is it from drawing credit, if it be barely ſpoken, without Reaſon and Teſtimony of Scripture, that it carrieth alſo a ſuſpicion of untruth whatſoever proceedeth from him: which the Apoſtle did well note, when to ſignifie a Thing corruptly ſpoken againſt the Truth, he ſaith, that it is ſpoken according to Man, *Rom.* 3. He ſaith not as a wicked and lying Man, but ſimply as a Man: And although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for ſo much as in whom the knowledge of the Truth is moſt advanced, there remaineth both ignorance and diſordered affections (whereof either of them turneth him from ſpeaking of the truth) no Man's authority, with the Church eſpecially, and thoſe that are called and perſwaded of the Authority of the Word of God, can bring any aſſurance unto the Conſcience.

is perceived, and at the length confeſt, that Arguments taken from the Authority of Men, may not only ſo far forth as hath been delivered, but further alſo be of ſome force in *Human Sciences*; which force be it never ſo ſmall, doth ſhew that they are not utterly nought. But in *Matters Divine* it is ſtill maintained ſtifly that they have no manner of force at all. Howbeit, the very ſelf-ſame reaſon, which cauſeth to yield that they are of ſome force in the one, will at length conſtrain alſo to acknowledge that they are not in the other altogether unforcible. For if the natural ſtrength of Man's wit may by experience and ſtudy attain unto ſuch ripeneſs in the knowledge of things human, that Men in this reſpect may preſume to build ſomewhat upon their judgment; what reaſon have we to think but that even in matters Divine, the like wits furniſht with neceſſary helps, exerciſed in Scripture with like diligence, and aſſiſted with the grace of Almighty God, may grow unto ſo much perfection of knowledge, that Men ſhall have juſt cauſe, when any thing pertinent unto Faith and Religion is doubted of, the more willingly to incline their minds towards that which the ſentence of ſo grave, wiſe and learned in that faculty ſhall judge moſt ſound? for the controverſie is of the weight of ſuch Mens judgments. Let it therefore be ſuſpected, let it be taken as groſs, corrupt, repugnant unto the truth, whatſoever concerning things divine above nature ſhall at any time be ſpoken as out of the Mouths of meer natural Men, which have not the eyes wherewith heavenly things are diſcerned; for this we contend not. But whom God hath endued with principal gifts to aſpire unto knowledge by; whoſe exerciſes, labours, and divine ſtudies he hath ſo bleſt, that the World for their great and rare skill that way hath them in ſingular admiration; may we reject even their judgment likewiſe, as being utterly of no moment? for mine own part, I dare not ſo lightly eſteem of the Church, and of the principal Pillars therein. The truth is, that the mind of Man deſireth evermore to know the truth, according to the moſt infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield. The greateſt aſſurance generally with all Men, is that which we have by plain aſpect and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this; there what appeareth to be true, by ſtrong and invincible demonſtration, ſuch as wherein it is not by any way poſſible to be deceived, thereunto the mind doth neceſſarily aſſent, neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwiſe. And in caſe theſe both do fail, then which way greateſt probability leadeth, thither the mind doth evermore incline. Scripture with Chriſtian Men being received as the Word of God; that for which we have probable, yea, that which we have neceſſary reaſon for, yea, that which we ſee with our eyes, is not thought ſo ſure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; becauſe we hold that his ſpeech revealeth there what himſelf ſeeth, and therefore the ſtrongeſt proof of all, and the moſt neceſſarily aſſented unto by us (which do thus receive the Scripture) is the Scripture. Now it is not required, nor can be exacted at our Hands, that we ſhould yield unto any thing other aſſent, than ſuch as doth anſwer the evidence which is to be had of that we aſſent unto. For which cauſe even in matters Divine, concerning ſome things we may lawfully doubt and ſuſpend our judgment, enclining neither to one ſide, nor other; as namely, touching the time of the fall both of Man and Angels; of ſome things we may very well retain an opinion that they are probable and not unlikely to be true, as when we hold that Men have their ſouls rather by creation than propagation, or that the Mother of our Lord lived always in the ſtate of Virginity as well after his birth as before (for of theſe two, the one, her Virginity before, is a thing which of neceſſity we muſt believe; the other, her continuance in the ſame ſtate always, hath more likelihood of truth than the contrary;) finally, in all things then are our Conſciences beſt reſolved, and in a moſt agreeable ſort unto God and Nature ſettled, when they are ſo far perſwaded as thoſe grounds of perſwaſion which are to be had will bear. Which thing I do ſo much the rather ſet down, for that I ſee how a number of ſouls are, for want of right Information in this point, oftentimes grievouſly vexed. When bare and unbuilded Concluſions are put into their minds, they finding not themſelves to have thereof any great certainty, imagine that this proceedeth only from lack of Faith, and that the Spirit of God doth not work in them, as it doth in true believers; by this means their Hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguiſh and perplexity: Whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident ſoever we may be in words, when it cometh to the point of Trial, ſuch as the evidence is, which the Truth hath either in it ſelf, or through proof, ſuch is the hearts aſſent thereunto; neither can it be ſtronger, being grounded as it ſhould be. I grant that proof derived from the authority of Man's judgment, is not able to work that aſſurance which doth grow by a ſtronger proof; and therefore although ten thouſand General Councils would ſet down one and the ſame definitive ſentence concerning any Point of Religion whatſoever, yet one Demonſtrative Reaſon alledged, or one Manifeſt Teſtimony cited from the Mouth of God himſelf to the contrary, could not chooſe but over weigh them all; inaſmuch as for them to have been deceived, it is not impoſſible; it is, that demonſtrative Reaſon or Teſtimony Divine ſhould deceive. Howbeit, in defect of proof infallible, becauſe the mind doth rather follow probable perſwaſions, than approve the things that have in them no likelihood of truth at all; ſurely if a Queſtion concerning matter of Doctrine were propoſed, and on the one ſide no kind of proof appearing, there ſhould on the other be alledged and ſhewed that ſo a number of the Learnedeſt Divines in the World have ever thought; although it did not appear what Reaſon or what Scripture led them to be of that judgment, yet to their very bare judgment ſomewhat a reaſonable Man would attribute, notwithſtanding the common imbecillities which are incident unto our nature. And whereas it is thought, that eſpecially with the Church, and thoſe that are called and perſwaded of the Authority of the Word of God, Man's Authority with them eſpecially ſhould not prevail; it muſt and doth prevail even with them, yea, with them eſpecially as far as equity requireth, and farther we maintain it not. For Men to be tied and led by Authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of Judgment, and though there be reaſon to the contrary not to liſten unto it, but to follow like Beaſts the firſt in the Herd, they know not, nor care not whither, this were brutiſh. Again, that Authority of Men ſhould prevail with Men either againſt or above Reaſon, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned Men, be they never ſo great and reverend, are to yield unto Reaſon, the weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the ſimplicity of his Perſon which doth alledge it, but being found to be ſound and good, the bare opinion of Men to the contrary muſt of neceſſity ſtoop and give place. *Irenæus* writing againſt *Marcion*, which held one God Author of the Old-Teſtament, and another of the New, to prove that the Apoſtles preached the ſame God which was known before to the Jews, he copiouſly alledgeth ſundry their Sermons and Speeches uttered concerning that matter, and recorded in Scripture: And leſt any ſhould be wearied with ſuch ſtore of Allegations, in the end he concludeth, *While we labour for theſe Demonſtrations out of Scripture, and do ſummarily declare the things which many ways have been ſpoken, be contented quietly to hear, and do not think my ſpeech tedious*: Quoniam oſtenſiones quæ ſunt in Scripturis, non poſſunt oſtendi niſi ex ipſis Scripturis, *Becauſe demonſtrations that are in Scripture may not otherwiſe be ſhewed, than by citing them out of the Scriptures themſelves where they are.* Which words make ſo little unto the purpoſe, that they ſeem, as it were, offended at him which hath called them thus ſolemnly forth to ſay nothing. And concerning the verdict of St. *Jerome*, If no Man, be he never ſo well learned, have after the Apoſtles any authority to publiſh new Doctrine as from Heaven, and to require the Worlds aſſent as unto truth received by Prophetical Revelation; doth this prejudice the credit of learned Men's judgments in opening that truth, which by being converſant in the Apoſtles Writings, they have themſelves from thence learned? St. *Auguſtine* exhorteth not to hear Men, but to hearken what God ſpeaketh. His purpoſe is not (I think) that we ſhould ſtop our ears againſt his own exhortation, and therefore he cannot mean ſimply, that audience ſhould altogether be denied unto Men; but either that if Men ſpeak one thing, and God himſelf teach another, then he, not they, to be obeyed; or if they both ſpeak the ſame thing, yet then alſo Man's ſpeech unworthy of hearing, not ſimply, but in compariſon of that which proceedeth from the Mouth of God. Yea, but we doubt what the will of God is. Are we in this caſe forbidden to hear what Men of Judgment think it to be? If not, then this Allegation alſo might very well have been ſpared. In that ancient ſtrife which was between the Catholick Fathers and *Arians*, *Donatiſts*, and others of like perverſe and froward diſpoſition, as long as to Fathers or Councils alledged on the one ſide, the like by the contrary ſide were oppoſed, impoſſible it was that ever the Queſtion ſhould by this mean grow unto any iſſue or end. The Scripture they both believed; the Scripture they knew could not give ſentence on both ſides; by Scripture the controverſie between them was ſuch as might be determined. In this caſe what madneſs was it with ſuch kinds of proofs to nouriſh their contention, when there were ſuch effectual means to end all controverſie that was between them? Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appear, that an Argument of Authority of Man affirmatively is in matters Divine nothing worth. Which Opinion being once inſerted into the minds of the vulgar ſort, what it may grow unto God knoweth. Thus much we ſee, it hath already made thouſands ſo head-ſtrong, even in groſs and palpable Errors, that a Man whoſe capacity will ſcarce ſerve him to utter five words in ſenſible manner, bluſheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yea*, as good as the *Nay* of all the wiſe, grave and learned judgments that are in the whole World: Which inſolence muſt be repreſt, or it will be the very bane of Chriſtian Religion. Our Lord's Diſciples marking what ſpeech he uttered unto them, and at the ſame time calling to mind a common opinion held by the Scribes, between which opinion and the words of their Maſter, it ſeemed unto them that there was ſome contradiction, which they could not themſelves anſwer, with full ſatisfaction of their own minds; the doubt they propoſe to our Saviour, ſaying, *Why then ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come?* Matt. 17. 10. They knew that the Scribes did err greatly, and that many ways even in matters of their own profeſſion. They notwithſtanding thought the judgment of the very Scribes in matters Divine to be of ſome value; ſome probability they thought there was that *Elias* ſhould come, inaſmuch as the Scribes ſaid it. Now no truth can contradict any truth; deſirous therefore they were to be taught, how both might ſtand together; that which they knew could not be falſe, becauſe Chriſt ſpake it; and this which to them did ſeem true, only becauſe the Scribes had ſaid it. For the Scripture from whence the Scribes did gather it, was not then in their heads. We do not find that our Saviour reproved them of Error, for thinking the judgment of the Scribes to be worth the objecting, for eſteeming it to be of any moment or value, in matters concerning God. We cannot therefore be perſwaded that the will of God is, we ſhould ſo far reject the authority of Men, as to reckon it nothing. No, it may be a queſtion, whether they that urge us unto this be themſelves

T. C. l. 2. *p.* 21. Of divers ſentences of the Fathers themſelves (whereby ſome have likened them to Brute Beaſts without Reaſon, which ſuffer themſelves to be led by the judgment and authority of others, ſome have preferred the judgment of one ſimple rude Man alledging reaſon, unto companies of learned Men) I will content my ſelf at this time with two or three Sentences. *Irenæus* ſaith, whatſoever is to be ſhewed in the Scripture, cannot be ſhewed but out of the Scriptures themſelves. *l.* 3. *cap.* 12. *Jerome* ſaith, no Man, be he never ſo holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the Apoſtles. in *Pſal.* 86. *Auguſtine* ſaith, that he will believe none, how godly and learned ſoever he be, unleſs he confirm his ſentence by the Scriptures, or by ſome reaſon not contrary to them. *Ep.* 18. And in another place, hear this, The Lord ſaith; hear not this, *Donatus* ſaith, *Rogatus* ſaith, *Vincentius* ſaith, *Hilarius* ſaith, *Ambroſe* ſaith, *Auguſtine* ſaith, but hearken unto this, The Lord ſaith, *Ep.* 4.8. And again, having to do with an Arian, he affirmeth, that neither he ought to bring forth the Council of *Nice*, nor the other the Council of *Arimine*, thereby to bring prejudice each to other; neither ought the Arian to be holden by the authority of the one, nor himſelf by the authority of the other, but by the Scriptures, which are witneſſes proper to neither, but common to both, matter with matter, cauſe with cauſe, reaſon with reaſon ought to be debated, *Cont. Max. Arian.* 3. 14. *cap.* And in another place againſt *Petilian* the Donatiſt, he ſaith, Let not theſe words be heard between us, I ſay, You ſay, let us hear this, thus ſaith the Lord. And by and by ſpeaking of the Scriptures he ſaith, there let us ſeek the Church, there let us try the cauſe. *De unit. Eccleſ. cap* 3. Hereby it is manifeſt, that the argument of the authority of Man affirmatively is nothing worth.

perſwaded indeed. Men do ſometimes bewray that by deeds, which to confeſs they are hardly drawn. Mark then, if this be not general with all Men for the moſt part. When the judgments of learned Men are alledged againſt them, what do they but either elevate their credit, or oppoſe unto them the judgments of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all Men acknowledge in them ſome force and weight, for which they are loath the cauſe they maintain ſhould be ſo much weakned, as their Teſtimony is available. Again, what reaſon is there why alledging Teſtimonies as Proofs, Men give them ſome title of credit, honour and eſtimation whom they alledge, unleſs beforehand it be ſufficiently known who they are? What reaſon hereof but only a common engrafted perſwaſion, that in ſome Men there may be found ſuch qualities as are able to countervail thoſe exceptions which might be taken againſt them, and that ſuch Mens authority is not lightly to be ſhaken off? Shall I add further, that the force of Arguments drawn from the Authority of Scripture it ſelf, as Scriptures commonly are alledged, ſhall (being ſifted) be found to depend upon the ſtrength of this ſo mnch deſpiſed and debaſed authority of Man? Surely it doth, and that oftner than we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the proof which is taken from thence muſt needs be of all other moſt invincible; yet this ſtrength it hath not, unleſs it avouch the ſelf-ſame thing, for which it is brought. If there be either undeniable appearance that ſo it doth, or reaſon ſuch as cannot deceive, then Scripture-proof (no doubt) in ſtrength and value exceedeth all. But for the moſt part, even ſuch as are readieſt to cite for one thing Five-hundred ſentences of holy Scripture; what warrant have they, that any one of them doth mean the thing for which it is alledged? Is not their ſureſt ground moſt commonly, either ſome probable conjecture of their own, or the judgment of others taking thoſe Scriptures as they do? Which notwithſtanding to mean otherwiſe than they take them, it is not ſtill altogether impoſſible. So that now and then they ground themſelves on Human authority, even when they moſt pretend Divine. Thus it fareth even clean throughout the whole controverſy about that Diſcipline which is ſo earneſtly urged and laboured for. Scriptures are plentifully alledged to prove, that the whole Chriſtian World for ever ought to embrace it. Hereupon Men term it, *The Diſcipline of God.* Howbeit, examine, ſift, and reſolve their alledged proofs, till you come to the very root from whence they ſpring, the heart wherein their ſtrength lieth; and it ſhall clearly appear unto any Man of judgment, that the moſt which can be inferred upon ſuch plenty of Divine Teſtimonies is only this, That *ſome things* which they maintain, as far as *ſome Men* can *probably conjecture*, do *ſeem* to have been out of Scripture *not abſurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant ſufficient for any Mans Conſcience to build ſuch proceedings upon, as have been, and are put in ure for the eſtabliſhment of that cauſe? But to conclude, I would gladly underſtand how it cometh to paſs, that they which ſo peremptorily do maintain that Human Authority is nothing worth, are in the cauſe which they favour ſo careful to have the common ſort of Men perſwaded, that the wiſeſt, the godlieſt, and the beſt learned in all Chriſtendom are that way given, ſeeing they judge this to make nothing in the World for them? Again, how cometh it to paſs they cannot abide that Authority ſhould be alledged on the other ſide, if there be no force at all in Authorities on one ſide or other? Wherefore labour they to ſtrip their Adverſaries of ſuch furniture as doth not help? Why take they ſuch needleſs pains to furniſh alſo their own cauſe with the like? If it be void and to no purpoſe, that the names of Men are ſo frequent in their Books, what did move them to bring them in, or doth to ſuffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is ſalved, *They do it but after the truth made manifeſt firſt, by Reaſon or by Scripture: They do it not, but to controul the enemies of Truth, who bear themſelves bold upon Human Authority, making not for them, but againſt them rather.* Which anſwers are nothing: For in what place, or upon what conſideration ſoever it be they do it, were it in their own opinion of no force being done, they would undoubtedly refrain to do it.

T.C. lib. 2. 21. If at any time it happened unto *Auguſtine* (as it did againſt the Donatiſts and others) to alledge the authority of the ancient Fathers, which had been before him; yet this was not done before he had laid a ſure foundation of his cauſe in the Scriptures, and that alſo being provoked by the adverſaries of the truth, who bare themſelves high of ſome Council, or of ſome Man of Name that had favoured that part.

A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.

8. But to the end it may more plainly appear, what we are to judge of their ſentences, and of the cauſe it ſelf wherein they are alledged; firſt, it may not well be denied, that all actions of Men endued with the uſe of reaſon, are generally either good or evil. For although it be granted, that no action is properly termed good or evil, unleſs it be voluntary; yet this can be no let to our former Aſſertion, That all actions of Men endued with the uſe of Reaſon, are generally either good or evil; becauſe even thoſe things are done voluntarily by us, which other Creatures do naturally, in as much as we might ſtay our doing of them if we would. Beaſts naturally do take their food and reſt, when it offereth it ſelf unto them. If Men did ſo too, and could not do otherwiſe of themſelves, there were no place for any ſuch reproof as that of our Saviour Chriſt unto his Diſciples, *Could ye not watch with me one hour?* That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it be well done, muſt needs be done with deliberate conſideration of ſome reaſonable cauſe, wherefore we rather ſhould do it than not. Whereupon it ſeemeth, that in ſuch actions only thoſe are ſaid to be good or evil, which are capable of deliberation: So that many things being hourly done by Men, wherein they need not uſe with themſelves any manner of conſultation at all, it may perhaps hereby ſeem that well or ill doing belongeth only to cur weightier affairs, and to thoſe deeds which are of ſo great importance that they require advice. But thus to determine were perilous, and peradventure unſound alſo. I do rather incline to think, that ſeeing all the unforced actions of Men are voluntary; and all voluntary actions tending to the end have choice; and all choice preſuppoſeth the knowledge of ſome cauſe wherefore we make it; where the reaſonable cauſe of ſuch actions ſo readily offereth it ſelf, that it needeth not to be ſought for; in thoſe things though we do not deliberate, yet they are of their Nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will which

Matth. 26. 40.

may encline either way, and would not any one way bend it ſelf, if there were not ſome apparent motive to lead it. Deliberation actual we uſe, when there is doubt what we ſhould encline our wills unto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent unto the thing, but as needleſs in regard of the Agent, which ſeeth already what to reſolve upon. It hath no apparent abſurdity therefore in it to think, that all actions of Men endued with the uſe of reaſon, are generally either good or evil. Whatſoever is good, the ſame is alſo approved of God; and according unto the ſundry degrees of goodneſs, the kinds of Divine approbation are in like ſort multiplied. Some things are good, yet in ſo mean a degree of goodneſs, that Men are only not diſproved nor diſallowed of God for them. No Man hateth his own fleſh. If ye do good unto them that do ſo to you, the very *Publicans* themſelves do as much. They are worſe than Infidels that have no care to provide for their own. In actions of this ſort, the very light of nature alone may diſcover that which is ſo far forth in the ſight of God allowable. Some things in ſuch ſort are allowed, that they be alſo required as neceſſary unto ſalvation, by way of direct, immediate, and proper neceſſity final; ſo that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary courſe be ſaved, nor by any means be excluded from life obſerving them. In actions of this kind our chiefeſt direction is from Scripture; for Nature is no ſufficient Teacher what we ſhould do that we may attain unto life everlaſting. The inſufficiency of the light of nature, is by the light of Scripture ſo fully and ſo perfectly herein ſupplied, that further light than this hath added, there doth not need unto that end.

Epheſ. 5. 29.
Matth. 5. 46.
1 Tim. 5. 8.

Finally, ſome things although not ſo required of neceſſity, that to leave them undone excludeth from Salvation, are notwithſtanding of ſo great dignity and acceptation with God, that moſt ample reward in Heaven is laid up for them. Hereof we have no Commandment either in Nature or Scripture, which doth exact them at our Hands; yet thoſe Motives there are in both, which draw moſt effectually our minds unto them: In this kind there is not the leaſt action, but it doth ſomewhat make to the acceſſory augmentation of our bliſs. For which cauſe our Saviour doth plainly witneſs, that there ſhall not be as much as a cup of cold Water beſtowed for his ſake without reward. Hereupon dependeth whatſoever difference there is between the ſtates of Saints in glory: hither we refer whatſoever belongeth unto the higheſt perfection of Man by way of ſervice towards God: Hereunto that fervour and firſt love of Chriſtians did bend it ſelf, cauſing them to ſell their poſſeſſions, and lay down the price at the bleſſed Apoſtles Feet. Hereat S. *Paul* undoubtedly did aim, in ſo far abridging his own liberty; and exceeding that which the bond of neceſſary and enjoyned duty tied him unto. Wherefore ſeeing that in all theſe ſeveral kinds of actions, there can be nothing poſſibly evil which God approveth; and that he approveth much more than he doth command; and that his very Commandments in ſome kind, as namely, his Precepts comprehended in the Law of Nature, may be otherwiſe known than only by Scripture; and that to do them, howſoever we know them, muſt needs be acceptable in his ſight. Let them with whom we have hitherto diſputed conſider well, how it can ſtand with Reaſon to make the bare mandate of Sacred Scripture, the only Rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal Men. The Teſtimonies of God are true, the Teſtimonies of God are perfect, the Teſtimonies of God are all ſufficient unto that end for which they were given. Therefore accordingly we do receive them, we do not think that in them God hath omitted any thing needful unto his purpoſe, and left his intent to be accompliſhed by our deviſings. What the Scripture purpoſeth, the ſame in all points it doth perform. Howbeit, that here we ſwerve not in judgment, one thing eſpecially we muſt obſerve, namely, That the abſolute perfection of Scripture is ſeen by relation unto that end whereto it tendeth. And even hereby it cometh to paſs, that firſt ſuch as imagine the general and main drift of the body of ſacred Scripture not to be ſo large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliver, as in truth he doth, a full inſtruction in all things unto ſalvation neceſſary, the knowledge whereof Man by nature could not otherwiſe in this life attain unto: They are by this very mean induced, either ſtill to look for new Revelations from Heaven, or elſe dangerouſly to add to the Word of God uncertain Tradition, that ſo the Doctrine of Man's Salvation may be compleat; which Doctrine we conſtantly hold in all reſpects without any ſuch thing added to be ſo compleat, that we utterly refuſe as much as once to acquaint our ſelves with any thing further. Whatſoever, to make up the Doctrine of Man's Salvation, is added as in ſupply of the Scriptures inſufficiency, we reject it: Scripture purpoſing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Again, the ſcope and purpoſe of God in delivering the Holy Scripture, ſuch as do take more largely than behoveth, they on the contrary ſide racking and ſtretching it further than by him was meant, are drawn into ſundry as great inconveniences. Theſe pretending the Scriptures perfection, infer thereupon, That in Scripture all things lawful to be done muſt needs be contained. We count thoſe things perfect which want nothing requiſite for the end whereto they were inſtituted: As therefore God created every part and particle of Man exactly perfect, that is to ſay, in all points ſufficient unto that uſe for which he appointed it; ſo the Scripture, yea every ſentence thereof is perfect, and wanteth nothing requiſite unto that purpoſe for which God delivered the ſame. So that if hereupon we conclude, that becauſe the Scripture is perfect, therefore all things lawful to be done are comprehended in the Scripture; we may even as well conclude ſo of every ſentence, as of the whole ſum and body thereof, unleſs we firſt of all prove that it was the drift, ſcope and purpoſe of Almighty God, in holy Scripture to compriſe all things which Man may practiſe. But admit this, and mark, I beſeech you, what would follow. God in delivering Scripture to his Church, ſhould clean have abrogated amongſt them the Law of Nature, which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the minds of all the Children of Men, whereby both general principles for directing

Matth. 10. 42.
Acts 4. 35.
1 Theſ. 2. 7, 9.

T. C. lib. 2. p. 6. Where this Doctrine is accuſed of bringing Men to deſpair, it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to deſpair, againſt which this Doctrine offereth the remedy; it muſt needs be that it bringeth comfort and joy to the Conſcience of Man.

of human actions are comprehended, and concluſions derived from them; upon which concluſions groweth in particularity the choice of good and evil in the daily affairs of this life. Admit this, and what ſhall the Scripture be, but a ſnare and a torment to weak Conſciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, ſcrupuloſities, doubts inſoluble, and extream deſpairs? Not that the Scripture it ſelf doth cauſe any ſuch thing (for it tendeth to the clean contrary, and the fruit thereof is reſolute aſſurance and certainty in that it teacheth:) but the neceſſities of this life urging Men to do that which the light of Nature, common diſcretion, and judgment of it ſelf directeth them unto; on the other ſide, this Doctrine teaching them that ſo to do were to ſin againſt their own ſouls, and that they put forth their Hands to iniquity, whatſoever they go about, and have not firſt the ſacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it chuſe but bring the ſimple a thouſand times to their wits end, how can it chuſe but vex and amaze them? For in every action of common life to find out ſome ſentence clearly and infallibly ſetting before our eyes, what we ought to do (ſeem we in Scripture never ſo expert) would trouble us more than we are aware. In weak and tender minds we little know what miſery this ſtrict opinion would breed, beſides the ſtops it would make in the whole courſe of all Mens lives and actions. Make all things ſin which we do by direction of Natures light, and by the rule of common diſcretion without thinking at all upon Scripture; admit this Poſition, and Parents ſhall cauſe their Children to ſin, as oft as they cauſe them to do any thing, before they come to years of capacity, and be ripe for Knowledge in the Scripture. Admit this, and it ſhall not be with Maſters as it was with him in the Goſpel; but ſervants being commanded to go, ſhall ſtand ſtill, till they have their errand warranted unto them by Scripture. Which as it ſtandeth with Chriſtian duty in ſome caſes, ſo in common affairs to require it, were moſt unfit. Two opinions therefore there are concerning ſufficiency of holy Scripture, each extreamly oppoſite unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The Schools of *Rome* teach Scripture to be inſufficient, as if, except Traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and ſupernatural Truth, which abſolutely is neceſſary for the Children of Men in this life to know, that they may in the next be ſaved. Others juſtly condemning this opinion, grow likewiſe unto a dangerous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things in that kind neceſſary, but all things ſimply, and in ſuch ſort, that to do any thing according to any other Law, were not only unneceſſary, but even oppoſite unto Salvation, unlawful and ſinful. Whatſoever is ſpoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwiſe than as the Truth is, though it ſeem an honour, it is an injury. And as incredible praiſes given unto Men, do often abate and impair the credit of their deſerved commendation; ſo we muſt likewiſe take great heed, leſt in attributing unto Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cauſe even thoſe things which indeed it hath moſt abundantly, to be leſs reverendly eſteemed. I therefore leave it to themſelves to conſider, whether they have in this Firſt Point overſhot themſelves, or not; which, God doth know, is quickly done, even when our meaning is moſt ſincere, as I am verily perſwaded theirs in this caſe was.

Luke 7. 8.

OF THE LAWS OF Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

BOOK III.

Concerning their Second Aſſertion, That in Scripture there muſt be of neceſſity contained a Form of Church-Polity, the Laws whereof may in no wiſe be altered.

The Matter contained in this third Book.

1. *What the Church is, and in what reſpect Laws of Polity are thereunto neceſſarily required.*
2. *Whether it be neceſſary that ſome particular Form of Church-Polity be ſet down in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly to any ſuch Form are not of neceſſity to ſalvation.*
3. *That matters of Church-Polity are different from matters of Faith and Salvation, and that they themſelves ſo teach, which are our Reprovers for ſo teaching.*
4. *That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing, which thereunto with the ſoundneſs of truth may be given.*
5. *Their meaning who firſt urged againſt the Polity of the Church of* England, *that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church more than is commanded by the Word of God.*
6. *How great injury Men by ſo thinking ſhould offer unto all the Churches of God.*
7. *A ſhift notwithſtanding to maintain it, by interpreting* Commanded, *as though it were meant, that greater things only ought to be found ſet down in Scripture particularly, and leſſer framed by the general Rules of Scripture.*
8. *Another Device to defend the ſame, by expounding* Commanded, *as if it did ſignifie* grounded *on Scripture, and were oppoſed to things found out by the light of Natural reaſon only.*
9. *How Laws for the Polity of the Church may be made by the advice of Men, and how thoſe being not repugnant to the Word of God, are approved in his ſight.*
10. *That neither God's being the Author of Laws, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any Reaſon ſufficient to prove that they admit no addition or change.*
11. *Whether Chriſt muſt needs intend Laws unchangeable altogether, or have forbidden any where to make any other Law than himſelf did deliver.*

Albeit the ſubſtance of thoſe Controverſies whereinto we have begun to wade, be rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Chriſt, than of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Ghurch conſiſteth ; yet becauſe the Subject or Matter which this Poſition concerneth, is, *A Form of Church-Government, or Church-Polity*: It therefore behoveth us ſo far forth to conſider the nature of the Church, as is requiſite for Men's more clear and plain underſtanding, in what reſpect Laws of Polity or Government are neceſſary thereunto. That Church of Chriſt, which we properly term his body Myſtical, can be but one ; neither can that one be ſenſibly diſcerned by any Man, inaſmuch as the parts thereof are ſome in Heaven already with Chriſt, and the reſt that are on Earth (albeit their natural Perſons be viſible) we do not diſcern

What the Church is, and in what reſpect Laws of Polity are thereunto neceſſarily required.

under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend, that ſuch a real body there is, a body collective, becauſe it containeth a huge multitude; an body myſtical, becauſe the myſtery of their conjunction is removed altogether from ſenſe. Whatſoever we read in Scripture, concerning the endleſs love, and the ſaving mercy, which God ſheweth towards his Church, the only proper ſubject thereof is this Church. Concerning this Flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promiſed, *I give unto them eternal life, and they ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any pluck them out of my hands.* They who are of this Society have ſuch Marks and Notes of diſtinction from all others, as are not object unto our ſenſe; only unto God, who ſeeth their Hearts and underſtandeth all their ſecret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifeſt. All Men knew *Nathanael* to be an *Iſraelite.* But our Saviour piercing deeper, giveth further Teſtimony of him than Men could have done with ſuch certainty as he did, *Behold an Iſraelite indeed, in whom is no guile.* If we profeſs, as *Peter* did, that we love the Lord, and profeſs it in the hearing of Men; Charity is prone to believe all things, and therefore charitable Men are likely to think we do ſo, as long as they ſee no proof to the contrary. But that our love is ſound and ſincere, that it cometh from *a pure Heart, a good conſcience, and a faith unfeigned,* who can pronounce, ſaving only the ſearcher of all Mens hearts, who alone intuitively doth know in this kind who are his? And as thoſe everlaſting promiſes of Love, Mercy and Bleſſedneſs, belong to the myſtical Church; even ſo on the other ſide, when we read of any duty which the Church of God is bound unto, the Church whom this doth concern is a ſenſible known company. And this viſible Church in like ſort is but one, continued from the firſt beginning of the World to the laſt end. Which company being divided into two moieties, the one before, the other ſince the coming of Chriſt, that part which ſince the coming of Chriſt, partly hath embraced, and partly ſhall hereafter embrace the Chriſtian Religion, we term as by a more proper name, the Church of Chriſt. And therefore the Apoſtle affirmeth plainly of all Men Chriſtian, that be they Jews or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but (a) *one body.* The unity of which viſible Body and Church of Chriſt conſiſteth in that Uniformity, which all the ſeveral perſons thereunto belonging have, by reaſon of that *one Lord,* whoſe ſervants they all profeſs themſelves; that *one Faith,* which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptiſm,* wherewith they are all initiated. The viſible Church of Jeſus Chriſt is therefore one, in outward profeſſion of thoſe things which ſupernaturally appertain to the very Eſſence of Chriſtianity, and are neceſſarily required in every particular Chriſtian Man: *Let all the houſe of Iſrael know for certainty,* ſaith *Peter, that God hath made him both Lord and Chriſt, even this Jeſus whom ye have Crucified.* Chriſtians therefore they are not, which call not him their Maſter and Lord. And from hence it came, that firſt at *Antioch,* and afterward throughout the whole World, all that were of the Church viſible were called Chriſtians, even amongſt the Heathen: which name unto them was precious and glorious; but in the eſtimation of the reſt of the World, even Chriſt Jeſus himſelf was (b) execrable, for whoſe ſake all Men were ſo likewiſe which did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himſelf did foreſee, and therefore armed his Church to the end they might ſuſtain it without diſcomfort. * *All theſe things they will do unto you for my names ſake; yea, the time ſhall come, that whoſoever killeth you will think that he doth God good ſervice. Theſe things I tell you, that when the Hour ſhall come ye may then call to mind, how I told you before-hand of them.* But our naming of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord is not enough to prove us Chriſtians, unleſs we alſo embrace that Faith, which Chriſt hath publiſhed unto the World. To ſhew that the Angel of *Pergamus* continued in Chriſtianity, behold how the Spirit of Chriſt ſpeaketh, (c) *Thou keepeſt my Name, and thou haſt not denied my Faith.* Concerning which Faith, (d) *The rule thereof,* ſaith *Tertullian, is one alone, immoveable, and no way poſſible to be better framed anew.* What rule that is, he ſheweth by rehearſing thoſe few Articles of Chriſtian belief. And before *Tertullian,* (e) *Irenæus; The Church, though ſcattered through the whole World to the utmoſt borders of the Earth, hath from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples received Belief.* The parts of which Belief he alſo reciteth, in ſubſtance the very ſame with *Tertullian,* and thereupon inferreth, *This Faith the Church being ſpread far and wide, preſerveth as if one Houſe did contain them: Theſe things it equally embraceth, as though it had even one Soul, one Heart, and no more: It publiſheth, teacheth, and delivereth theſe things with Uniform conſent, as if God had given it but one only Tongue wherewith to ſpeak. He which amongſt the guides of the Church is beſt able to ſpeak, uttereth no more than this; and leſs than this, the moſt ſimple do not utter, when they make profeſſion of their Faith.* Now although we know the Chriſtian Faith, and allow of it, yet in this reſpect we are but entring; entred we are not into the viſible Church, before our admittance by the door of Baptiſm. Wherefore immediately upon the acknowledgment of Chriſtian Faith, the Eunuch (we ſee) was Baptized by (f) *Philip, Paul* by *Ananias,* by *Peter* a huge multitude containing Three-thouſand Souls; which being once Baptized, were reckoned in the number of Souls added to the viſible Church. As for thoſe Virtues that belong unto Moral Righteouſneſs, and Honeſty of life, we do not mention them, becauſe they are not proper unto Chriſtian Men, as they are Chriſtian, but do concern them, as they are Men. True it is, the want of theſe Virtues excludeth from Salvation. So doth much more the abſence of inward belief of Heart; ſo doth deſpair and lack of Hope; ſo emptineſs of Chriſtian Love and Charity. But we ſpeak now of the Viſible Church, whoſe Children are ſigned with this mark, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm.* In whomſoever theſe things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her Children; them only ſhe holdeth for Aliens and Strangers, in whom theſe things are not found. For want of theſe it is, that Saracens, Jews, and Infidels, are excluded out of the bounds of the Church: Others we may not deny to be of the Viſible Church, as long as theſe things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all Men are of neceſſity

either

John 10. 28.

and 1. 47.

and 21. 15.

1 Tim. 1. 5.

(a) Epheſ. 2. 16. That he might reconcile both unto God in one body. Epheſ. 3. 16. That the Gentiles ſhould be inheritors alſo and of the ſame body. *Vide. Th. p.* 3. *q.* 7. *art.* 3. 1 Cor. 12 13. Epheſ. 4. 5. Acts 2 36. John 13. 13. Col. 3. 24. and 4. 1.

(b) 1 Cor. 1. 23. *Vide & Tacitum lib. Annal.* 15. *Nero quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia inviſos vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Chriſtus, qui Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum ſupplicio affectus erat. Repreſſaque in præſens exitiabilis ſuperſtitio rurſus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, ſed per urbem etiam, quò cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.*

* John 15. 21. and 16. 2, 4.

(c) Apoc 2. 13

(d) *Tertul.* de Virgin. veland.

(e) *Iren.* adverſ. Hereſ. lib. 1. cap. 2. & 3.

(f) Acts 8 38. & 22. 16. & 2. 41.

either Chriſtians, or not Chriſtians. If by external Profeſſion they be Chriſtians, then are they of the viſible Church of Chriſt; and Chriſtians by external Profeſſion they are all, whoſe mark of Recogniſance hath in it thoſe things which we have mentioned, yea, although they be impious Idolaters, wicked Hereticks, Perſons excommunicable, yea, and caſt out for notorious improbity. Such withal we deny not to be the Imps and Limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue ſuch. Is it then poſſible, that the ſelf-ſame Men ſhould belong both to the Synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Jeſus Chriſt? Unto that Church which is his Myſtical Body, not poſſible; becauſe that Body conſiſteth of none but only true *Iſraelites*, true Sons of *Abraham*, true Servants and Saints of God. Howbeit of the Viſible Body and Church of Jeſus Chriſt, thoſe may be, and oftentimes are, in reſpect of the main parts of their outward Profeſſion, who in regard of their inward diſpoſition of mind, yea, of External Converſation, yea, even of ſome parts of their very profeſſion, are moſt worthily both hateful in the ſight of God himſelf, and in the eyes of the ſounder part of the Viſible Church moſt execrable. Our Saviour therefore compareth the Kingdom of Heaven to a Net, whereunto all which cometh, neither is, nor ſeemeth Fiſh: His Church he compareth unto a Field, where Tares manifeſtly known and ſeen by all Men, do grow intermingled with good Corn, and even ſo ſhall continue till the final conſummation of the World. God hath had ever, and ever ſhall have, ſome Church Viſible upon Earth. When the People of God worſhipped the Calf in the Wilderneſs; when they adored the Brazen Serpent; when they ſerved the Gods of the Nations; when they bowed their knees to *Baal*; when they burnt Incenſe and offered Sacrifice unto Idols: True it is, the wrath of God was moſt fiercely inflamed againſt them, their Prophets juſtly condemned them, as an adulterous ſeed and a wicked generation of Miſcreants, which had forſaken the living God; and of him were likewiſe forſaken, in reſpect of that ſingular mercy wherewith he kindly and lovingly embraced his faithful Children. Howbeit, retaining the Law of God, and the holy Seal of his Covenant, the Sheep of his Viſible Flock they continued even in the depth of their Diſobedience and Rebellion. Wherefore not only amongſt them God always had his Church, becauſe he had thouſands which never bowed their knees to *Baal*; but whoſe knees were bowed unto *Baal*, even they were alſo of the Viſible Church of God. Nor did the Prophet ſo complain, as if that Church had been quite aud clean extinguiſhed; but he took it as though there had not been remaining in the World any beſides himſelf, that carried a true and an upright heart towards God, with care to ſerve him according unto his Holy Will. For lack of diligent obſerving the difference, firſt between the Church of God Myſtical and Viſible, then between the Viſible ſound and corrupted, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, the overſights are neither few nor light, that have been committed. This deceiveth them, and nothing elſe, who think that in the time of the firſt World, the Family of *Noah* did contain all that were of the Viſible Church of God. From hence it grew, and from no other cauſe in the World, that the *African* Biſhops in the Council of *Carthage*, knowing how the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm belongeth only to the Church of Chriſt; and ſuppoſing that Hereticks, which were apparently ſevered from the ſound believing Church, could not poſſibly be of the Church of Jeſus Chriſt; thought it utterly againſt Reaſon, that Baptiſm adminiſtred by Men of corrupt belief, ſhould be accounted as a Sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of Rebaptization, their Arguments are built upon the fore-alledged ground, *That Hereticks are not at all any part of the Church of Chriſt. Our Saviour founded his Church on a Rock, and not upon Hereſie. Power of Baptizing he gave to his Apoſtles, unto Hereticks he gave it not. Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppoſe themſelves againſt Chriſt, do but ſcatter his Sheep and Flock. Without the Church Baptize they cannot.* Again, *are Hereticks Chriſtians, or are they not? If they be Chriſtians, wherefore remain they not in God's Church? If they be no Chriſtians, how make they Chriſtians? Or to what purpoſe ſhall thoſe words of the Lord ſerve? He which is not with me, is againſt me*: And, *He which gathereth not with me, ſcattereth. Wherefore evident it is, that upon miſbegotten Children, and the brood of Antichriſt, without Rebaptization the Holy Ghoſt cannot deſcend.* But none in this caſe ſo earneſt as *Cyprian*: *I know no Baptiſm but one, and that in the Church only; none without the Church, where he that doth caſt out the Devil, hath the Devil; he doth examine about Belief, whoſe lips and words do breathe forth a Canker; the faithleſs doth offer the Articles of Faith; a wicked Creature forgiveth Wickedneſs; in the Name of Chriſt, Antichriſt ſigneth; he which is curſed of God, bleſſeth; a dead carrion promiſeth life; a Man unpeaceable giveth peace; a blaſphemer calleth upon the Name of God; a prophane perſon doth exerciſe Prieſthood; a Sacrilegious wretch doth prepare the Altar; and in the neck of all theſe that evil alſo cometh, the Euchariſt, a very Biſhop of the Devil doth preſume to conſecrate.* All this was true, but not ſufficient to prove, that Hereticks were in no ſort any part of the Viſible Church of Chriſt, and conſequently their Baptiſm no Baptiſm. This opinion therefore was afterwards both condemned by a better adviſed Council, and alſo revoked by the chiefeſt of the Authors thereof themſelves. What is it but only the ſelf-ſame error and miſconceit, wherewith others being at this Day likewiſe poſſeſt, they aſk us where our Church did lurk, in what Cave of the Earth it ſlept for ſo many hundreds of years together, before the birth of *Martin Luther*? As if we were of opinion, that *Luther* did erect a new Church of Chriſt. No, the Church of Chriſt which was from the beginning, is, and continueth unto the end. Of which Church, all parts have not been always equally ſincere and ſound. In the days of *Abia* it plainly appeareth, that *Judah* was by many degrees more free from pollution than *Iſrael*, as that ſolemn oration ſheweth, wherein he pleadeth for the one againſt the other in this wiſe. *O Jeroboam, and all Iſrael, hear you me: Have ye not driven away the Prieſts of the Lord, the Sons of* Aaron, *aud the Levites, and have made you Prieſts like the People of the Nations? Whoſoever cometh to conſecrate with a young Bullock, and ſeven Rams, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no Gods. But we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forſaken him; and the Prieſts the ſons of* Aaron *miniſter unto the Lord every Morning, and every*

Matth. 13.47. & 13. 24.

Exod. 23.
Pſ. 106. 19, 20.
2 Kings 18. 4.
Jer. 11. 14.
2 King 22. 17.
Iſa. 57. 3. & 1. 4. & 60. 15.
Jer. 13. 11.

1 Kings 19. 8.
Jer 13 11.
1 King. 19. 18.

Fortunat. in Concil. Car.
Matth. 7. 24. & 16. 18. & 28. 19.

Secundinus in eodem Concil.
Matth. 12. 30.

In Conciliis Niceno. Vide Hieron. Dial. adverſ. Luciferia.

2 Chron. 13.

Evening, Burnt-offerings, and ſweet Incenſe; and the Bread is ſet in order upon the pure Table, and the Candleſtick of Gold with the Lamps thereof, to burn every evening; for we keep the watch of the Lord our God, but ye have forſaken him. In St. *Paul*'s time, the integrity of *Rome* was famous; *Corinth* many ways reproved; they of *Galatia* much more out of ſquare. In St. *John*'s time, *Epheſus* and *Smyrna* in far better ſtate than *Thyatira* and *Pergamus* were. We hope therefore, that to reform our ſelves, if at any time we have done amiſs, is not to ſever our ſelves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are ſo ſtill. Other difference between our eſtate before and now, we know none, but only ſuch as we ſee in *Judah*; which having ſometime been Idolatrous, became afterwards more ſoundly religious, by renouncing Idolatry and Superſtition. Hoſ. 14, 15. & 17. *If* Ephraim *be joyned to Idols*, the counſel of the Prophet is, *let him alone. If* Iſrael *play the Harlot, let not* Judah *ſin*. Joſh. 24. 15. If it ſeem evil unto you, ſaith *Joſhua*, to ſerve the Lord, *chuſe you this Day whom you will ſerve; whether the Gods whom your Fathers ſerved beyond the flood, or the Gods of the Amorites, in whoſe Land ye dwell: But I and mine houſe will ſerve the Lord.* The indiſpoſition therefore of the Church of *Rome* to reform her ſelf, muſt be no ſtay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as deſire of retaining Conformity with them, could be no excuſe, if we did not perform that duty. Notwithſtanding, ſo far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold Fellowſhip with them. Rom. 11. 28. For even as the Apoſtle doth ſay of *Iſrael*, that they are in one reſpect, enemies, but in another, beloved of God: In like ſort with *Rome* we dare not communicate, concerning ſundry her groſs and grievous abominations; yet touching thoſe main parts of Chriſtian truth wherein they conſtantly ſtill perſiſt, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the Family of Jeſus Chriſt; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoyned ſo far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) ſo yield to frame and reform themſelves, that no diſtraction remain in any thing, but that we all may with one heart and one mouth glorifie God the Father of our Lord and Saviour, whoſe Church we are. As there are which make the Church of *Rome* utterly no Church at all, by reaſon of ſo many, ſo grievous Errors in their Doctrines: So we have them amongſt us, who under pretence of imagined corruptions in our Diſcipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the Church of *England* it-ſelf. But whatſoever either the one ſort or the other teach, we muſt acknowledge even Hereticks themſelves to be, though a maimed part, yet a part of the Viſible Church. If an Infidel ſhould purſue to death an Heretick profeſſing Chriſtianity, only for Chriſtian profeſſion's ſake, could we deny unto him the honour of Martyrdom? Yet this honour all Men know to be proper unto the Church. Hereticks therefore are not utterly cut off from the Viſible Church of Chriſt. If the Fathers do any where, as oftentimes they do, make the true Viſible Church of Chriſt, and Heretical companies, oppoſite; they are to be conſtrued as ſeparating Hereticks, not altogether from the company of Believers, but from the Fellowſhip of ſound Believers. For where profeſt unbelief is, there can be no Viſible Church of Chriſt; there may be, where ſound belief wanteth. Infidels being clean without the Church, deny directly, and utterly reject the very Principles of Chriſtianity; which Hereticks embrace, and err only by miſconſtruction: Whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeed to the Principles of Chriſtian Faith, are notwithſtanding by them held otherwiſe, and maintained as moſt conſonant thereunto. Wherefore being Chriſtians, in regard of the general Truth of Chriſt which they openly profeſs; yet they are by the Fathers every where ſpoken of, as Men clean excluded out of the right-believing Church, by reaſon of their particular Errors, for which all that are of a ſound belief muſt needs condemn them. In this conſideration, the anſwer of *Calvin* Calvin. Epiſt. unto *Farell*, concerning the Children of Popiſh Parents, doth ſeem crazed. *Whereas*, ſaith he, *you ask our judgment about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongſt you, whether Miniſters of our Order, profeſſing the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel, may lawfully admit unto Baptiſm an Infant, whoſe Father is a ſtranger unto our Churches, and whoſe Mother hath fallen from us unto the Papacy, ſo that both the Parents are Popiſh. Thus we have thought good to anſwer; namely, that it is an abſurd thing for us to Baptize them which cannot be reckoned Members of our Body. And ſith Papiſts Children are ſuch, we ſee not how it ſhould be lawful to Miniſter Baptiſm unto them.* Sounder a great deal is the anſwer of the Eccleſiaſtical Colledge of *Geneva* unto *Knox*, who having ſignified unto them, that himſelf did not think it lawful to Baptize baſtards, or the Children of Idolaters (he meaneth Papiſts) or of Perſons Excommunicate, till either the Parents had by repentance ſubmitted themſelves unto the Church, or elſe their Children being grown unto the Years of underſtanding Epiſt. 283. ſhould come and ſue for their own Baptiſm. *For thus thinking*, ſaith he, *I am thought to be over-ſevere, and that not only by them which are Popiſh; but even in their judgments alſo, who think themſelves Maintainers of the Truth.* Epiſt. 285. Maſter *Knoxes* over-ſight herein they controuled. Their Sentence was, *wheresoever the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity hath not utterly periſhed and been extinct, Infants are beguiled of their right, if the Common Seal be denied them.* Which concluſion in it ſelf is ſound, although it ſeemeth the ground is but weak, whereupon they build it: For the reaſon which they yield of their Sentence, is this; *The promiſe which God doth make to the faithful concerning their ſeed, reacheth unto a Thouſand Generations; it reſteth not only in the firſt degree of Deſcent. Infants therefore whoſe great Grandfathers have been holy and godly, do in that reſpect belong to the Body of the Church, although the Fathers and Grandfathers of whom they deſcend, have been Apoſtates: Becauſe the tenure of the Grace of God which did adopt them Three-hundred Years ago and more in their Ancient Predeceſſors, cannot with juſtice be defeated and broken off by their Parents impiety coming between.* By which reaſon of theirs, although it ſeem that all the World may be Baptized, in as much as no Man living is a thouſand deſcents removed from *Adam* himſelf; yet we mean not at this time, either to uphold, or to overthrow it; only their alledged concluſion we embrace, ſo it be conſtrued in this ſort: *That for as much as Men remain in the Viſible Church, till they utterly renounce the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity*

ſtianity, we may not deny unto Infants their right, by with-holding from them the publick ſign of holy Baptiſm, if they be born where the outward acknowledgment of Chriſtianity is not clean gone and extinguiſhed: For being in ſuch ſort born, their Parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth give them intereſt and right in Baptiſm. Albeit not every Error and Fault, yet Hereſies and Crimes which are not actually repented of and forſaken, exclude quite and clean from that Salvation which belongeth unto the Myſtical Body of Chriſt; yea, they alſo make a Separation from the Viſible ſound Church of Chriſt; altogether from the Viſible Church, neither the one nor the other doth ſever. As for the Act of Excommunication, it neither ſhutteth out from the Myſtical, nor clean from the Viſible; but only from Fellowſhip with the Viſible in holy duties. With what congruity then doth the Church of *Rome* deny, that her Enemies, whom ſhe holdeth always for Hereticks, do at all appertain to the Church of Chriſt; when her own ſo freely grant that, albeit the Pope (as they ſay) cannot teach Hereſy nor profound Error, he may notwithſtanding himſelf worſhip Idols, think amiſs concerning matters of Faith, yea, give himſelf unto Acts Diabolical, even being Pope? How exclude they us from being any part of the Church of Chriſt, under the colour and pretence of Hereſie, when they cannot but grant it poſſible, even for him to be as touching his own Perſonal perſwaſion Heretical, who in their opinion not only is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefeſt place of Authority over the ſame? But of theſe things we are not now to diſpute. That which already we have ſet down, is for our preſent purpoſe ſufficient. By the Church therefore in this queſtion we underſtand no other than only the Viſible Church. For preſervation of Chriſtianity there is not any thing more needful, than that ſuch as are of the Viſible Church have mutual Fellowſhip and Society one with another. In which conſideration, as the main body of the Sea being one, yet within divers Precincts hath divers names; ſo the Catholick Church is in like ſort divided into a number of diſtinct Societies, every of which is termed a Church within it ſelf. In this ſenſe the Church is always a Viſible Society of Men; not an Aſſembly, but a Society. For although the name of the Church be given unto Chriſtian Aſſemblies, although any number of Chriſtian Men congregated may be termed by the name of a Church, yet aſſemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are aſſembled for performance of Publick Actions; which Actions being ended, the Aſſembly diſſolveth it ſelf, and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was aſſembled, doth no leſs continue afterwards, than before. *Where but three are, and they of the Laity alſo*, ſaith *Tertullian, yet there is a Church*, that is to ſay, a Chriſtian Aſſembly. But a Church, as now we are to underſtand it, is a Society, that is, a number of Men belonging unto ſome Chriſtian Fellowſhip, the place and limits whereof are certain. That wherein they have communion, is the Publick Exerciſe of ſuch duties as thoſe mentioned in the Apoſtles acts, *Inſtruction, Breaking of Bread* and *Prayers*. As therefore they that are of the Myſtical Body of Chriſt, have thoſe inward Graces and Virtues, wherein they differ from all others which are not of the ſame Body: Again, whoſoever appertain to the Viſible Body of the Church, they have alſo the notes of external Profeſſion, whereby the World knoweth what they are: After the ſame manner, even the ſeveral Societies of Chriſtian Men, unto every of which the name of a Church is given, with addition betokening ſeveralty, as the Church of *Rome, Corinth, Epheſus, England*, and ſo the reſt, muſt be endued with correſpondent general properties belonging unto them, as they are Publick Chriſtian Societies. And of ſuch properties common unto all Societies Chriſtian it may not be denied, that one of the very chiefeſt is Eccleſiaſtical Polity. Which word I therefore the rather uſe, becauſe the name of Government, as commonly Men underſtand it in ordinary ſpeech, doth not compriſe the largeneſs of that whereunto in this queſtion it is applied. For when we ſpeak of Government, what doth the greateſt part conceive thereby, but only the exerciſe of Superiority peculiar unto Rules and Guides of others? To our purpoſe therefore the name of Church-Polity will better ſerve, becauſe it containeth both Government, and alſo whatſoever beſides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in publick. Neither is any thing in this degree more neceſſary than Church-Polity, which is a form of ordering the Publick Spiritual Affairs of the Church of God.

Tertul. Exhort. ad Caſtit. Ubi tres, Eccleſia eſt, licet laici.

Acts 2. 47.

2. But we muſt note, that he which affirmeth ſpeech to be neceſſary amongſt all Men throughout the World, doth not thereby import, that all Men muſt neceſſarily ſpeak one kind of Language; even ſo the neceſſity of Polity and Regiment in all Churches may be held, without holding any one certain form to be neceſſary in them all, nor is it poſſible that any Form of Polity, much leſs of Polity Eccleſiaſtical, ſhould be good, unleſs God himſelf be Author of it. *Thoſe things that are not of God* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *they can have no other than God's Adverſary for their Author*. Be it whatſoever in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it muſt be; either as thoſe things ſometimes were, which God ſupernaturally revealed, and ſo delivered them unto *Moſes* for Government of the common-wealth of *Iſrael*; or elſe as thoſe things which Men find out by help of that light, which God hath given them unto that end. The very Law of Nature it ſelf, (*a*) which no Man can deny but God hath inſtituted, is not of God, unleſs that be of God, whereof God is the Author, as well this latter way as the former. But foraſmuch as no form of Church-Polity is thought by them to be lawful, or to be of God, unleſs God be ſo the Author of it, that it be alſo ſet down in Scripture; they ſhould tell us plainly, whether their meaning be that it muſt be there ſet down in whole, or in part. For if wholly, let them ſhew what one form of Polity ever was ſo. Their own to be ſo taken out of Scripture they will not affirm; neither deny they that in part, even this which they ſo much oppugn, is alſo from thence taken. Again, they ſhould tell us whether only that be taken out of Scripture, which is actually and particularly there ſet down; or elſe that alſo, which the general Principles and Rules of Scripture potentially contain. The one way they cannot ſo much as pretend that all the parts of their own Diſcipline are in Scripture; and the other way their Mouths are ſtopped, when they would

Whether it be neceſſary that ſome particular Form of Church-Polity be ſet down in Scripture, ſith the things that belong particularly unto any ſuch Form, are not of neceſſity to Salvation.

Tertul. *de habitu mul. Æmuli ſint neceſſe eſt, quæ Dei non ſunt.*

(*a*) Rom. 2. 15. Lact. lib. 6. c. 8. *Ille legis hujus inventor, diſceptator lator.* Cic. 3. de Repub.

would plead againſt all other Forms beſides their own, ſeeing the general Principles are ſuch, as do not particularly preſcribe any one, but ſundry may equally be conſonant unto the general Axioms of the Scripture. But to give them ſome larger ſcope, and not to cloſe them up in theſe ſtreights: Let their allegations be conſidered, wherewith they earneſtly bend themſelves againſt all which deny it neceſſary, that any one compleat form of Church-Polity ſhould be in Scripture. Firſt therefore, whereas it hath been told them that matters of Faith, and in general, matters neceſſary unto Salvation, are of a different nature from Ceremonies, Order, and the kind of Church Government; and that the one is neceſſary to be expreſly contained in the Word of God, or elſe manifeſtly collected out of the ſame, the other not ſo; that it is neceſſary not to receive the one, unleſs there be ſomething in Scripture for them; the other free, if nothing againſt them may thence be alledged. Although there do not appear any juſt or reaſonable cauſe to reject or diſlike of this; nevertheleſs, as it is not eaſie to ſpeak to the contentation of minds exulcerated in themſelves, but that ſomewhat there will be always which diſpleaſeth; ſo herein for two things we are reproved. * The firſt is *Miſdiſtinguiſhing*, becauſe matters of Diſcipline and Church-Government are (as they ſay) matters neceſſary to Salvation and of Faith, whereas we put a difference betwixt the one and the other. Our ſecond fault is *Injurious dealing* with the Scripture of God, as if it contained only the Principal Points of Religion, ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of Building the Church, but had left out that which belongeth unto the form and faſhion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more than only to cover the Churches nakedneſs, and not Chains, Bracelets, Rings, Jewels to adorn her; ſufficient to quench her thirſt, to kill her hunger, but not to miniſter a more liberal, and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. In which caſe our Apology ſhall not need to be very long.

*Two things miſliked; the one that we diſtinguiſh matters of Diſcipline or Church-Government from matters of Faith, and neceſſary unto Salvation: The other, that we are injurious to the Scripture of God, in abridging the large and rich Contents thereof. Their words are theſe: You which diſtinguiſh between theſe, and ſay, that matters of Faith and neceſſary unto Salvation may not be tolerated in the Church, unleſs they be expreſly contained in the Word of God, or manifeſtly gathered; but that Ceremonies, Order, Diſcipline, Government in the Church may not be received againſt the Word of God, and conſequently may be received if there be no Word againſt them, although there be none for them; you (I ſay) diſtinguiſhing or dividing after this ſort, do prove your ſelf an evil divider. As though matters of Diſcipline and kind of Government were not matters neceſſary to Salvation, and of Faith. It is no ſmall injury which you do unto the Word of God, to pin it in ſo narrow room, as that it ſhould be able to direct us but in the Principal Points of our Religion; or as though the ſubſtance of Religion, or ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of Building of the Church were uttered in them; and thoſe things were left out that ſhould pertain to the Form and Faſhion of it; or as if there were in the Scriptures only to cover the Churches nakedneſs, and not alſo Chains, and Bracelets, and Rings, and other Jewels to adorn her and ſet her out: Or that, to conclude, there were ſufficient to quench her thirſt, and kill her hunger, but not to miniſter unto her a more liberal, and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. Theſe things you ſeem to ſay, when you ſay, that matters neceſſary to Salvation, and of Faith, are contained in Scripture, eſpecially when you oppoſe theſe things to Ceremonies, Order, Diſcipline, and Government. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 26.

That matters of Diſcipline are different from Matters of Faith and Salvation; and that they themſelves ſo teach which are our Reprovers.

T. C. lib. 2. *pag.* 1. We offer to ſhew the Diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpel. And again, *p.* 5. I ſpeak of the Diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpel. If the Diſcipline be one part of the Goſpel, what other part can they aſſign but Doctrine, to anſwer in Diviſion to the Diſcipline?

3. The mixture of thoſe things by ſpeech, which by Nature are divided, is the Mother of all Error. To take away therefore that Error which Confuſion breedeth, diſtinction is requiſite. Rightly to diſtinguiſh, is by conceit of mind to ſever things different in Nature, and to diſcern wherein they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, becauſe we diſtinguiſh where we ſhould not, it may not be denyed that we miſdiſtinguiſh. The only tryal whether we do ſo, yea or no, dependeth upon compariſon between our conceit, and the nature of things conceived. Touching matters belonging to the Church of Chriſt this we conceive, that they are not of one ſuit. Some things are meerly of Faith, which things it doth ſuffice that we know and believe; ſome things not only to be known but done, becauſe they concern the actions of Men. Articles about the Trinity are matters of meer Faith, and muſt be believed. Precepts concerning the Works of Charity are matters of Action, which to know, unleſs they be practiſed, is not enough. This being ſo clear to all Mens underſtanding, I ſomewhat marvel that they eſpecially ſhould think it abſurd to oppoſe *Church-Government*, a plain matter of Action, unto matters of Faith, who know that themſelves divide the Goſpel into *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline*. For if matters of Diſcipline be rightly by them diſtinguiſhed from matters of Doctrine, why not matters of Government by us as reaſonably ſet againſt matters of Faith? Do not they under Doctrine comprehend the ſame, which we intend by matters of Faith? Do not they under Diſcipline compriſe the Regiment of the Church? When they blame that in us, which themſelves follow, they give Men great cauſe to doubt, that ſome other thing than judgment doth guide their ſpeech. What the Church of God ſtandeth bound to know or do, the ſame in part Nature teacheth. And becauſe Nature can teach them but only in part, neither ſo fully as is requiſite for Man's Salvation; nor ſo eaſily, as to make the way plain and expedite enough, that many may come to the knowledge of it and ſo be ſaved; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the moſt neceſſary things, that the School of Nature teacheth unto that end; and revealeth alſo whatſoever we neither could with ſafety be ignorant of, nor at all be inſtructed in, but by Supernatural Revelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kind any way needful for the Church, and the principal of the other ſort, this is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an Error. We teach, that whatſoever is unto Salvation termed *neceſſary* by way of excellency; whatſoever it ſtandeth all Men upon to know or do, that they may be ſaved; whatſoever there is whereof it may truly be ſaid, *This not to believe, is eternal Death and Damnation,* or, *This every ſoul that will live, muſt duly obſerve* (of which ſort the Articles of Chriſtian Faith, and the Sacraments of the Church of Chriſt are;) all ſuch things if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God ſhould not be able to meaſure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for ever ſhe is to walk: Hereticks and Schiſmaticks never ceaſing, ſome to abridge, ſome to enlarge, all to pervert and obſcure the ſame. But as for thoſe things that are acceſſory hereunto, thoſe things that ſo belong to the way of Salvation, as to alter them is no otherwiſe to change that way, than a Path is changed by altering only the uppermoſt face thereof; which

be it laid with Gravel, or ſet with Graſs, or paved with Stones, remaineth ſtill the ſame path: In ſuch things, becauſe diſcretion may teach the Church what is convenient, we hold not the Church further tied herein unto Scripture, than that againſt Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, leſt that path which ought always to be kept even, do hereby come to be overgrown with Brambles and Thorns. If this be unſound, wherein doth the point of unſoundneſs lie? Is it not that we make ſome things *neceſſary*, ſome things *acceſſory* and appendent only? For our Lord and Saviour himſelf doth make that difference, by terming Judgment, and Mercy, and Fidelity, with other things of like nature, (*a*) *The greater and weightier matters of the* Law. Is it then in that we account *Ceremonies* (wherein we do not compriſe Sacraments, or any other the like ſubſtantial duties in the exerciſe of Religion, but only ſuch external Rites as are uſually annexed unto Church-actions) is it an overſight, that we reckon theſe things and * matters of Government in the number of things acceſſory, not things neceſſary in ſuch ſort as hath been declared? Let them which therefore think us blameable, conſider well their own Words. Do they not plainly compare the one unto Garments, which cover the Body of the Church; the other unto Rings, Bracelets, and Jewels, that only adorn it? The one to that Food which the Church doth live by, the other to that which maketh her Diet liberal, dainty and more delicious? Is dainty fare a thing neceſſary to the ſuſtenance, or to the cloathing of the Body rich attire? If not, how can they urge the neceſſity of that which themſelves reſemble by things not neceſſary? Or by what conſtruction ſhall any Man living be able to make thoſe compariſons true, holding that diſtinction untrue, which putteth a difference between things of external Regiment in the Church, and things neceſſary unto Salvation?

(*a*) Matth. 23. 23.

* The Government of the Church of Chriſt granted by *Fennar* himſelf to be, though a matter of great moment, yet not of the ſubſtance of Religion. Againſt Doctor *Bridges*, *p.* 121. if it be *Fennar* which was the Author of that Book.

4. Now as it can be to Nature no injury, that of her we ſay the ſame which diligent beholders of her works have obſerved; namely, that ſhe provideth for all living Creatures nouriſhment which may ſuffice; that ſhe bringeth forth no kind of Creature, whereto ſhe is wanting in that which is needful: Although we do not ſo far magnifie her exceeding bounty, as to affirm, that ſhe bringeth into the World the Sons of Men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh coſtly Buildings to ſpring up out of the Earth for them: So I truſt that to mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the Churches diſcretion in ſome things, is not in any thing to impair the Honour which the Church of God yieldeth to the ſacred Scriptures perfection. Wherein ſeeing that no more is by us maintained, than only that Scripture muſt needs teach the Church whatſoever is in ſuch ſort neceſſary, as hath been ſet down; and that it is no more diſgrace for Scripture to have left a number of other things free to be ordered at the diſcretion of the Church, than for Nature to have left it unto the wit of Man to deviſe his own attire, and not to look for it as the Beaſts of the field have theirs. If neither this can import, nor any other proof ſufficient be brought forth, that we either will at any time, or ever did affirm the ſacred Scripture to comprehend no more than only thoſe bare neceſſaries; if we acknowledge that as well for particular application to ſpecial occaſions, as alſo in other manifold reſpects, infinite Treaſures of Wiſdom are over and beſides abundantly to be found in the holy Scripture; yea, that ſcarcely there is any noble part of knowledge worthy the mind of Man, but from thence it may have ſome direction and light; yea, that although there be no neceſſity it ſhould of purpoſe preſcribe any one particular form of Church-Government; yet touching the manner of governing in general, the Precepts that Scripture ſetteth down are not few, and the examples many which it propoſeth for all Church-Governors, even in particularities to follow; yea, that thoſe things, finally, which are of principal weight in the very particular Form of Church-Polity (although not that Form which they imagine, but that which we againſt them uphold) are in the ſelf-ſame Scriptures contained: If all this be willingly granted by us, which are accuſed to pin the Word of God in ſo narrow room, as that it ſhould be able to direct us but in principal points of our Religion; or as though the ſubſtance of Religion, or ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of building the Church were uttered in them, and thoſe things left out that ſhould pertain to the form and faſhion of it; let the cauſe of the Accuſed be referred to the Accuſers own conſcience, and let that judge whether this accuſation be deſerved where it hath been laid.

That we do not take from Scripture any thing which may be thereunto given with ſoundneſs of truth.

Ariſt. Pol. lib. 1. cap. 8. & *Plato* in *Menex.*

Ariſt. lib 3. de Anima, c. 45.

5. But ſo eaſie it is for every Man living to err, and ſo hard to wreſt from any Man's mouth the plain acknowledgment of Error, that what hath been once inconſiderately defended, the ſame is commonly perſiſted in, as long as wit by whetting it ſelf is able to find out any ſhift, be it never ſo ſlight, whereby to eſcape out of the hands of preſent contradiction. So that it cometh herein to paſs with Men unadviſedly faln into Error, as with them whoſe ſtate hath no ground to uphold it, but only the help which by ſubtil conveyance they draw out of caſual events ariſing from day to day, till at length they be clean ſpent. They which firſt gave out, *That nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church which is not commanded by the Word of God*, thought this principle plainly warranted by the manifeſt words of the Law, *Ye ſhall put nothing unto the word which I command you, neither ſhall ye take ought therefrom, that ye may keep the Commandments of the Lord your God which I command you.* Wherefore having an eye to a number of Rites and Orders in the Church of *England*, as Marrying with a Ring, Croſſing in the one Sacrament, Kneeling at the other, obſerving of Feſtival-Days more than only that which is called the *Lord's Day*, enjoyning Abſtinence at certain times from ſome kinds of Meat, Churching of Women after Child-birth, Degrees taken by Divines in Univerſities, ſundry Church-Offices, Dignities, and Callings; for which they found no Commandment in the holy Scripture, they thought by the one only ſtroke of that Axiom to have cut them off. But that which they took for an Oracle, being ſifted, was repell'd. True it is concerning the Word of God, whether it be by miſconſtruction of the ſenſe, or by falſification of the words, wittingly to endeavour that any thing may ſeem Divine which is not, or any thing not ſeem which is, were plainly to abuſe, and even to falſifie Divine

Their meaning who firſt did plead againſt the Polity of the Church of *England*, urging that, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded by the Word of God*; and what Scripture they thought they might ground this Aſſertion upon.

Deut. 4. 2. & 12. 32. Whatſoever I command you, take heed you do it. Thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought therefrom.

Evidence; which injury offered but unto Men, is moſt worthily counted heinous. Which point I wiſh they did well obſerve, with whom nothing is more familiar than to plead in theſe cauſes, *The Law of God, the Word of the* **Lord**: Who notwithſtanding, when they come to alledge what Word and what Law they mean, their common ordinary practiſe is to quote by-ſpeeches in ſome Hiſtorical Narration or other, to urge them as if they were written in moſt exact form of Law. What is to add to the Law of God, if this be not? When that which the Word of God doth but deliver Hiſtorically, we conſtrue without any warrant, as if it were legally meant, and ſo urge it further than we can prove that it was intended; do we not add to the Laws of God, and make them in number ſeem more than they are? It ſtandeth us upon to be careful in this caſe. For the ſentence of God is heavy againſt them, that wittingly ſhall preſume thus to uſe the Scripture.

The ſame Aſſertion we cannot hold, without doing wrong unto all Churches.

John 13. *Cœnatorium*: *de quo* Matth. 22. 12. *Ibi de Cœnatorio Nuptiali.*

(*a*) Acts 2.

6. But let that which they do hereby intend be granted them; let it once ſtand as conſonant to Reaſon, that becauſe we are forbidden to add to the Law of God any thing, or to take ought from it; therefore we may not for matters of the Church, make any Law more than is already ſet down in Scripture: Who ſeeth not what ſentence it ſhall enforce us to give againſt all Churches in the World, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many things eſtabliſhed in it, which though the Scripture did never command, yet for us to condemn were raſhneſs? Let the Church of God, even in the time of our Saviour Chriſt, ſerve for example unto all the reſt. In their Domeſtical celebration of the Paſſover, which Supper they divided (as it were) into two courſes, what Scripture did give commandment, that between the firſt and the ſecond, he that was chief ſhould put off the reſidue of his Garments, and keeping on his Feaſt-Robe only, waſh the Feet of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them never to lift up their Hands unwaſht in Prayer unto God, which cuſtom *Ariſtæus* (be the credit of the Author more or leſs) ſheweth wherefore they did ſo religiouſly obſerve? what Scripture did command the Jews every Feſtival-Day to faſt till the ſixth hour? The cuſtom both mentioned by *Joſephus* in the Hiſtory of his own life, and by the words of (*a*) *Peter* ſignified. Tedious it were to rip up all ſuch things, as were in that Church eſtabliſhed, yea, by Chriſt himſelf, and by his Apoſtles obſerved, though not commanded any where in Scripture.

A ſhift to maintain, that nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded in the Word of God, namely, That commandments are of two ſorts; and that all things lawful in the Church are commanded, if not by ſpecial Precepts, yet by general Rules in the Word. 1 Cor. 10. 32. & 14. 40. & 14. 26. Rom. 4. 6, 7. (*b*) *T.C.* l. 1. p. 35.

7. Well, yet a gloſs there is to colour that Paradox, and notwithſtanding all this, ſtill to make it appear in ſhew not to be altogether unreaſonable. And therefore till further reply come, the cauſe is held by a feeble diſtinction; that the Commandments of God being either general or ſpecial, although there be no expreſs word for every thing in ſpeciality, yet there are general commandments for all things, to the end, that even ſuch caſes as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleaſure, only with caution, that nothing be done againſt the Word of God; and that for this cauſe the Apoſtle hath ſet down in Scripture four general Rules, requiring ſuch things alone to be received in the Church, as do beſt and neareſt agree with the ſame Rules, that ſo all things in the Church may be appointed, not only *not againſt*, but *by* and *according* to the Word of God. The Rules are theſe, *Nothing ſcandalous* or offenſive unto any, eſpecially unto the Church of God; *All things* in order and with ſeemlineſs; *All unto edification*; finally, *All to the glory of* God. Of which kind how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were neceſſary to take ſo much pains? Which Rules they that urge, minding thereby to prove that nothing may be done in the Church but what Scripture commandeth, muſt needs hold that they tie the Church of Chriſt no otherwiſe, than only becauſe we find them there ſet down by the Finger of the Holy Ghoſt. So that unleſs the Apoſtle by writing had delivered thoſe Rules to the Church, we ſhould by obſerving them have ſinned, as now by not obſerving them. In the Church of the Jews is it not granted, (*b*) That *the appointment of the hour for daily Sacrifices*; the building of *Synagogues* throughout the Land, to hear the Word of God and to pray in, when they came not up to *Jeruſalem*; the erecting of *Pulpits* and *Chairs* to teach in; the order of *Burial*; the *Rites of Marriage*, with ſuch like, being matters appertaining to the Church, yet are not any where preſcribed in the Law, but were by the Churches diſcretion inſtituted? What then ſhall we think? Did they hereby add to the Law, and ſo diſpleaſe God by that which they did? None ſo hardly perſwaded of them. Doth their Law deliver unto them the ſelf-ſame general Rules of the Apoſtle, that framing thereby their Orders, they might in that reſpect clear themſelves from doing amiſs? St. *Paul* would then of likelyhood have cited them out the Law, which we ſee he doth not. The truth is, they are Rules and Canons of that Law which is written in all Men's hearts; the Church had for ever no leſs than now ſtood bound to obſerve them, whether the Apoſtle had mentioned them or no. Seeing therefore thoſe Canons do bind as they are Edicts of Nature, which the Jews obſerving as yet unwritten, and thereby framing ſuch Church-Orders as in their Law were not preſcribed, are notwithſtanding in that reſpect inculpable: It followeth, that ſundry things may be lawfully done in the Church, ſo as they be not done againſt the Scripture, although no Scripture do command them; but the Church only following the Light of Reaſon, judge them to be in diſcretion meet. Secondly, unto our purpoſe and for the queſtion in hand, whether the Commandments of God in Scripture be general or ſpecial, it skilleth not? For if being particularly applyed, they have in regard of ſuch particulars a force conſtraining us to take ſome one certain thing of many, and to leave the reſt; whereby it would come to paſs, that any other particular but that one being eſtabliſhed, the general rules themſelves in that caſe would be broken; then is it utterly impoſſible, that God ſhould leave any thing great or ſmall free for the Church to eſtabliſh, or not. Thirdly, if ſo be they ſhall grant, as they cannot otherwiſe do, that theſe Rules are no ſuch Laws as require any one particular thing to be done, but ſerve rather to direct the Church in all things which ſhe doth; ſo that free and lawful it is to deviſe any Ceremony, to receive any Order, and to authoriſe any kind of Regiment, no ſpecial Commandment being thereby violated; and the ſame being thought ſuch by them to whom the

judgment thereof appertaineth; as that it is not ſcandalous, but decent, tending unto edification, and ſetting forth the glory of God; that is to ſay, agreeable unto the general Rules of holy Scripture; this doth them no good in the World, for the furtherance of their purpoſe. That which ſhould make for them, muſt prove that Men ought not to make Laws for Church-Regiment, but only keep thoſe Laws which in Scripture they find made. The plain intent of the Books of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline is to ſhew, that Men may not deviſe Laws of Church-Government; but are bound for ever to uſe and to execute only thoſe, which God himſelf hath already deviſed and delivered in the Scripture. The ſelf-ſame drift the Admonitioners alſo had, in urging that nothing ought to be done in the Church, according unto any Law of Man's deviſing, but all according unto that which God in his Word hath commanded. Which not remembring, they gather out of Scripture General Rules to be followed in making Laws; and ſo in effect they plainly grant that we our ſelves may lawfully make Laws for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture only to take Laws already made, as they meant who firſt alledged that principle whereof we ſpeak. One particular Plat-form it is which they reſpected, and which they laboured thereby to force upon all Churches; whereas theſe general Rules do not let, but that there may well enough be ſundry. It is the particular Order eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas unto theſe general Rules they know we do not defend that we may hold any thing unconformable. Obſcure it is not what meaning they had, who firſt gave out that grand Axiom; and according unto that meaning, it doth prevail far and wide with the Favourers of that Part. Demand of them, wherefore they conform not themſelves unto the Order of our Church? and in every particular their anſwer for the moſt part is, *We find no ſuch thing commanded in the Word.* Whereby they plainly require ſome ſpecial Commandment for that which is exacted at their Hands; neither are they content to have matters of the Church examined by general Rules and Canons. As therefore in controverſies between us and the Church of *Rome*, that which they practiſe, is many times even according unto the very groſſneſs of that which the vulgar ſort conceiveth; when that which they teach, to maintain it is ſo nice and ſubtil, that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon: In which caſes we ſhould do the Church of God ſmall benefit, by diſputing with them according unto the fineſt points of their dark conveyances, and ſuffering that ſenſe of their Doctrine to go uncontrouled, wherein by the common ſort it is ordinarily received and practiſed. So conſidering what diſturbance hath grown in the Church amongſt our ſelves, and how the Authors thereof do commonly build altogether on this as a ſure foundation, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which in the Word of God is not commanded*: Were it reaſon, that we ſhould ſuffer the ſame to paſs without controulment, in that current meaning whereby every where it prevaileth, and ſtay till ſome ſtrange conſtruction were made thereof, which no Man would lightly have thought on, but being driven thereunto for a ſhift?

Another Anſwer in defence of the former Aſſertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this ſort. All Church-Orders muſt be commanded in the Word, that is to ſay, grounded upon the Word, and made according, at the leaſt-wiſe unto the general Rules of holy Scripture. As for ſuch things as are found out by any Star or Light of Reaſon, and are in that reſpect received, ſo they be not againſt the Word of God, all ſuch things it holdeth unlawfully received.

8. The laſt refuge in maintaining this Poſition, is thus to conſtrue it, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, but that which is commanded in the Word of God*; that is to ſay, All Church Orders muſt be *grounded upon the Word of God*, in ſuch ſort grounded upon the Word, not, that being found out by ſome *Star, or Light of Reaſon, or Learning, or other help*, they may be received, ſo they be not againſt the Word of God, but according at leaſt-wiſe unto the general Rules of Scripture they muſt be made. Which is in effect as much as to ſay, *We know not what to ſay well in defence of this Poſition: And therefore leſt we ſhould ſay it is falſe, there is no remedy but to ſay, that in ſome ſenſe or other it may be true, if we could tell how.* Firſt, that Scholy had need of a very favourable Reader, and a tractable, that ſhould think it plain conſtruction, when to be *commanded in the Word*, and *grounded upon the Word*, are made all one. If when a Man may live in the ſtate of Matrimony, ſeeking that good thereby which *Ariſt.Polit.* 1. Nature principally deſireth, he make rather choice of a contrary life in regard of St. *Paul*'s judg- 1 Cor. 7. 1. ment: That which he doth is manifeſtly *grounded* upon the Word of God, yet *not commanded* in his Word, becauſe without breach of any commandment he might do otherwiſe. Secondly, whereas no Man in Juſtice and Reaſon can be reproved for thoſe actions, which are framed according unto that known Will of God, whereby they are to be judged; and the Will of God which we are to judge our actions by, no ſound Divine in the World ever denied to be in part made manifeſt even by the Light of Nature, and not by Scripture alone: If the Church being directed by the former of theſe two (which God hath given, who gave the other, that Man might in different ſort be guided by them both) if the Church, I ſay, do approve and eſtabliſh that which thereby it judgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or ſyllable of holy Scripture; who ſhall warrant our preſumptuous boldneſs, controuling herein the Church of Chriſt? But ſo it is, the name of the Light of Nature is made hateful with Men; the *Star of Reaſon and Learning*, and all other ſuch like helps, beginneth no otherwiſe to be thought of, than if it were an unlucky Comet; or as if God had ſo accurſed it, that it ſhould never ſhine or give light in things concerning our duty any way towards him, but be eſteemed as that *Star* in the *Revelation*, called *Wormwood*; which being Apoc. 8. 10. faln from Heaven, maketh Rivers and Waters in which it falleth, ſo bitter that Men taſting them die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire as they ought, the power and authority of the Word of God, if in things Divine they ſhould attribute any force to Man's reaſon. For which cauſe they never uſe Reaſon ſo willingly as to diſgrace Reaſon. Their uſual and common Diſcourſes are unto this effect. Firſt, *The Natural Man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of* 1 Cor. 2. 14. *God: For they are fooliſhneſs unto him, neither can he know them, becauſe they are Spiritually diſcerned.* Secondly, it is not for nothing that St. *Paul* giveth charge to *beware of Philoſophy*, that is to Col. 2. 8.

ſay, ſuch knowledge as Men by Natural reaſon attain unto. Thirdly, Conſider them that have from
time to time oppoſed themſelves againſt the Goſpel of Chriſt, and moſt troubled the Church with
Hereſie. Have they not always been great admirers of Human Reaſon? Hath their deep and profound
skill in Secular Learning, made them the more obedient to the Truth, and not armed them
rather againſt it? Fourthly, they that fear God will remember how heavy his ſentences are in this
1 Cor. 1. 19. caſe: *I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the Wiſe, and will caſt away the underſtanding of the Prudent. Where*
is the Wiſe? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Diſputer of this World? Hath not God made the
Wiſdom of this World fooliſhneſs? Seeing the World by Wiſdom knew not God in the Wiſdom of God,
it pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſs of Preaching to ſave Believers. Fifthly, The Word of God in it
ſelf is abſolute, exact, and perfect. The Word of God is a two-edged ſword; as for the Weapons
of Natural Reaſon, they are as the Armour of *Saul*, rather cumberſome about the Soldier of Chriſt,
than needful. They are not of force to do that, which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did by the power of
1 Cor. 2. 4. the Holy Ghoſt, *My Preaching*, therefore ſaith *Paul, hath not been in the inticing ſpeech of Man's*
Wiſdom, but in plain evidence of the Spirit and of Power; that your Faith might not be in the Wiſdom of
Men, but in the Power of God. Sixthly, If I believe the Goſpel, there needeth no reaſoning about
it to perſwade me: If I do not believe, it muſt be the Spirit of God, and not the Reaſon of
Man that ſhall convert my heart unto him. By theſe and the like Diſputes, an opinion hath
ſpread it ſelf very far in the World; as if the way to be ripe in Faith, were to be raw in Wit and
Judgment; as if Reaſon were an enemy unto Religion, childiſh ſimplicity the Mother of Ghoſtly
and Divine Wiſdom. The cauſe why ſuch Declamations prevail ſo greatly, is, for that Men
ſuffer themſelves in two reſpects to be deluded; one is, that the Wiſdom of Man being debaſed,
either in compariſon with that of God, or in regard of ſome ſpecial thing exceeding the reach and
compaſs thereof, it ſeemeth to them (not marking ſo much) as if ſimply it were condemned; another,
that Learning, Knowledge, or Wiſdom, falſly ſo termed, uſurping a name whereof they are
not worthy; and being under that name controuled, their reproof is by ſo much the more eaſily
miſapplied, and through equivocation wreſted againſt thoſe things, whereunto ſo precious names
do properly and of right belong. This duly obſerved, doth to the former Allegations it ſelf make
I. ſufficient anſwer. Howbeit, for all Mens plainer and fuller ſatisfaction; Firſt, Concerning the
inability of Reaſon, to ſearch out and to judge of things Divine, if they be ſuch as thoſe properties
of God, and thoſe duties of Men towards him, which may be conceived by attentive conſideration
Rom 1. 21, 31. of Heaven and Earth; we know that of meer Natural Men the Apoſtle teſtifieth, How
they *knew both God, and the Law of God*: Other things of God there be, which are neither ſo
found, nor though they be ſhewed, can ever be approved without the *ſpecial* operation of God's
good Grace and Spirit. Of ſuch things ſometime ſpake the Apoſtle St. *Paul*, declaring how Chriſt
had called him to be a Witneſs of his Death and Reſurrection from the Dead, according to that
which the Prophets and *Moſes* had foreſhewed: *Feſtus*, a meer Natural Man, an Infidel, a *Roman*,
one whoſe ears were unacquainted with ſuch matter, heard him, but could not reach unto that
Acts 25. 19. whereof he ſpake; the ſuffering, and the riſing of Chriſt from the Dead, he rejected as idle ſuperſtitious
fancies, not worth the hearing. The Apoſtle, that knew them by the Spirit, and ſpake of
Acts 26. 24. them with Power of the Holy Ghoſt, ſeemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example
1 Cor. 2. 14. maketh manifeſt what elſ-where the ſame Apoſtle teacheth, namely, that Nature hath need of Grace,
II. whereunto I hope we are not oppoſite, by holding, that Grace hath uſe of Nature. Secondly,
Philoſophy we are warranted to take heed of; not that Philoſophy, which is true and ſound Knowledge,
attained by Natural diſcourſe of Reaſon; but that Philoſophy, which to bolſter Hereſie or
Error, caſteth a fraudulent ſhew of Reaſon upon things which are indeed unreaſonable; and by
that mean, as by a ſtratagem, ſpoileth the ſimple which are not able to withſtand ſuch cunning.
Col. 2. 8. *Take heed leſt any ſpoil you through Philoſophy and vain deceit.* He that exhorteth to beware of an
enemies policy, doth not give counſel to be impolitick; but rather to uſe all prudent foreſight
and circumſpection, leſt our ſimplicity be over-reached by cunning ſleights. The way not to be
inveigled by them that are ſo guileful through skill, is throughly to be inſtructed in that which
maketh skilful againſt guile, and to be armed with that true and ſincere Philoſophy, which
III. doth teach againſt that deceitful and vain, which ſpoileth: Thirdly, But many great Philoſophers
have been very unſound in belief; and many ſound in belief have been alſo great Philoſophers.
Could Secular Knowledge bring the one ſort unto the love of Chriſtian Faith? Nor Chriſtian Faith,
the other ſort out of Love with Secular Knowledge. The harm that Hereticks did, they did it unto
ſuch as were unable to diſcern between ſound and deceitful reaſoning; and the remedy againſt
it, was ever the skill which the Antient Fathers had to deſcry and diſcover ſuch deceit: Inſomuch,
that *Creſconius* the Heretick complained greatly of St. *Auguſtine*, as being too full of Logical ſubtilties.
Hereſy prevaileth only by a counterfeit ſhew of Reaſon; whereby notwithſtanding it becometh
invincible, unleſs it be convicted of Fraud by manifeſt Remonſtrance, clearly true, and unable
Tit. 1. 9. 11. to be withſtood. When therefore the Apoſtle requireth ability to convict Hereticks, can we
think he judgeth it a thing unlawful, and not rather needful, to uſe the principal Inſtrument of
their Conviction, the Light of Reaſon? It may not be denied, but that in the Fathers writings
there are ſundry ſharp invectives againſt Hereticks, even for their very Philoſophical reaſonings. The
Tert. de Reſur. Carnis. cauſe whereof *Tertullian* confeſſeth, not to have been any diſlike conceived againſt the kind of
ſuch reaſonings, but the end. *We may* (ſaith he) *even in matters of God be made wiſer by Reaſons*
drawn from the Publick Perſwaſions which are grafted in Mens minds; ſo they be uſed to further the
Truth, not to bolſter Error; ſo they make with, not againſt that which God hath determined. For there
are ſome things even known by Nature, as the immortality of the Soul to many, our God unto all. I
will therefore my ſelf alſo uſe the ſentence of ſome ſuch as Plato, *pronouncing every Soul Immortal. I*
my ſelf too will uſe the ſecret acknowledgment of the communalty, bearing Record of the God of Gods:

But when I hear Men alledge, That which is dead, is dead; and, While thou art alive, be alive; and, After death an end of all, even of death it ſelf: Then will I call to mind both, that the heart of the People with God is accounted duſt, and that the very Wiſdom of the World is pronounced Folly. If then an Heretick flie alſo unto ſuch vicious, popular, and ſecular conceits, my anſwer unto him ſhall be; Thou Heretick, avoid the Heathen; although in this ye be one, that ye both belie God; yet thou that doſt this under the Name of Chriſt, differeſt from the Heathen, in that thou ſeemeſt to thy ſelf a Chriſtian. Leave him therefore his conceits, ſeeing that neither will he learn thine. Why doſt thou having ſight, truſt to a blind guide? Thou which haſt put on Chriſt, take raiment of him that is naked? If the Apoſtle have armed thee, why doſt thou borrow a ſtrangers ſhield? Let him rather learn of thee to acknowledge, than thou of him to renounce the Reſurrection of the Fleſh. In a word, the Catholick Fathers did good unto all by that Knowledge, whereby Hereticks hindring the Truth in many, might have furthered therewith themſelves; but that obſtinately following their own ambitious, or otherwiſe corrupted affections, inſtead of framing their wills to maintain that which Reaſon taught, they bent their wits to find how Reaſon might ſeem to teach that which their Wills were ſet to maintain. For which cauſe the Apoſtle ſaith of them juſtly, that they are for the moſt part *αὐτοκατάκριτοι*, Men condemned even in, and of themſelves. For though they be not all perſwaded, that it is truth which they withſtand; yet that to be error which they uphold, they might undoubtedly the ſooner a great deal attain to know, but that their ſtudy is more to defend what once they have ſtood in, than to find out ſincerely and ſimply, what Truth they ought to perſiſt in for ever. Fourthly, There is in the World no kind of knowledge, whereby any part of Truth is ſeen, but we juſtly account it precious; yea, that principal Truth, in compariſon whereof all other knowledge is vile, may receive from it ſome kind of light; whether it be that *Egyptian* and *Chaldean* wiſdom, Mathematical, wherewith *Moſes* and *Daniel* were furniſhed; or that Natural, Moral, and Civil wiſdom, wherewith *Solomon* excelled all Men; or that Rational and Oratorial wiſdom of the *Grecians*, which the Apoſtle S. *Paul* brought from *Tarſus*; or that Judaical, which he learned in *Jeruſalem*, ſitting at the feet of *Gamaliel*: To detract from the dignity thereof, were to injure even God himſelf, who being that Light which none can approach unto, hath ſent out theſe lights whereof we are capable, even as ſo many ſparkles reſembling the Bright Fountain from which they riſe. But there are that bear the title of Wiſemen, and Scribes, and great diſputers of the World, and are nothing indeed leſs than what in ſhew they moſt appear. Theſe being wholly addicted unto their own wills, uſe their wit, their learning, and all the wiſdom they have, to maintain that which their obſtinate hearts are delighted with, eſteeming in the frantick error of their minds the greateſt madneſs in the World to be Wiſdom, and the higheſt Wiſdom fooliſhneſs. Such were both *Jews* and *Grecians*, which profeſſed, the one ſort Legal, and the other Secular skill, neither enduring to be taught the Myſtery of Chriſt: Unto the glory of whoſe moſt bleſſed Name, whoſo ſtudy to uſe both their Reaſon and all other Gifts, as well which Nature as which Grace hath endued them with; let them never doubt, but that the ſame God, who is to deſtroy and confound utterly that Wiſdom falſly ſo named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes; Scribes by Wiſdom inſtructed to the Kingdom of Heaven; not Scribes againſt that Kingdom, hardned in a vain opinion of Wiſdom, which in the end being proved folly, muſt needs periſh; true Underſtanding, Knowledge, Judgment and Reaſon, continuing for evermore. Fifthly, Unto the Word of God, being in reſpect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and abſolute in it ſelf, we do not add Reaſon as a Supplement of any maim or defect therein, but as a neceſſary Inſtrument, without which we could not reap by the Scriptures Perfection, that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth. The Word of God is a two-edged ſword, but in the Hands of reaſonable Men; and Reaſon as the Weapon that ſlew *Goliah*, if they be as *David* was that uſe it. Touching the Apoſtles, he which gave them from above ſuch Power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, endued them alſo with Wiſdom from above, to teach that which they ſo did confirm. Our Saviour made choice of Twelve ſimple and unlearned Men, that the greater their lack of Natural Wiſdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God ſupernaturally endued them with from Heaven. Such therefore as knew the poor and ſilly eſtate wherein they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the Wiſdom of their ſpeech, and be ſo much the more attentive unto their teaching. They ſtudied for no Tongue they ſpake withal; of themſelves they were rude, and knew not ſo much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gave them ſpeech and eloquent utterance: But becauſe with S. *Paul* it was otherwiſe than with the reſt, in as much as he never converſed with Chriſt upon Earth, as they did; and his education had been ſcholaſtical altogether, which theirs was not: Hereby occaſion was taken by certain Malignants, ſecretly to undermine his great Authority in the Church of Chriſt, as though the Goſpel had been taught him by others than by Chriſt himſelf, and as if the cauſe of the *Gentiles* converſion and belief, through his means, had been the learning and skill which he had by being converſant in their Books; which thing made them ſo willing to hear him, and him ſo able to perſwade them; whereas the reſt of the Apoſtles prevailed, becauſe God was with them, and by a miracle from Heaven confirmed his word in their Mouths. They were mighty in deeds: As for him, being abſent, his Writings had ſome force; in preſence, his Power not like unto theirs. In ſum, concerning his Preaching, their very by-word was λόγος ἐξουθενημένος *addle ſpeech, empty talk.* His writings full of great Words, but in the power of miraculous Operations, his Preſence not like the reſt of the Apoſtles. Hereupon it ariſeth, that S. *Paul* was ſo often driven to make his Apologies. Hereupon it ariſeth, that whatſoever time he had ſpent in the ſtudy of Human Learning, he maketh earneſt proteſtation to them of *Corinth*, that the Goſpel which he had preached amongſt them, did not by other means prevail with them, than with others the ſame Goſpel taught by the reſt of the Apoſtles of Chriſt. *My Preaching*, ſaith he, *hath not been in the perſwaſive ſpeeches of Human Wiſ-*

Tit. 3. 11.

IV.

Acts 7. 22.
Dan. 1. 17.
1 Kings 4. 29, 30.
Acts 22. 13.

Matth. 13. 53

V.

Heb. 4. 12.

2 Cor. 10. 10.

1 Cor. 2. 4.

Wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the Spirit and of Power; that your Faith may not be in the wiſdom of Men, but in the Power of God. What is it which the Apoſtle doth here deny? Is it denied that Acts 18.4,11. his ſpeech amongſt them had been *perſwaſive?* No, for of him the ſacred Hiſtory plainly teſtifieth, that for the ſpace of a year and a half he ſpake in their Synagogue every Sabbath, and *perſwaded* both Jews and Grecians. How then is the ſpeech of Men made perſwaſive? Surely there can be but two ways to bring this to paſs, the one Human, the other Divine. Either St. *Paul* did *only* by art and natural induſtry cauſe his own ſpeech to be credited; or elſe God by miracle did authoriſe it, and ſo bring credit thereunto, as to the ſpeech of the reſt of the Apoſtles. Of which two, the former he utterly denieth. For why? If the Preaching of the reſt had been effectual by miracle, his *only* by force of his own learning; ſo great inequality between him and the other Apoſtles in this thing, had been enough to ſubvert their Faith. For might they not with reaſon have thought, that if he were ſent of God, as well as they, God would not have furniſhed them and not him with the power of the Holy Ghoſt? might not a great part of them, being ſimple, haply have feared, leſt their aſſent had been cunningly gotten unto his doctrine, rather through the weakneſs of their own wits, than the certainty of that Truth which he had taught them? How unequal had it been that all Believers through the Preaching of other Apoſtles, ſhould have their faith ſtrongly built upon the evidence of God's own miraculous approbation; and they whom he had converted, ſhould have their perſwaſion built only upon his skill and wiſdom who perſwaded them? As therefore calling from Men may authoriſe us to teach, although it could not authoriſe him to teach as other Apoſtles did: So although the wiſdom of Man had not been ſufficient to enable him ſuch a Teacher as the reſt of the Apoſtles were, unleſs God's miracles had ſtrengthened both the one and the others Doctrine; yet unto our ability, both of teaching and learning the Truth of Chriſt, as we are but meer Chriſtian Men, it is not a little which the Wiſdom of Man may add.

VI. Sixthly, Yea, whatſoever our hearts be to God and to his truth, believe we, or be we as yet faithleſs, for our Converſion or Confirmation the force of Natural Reaſon is great. The force whereof unto thoſe effects is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpoſe it is ſufficient, that whoſoever doth ſerve, honour and obey God, whoſoever believeth in him; that Man would no more do this than Innocents and Infants do, but for the Light of Natural Reaſon that ſhineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend thoſe things of God, which being by grace diſcovered are effectual to perſwade reaſonable minds, and none other, that honour, obedience and credit, Heb. 11.6. belong aright unto God. No Man cometh unto God to offer him Sacrifice, to pour out Supplications and Prayers before him, or to do him any ſervice, which doth not firſt believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in ſuch ſort ſeek unto him. Let Men be taught this either by Revelation from Heaven, or by Inſtruction upon Earth; by Labour, Study and Meditation, or by the only ſecret inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt; whatſoever the mean be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were poſſible without diſcourſe of Natural Reaſon; why ſhould none be found capable thereof but only Men, nor Men till ſuch time as they come unto ripe and full ability to work by reaſonable underſtanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it, but only to teach *Theology*? *Theology*, what is it, but the Science of things Divine? What Science can be 1 Cor. 10.15. attained unto, without the help of Natural Diſcourſe and Reaſon? *Judge you of that which I ſpeak,* ſaith the Apoſtle. In vain it were to ſpeak any thing of God, but that by reaſon Men are able ſomewhat to judge of that they hear, and by diſcourſe to diſcern how conſonant it is to Truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things above Nature, things which our Reaſon by it ſelf could not reach unto. Yet thoſe things alſo we believe, knowing by Reaſon, that the Scripture is the Word of God. In the preſence of *Feſtus*, a *Roman*, and of King *Agrippa*, a *Jew*, St. *Paul* omitting the one, who neither knew the Jews Religion, nor the Books whereby they were taught it, Acts. 26.22. ſpeaks unto the other of things foreſhewed by *Moſes* and the Prophets, and performed in Jeſus Chriſt, intending thereby to prove himſelf ſo unjuſtly accuſed, that unleſs his Judges did condemn both *Moſes* and the Prophets, him they could not chuſe but acquit, who taught only that fulfilled, which they ſo long ſince had foretold. His cauſe was eaſie to be diſcerned; what was done, their eyes were witneſſes; what *Moſes* and the Prophets did ſpeak, their Books could quickly ſhew: It was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, and believed the other. *King* Agrippa, *believeſt thou the Prophets? I know thou doſt.* The queſtion is, how the Books of the Prophets came to be credited of King *Agrippa*. For what with him did authoriſe the Prophets, the like with us doth cauſe the reſt of the Scripture of God to be of credit. Becauſe we maintain, That in Scripture we are taught all things neceſſary unto Salvation; hereupon very childiſhly it is by ſome demanded, What Scripture can teach us the Sacred Authority of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof our whole Faith and Salvation dependeth? As though there were any kind of Science in the World, which leadeth Men unto knowledge, without preſuppoſing a number of things already known. No Science doth make known the firſt Principles whereon it buildeth; but they are always either taken as plain and manifeſt in themſelves, or as proved and granted already, ſome former knowledge having made them evident. Scripture teacheth all ſupernaturally revealed Truth; without the knowledge whereof Salvation cannot be attained. The main principle whereupon our belief of all things therein contained dependeth, is, That the Scriptures are the Oracles of God himſelf. This in it ſelf we cannot ſay is evident. For then all Men that hear it, would acknowledge it in heart, as they do when they hear that *every whole is more than any part of that whole,* becauſe this in it ſelf is evident. The other we know, that all do not acknowledge when they hear it. There muſt be therefore ſome former knowledge preſuppoſed, which doth herein aſſure the hearts of all Believers. Scripture teacheth us that ſaving Truth, which God hath diſcovered unto the World by Revelation; and it preſumeth us taught otherwiſe, that it ſelf is Divine and Sacred. The queſtion then being, by what means we are taught this: Some anſwer, that to learn it we have no other way than only Tradition; as namely, that ſo we believe, becauſe both we from our Predeceſſors, and they from theirs have ſo received. But is this enough? That which all Mens experience teacheth them, may not in any wiſe be denied. And by experience we all know, that the firſt outward Motive leading Men ſo to eſteem of the Scripture, is the authority of God's Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the firſt an impudent thing for any Man bred and brought up in the Church, to be of a contrary mind without cauſe. Afterwards the more we beſtow our labour in reading or hearing the Myſteries thereof, the more we find that the thing it ſelf doth anſwer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement prevailing ſomewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath Miniſtred further Reaſon. If Infidels or Atheiſts chance at any time to call it in queſtion, this giveth us occaſion to ſift what reaſon there is, whereby the teſtimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our own perſwaſion which Scripture it-ſelf hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which caſe the Ancient Fathers, being often conſtrained to ſhew what warrant they had ſo much to relie upon the Scriptures, endeavoured ſtill to maintain the authority of the Books of God by Arguments, ſuch as unbelievers themſelves muſt needs think reaſonable, if they judged thereof as they ſhould. Neither is it a thing impoſſible or greatly hard, even by ſuch kind of proofs ſo to manifeſt and clear that point, that no Man living ſhall be able to deny it, without denying ſome apparent Principle, ſuch as all Men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore if I believe the Goſpel, yet is reaſon of ſingular uſe, for that it confirmeth me in this my belief the more: If I do not as yet believe, nevertheleſs to bring me into the number of Believers, except Reaſon did ſomewhat help, and were an Inſtrument which God doth uſe unto ſuch purpoſes, what ſhould it boot to diſpute with Infidels or Godleſs perſons for their converſion and perſwaſion in that point? Neither can I think, that when grave and learned Men do ſometime hold, that of this principle there is no proof but by the teſtimony of the Spirit, which aſſureth our hearts therein, it is their meaning to exclude utterly all force which any kind of Reaſon may have in that behalf; but I rather incline to interpret ſuch their ſpeeches, as if they had more expreſly ſet down, that other motives and inducements, be they never ſo ſtrong and conſonant unto Reaſon, are notwithſtanding ineffectual of themſelves to work Faith concerning this Principle, if the ſpecial Grace of the Holy Ghoſt concur not to the enlightning of our minds. For otherwiſe, I doubt not but Men of wiſdom and judgment will grant, that the Church in this point eſpecially is furniſhed with Reaſon, to ſtop the mouths of her impious Adverſaries; and that as it were altogether bootleſs to alledge againſt them, what the Spirit hath taught us, ſo likewiſe, that even to our ſelves it needeth Caution and Explication, how the teſtimony of the Spirit may be diſcerned, by what means it may be known, leſt Men think that the Spirit of God doth teſtifie thoſe things which the Spirit of error ſuggeſteth. The operations of the Spirit, eſpecially theſe ordinary which be common unto all true Chriſtian Men, are, as we know, things ſecret and indiſcernible even to the very Soul where they are, becauſe their nature is of another, and an higher kind, than that they can be by us perceived in this life. Wherefore albeit the Spirit lead us into all truth, and direct us in all goodneſs; yet becauſe theſe workings of the Spirit in us are ſo privy and ſecret, we therefore ſtand on a plainer ground, when we gather by Reaſon from the quality of things believed or done, that the Spirit of God hath directed us in both, than if we ſettle our ſelves to believe, or to do any certain particular thing, as being moved thereto by the Spirit. But of this enough. To go from the Books of Scripture to the ſenſe and meaning thereof; becauſe the Sentences which are by the Apoſtles recited out of the *Pſalms*, to prove the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, did not prove it, if ſo be the Prophet *David* meant them of himſelf: This Expoſition therefore they plainly diſprove, and ſhew by manifeſt Reaſon, that of *David* the words of *David* could not poſſibly be meant. Exclude the uſe of Natural reaſoning about the ſenſe of holy Scripture concerning the Articles of our Faith, and then that the Scripture doth concern the Articles of our Faith, who can aſſure us? That which by right Expoſition buildeth up Chriſtian Faith, being miſconſtrued breedeth Error; between true and falſe conſtruction the difference Reaſon muſt ſhew. Can Chriſtian Men perform that which *Peter* requireth at their Hands? Is it poſſible they ſhould both believe, and be able without the uſe of Reaſon to render a Reaſon of their belief, a Reaſon ſound and ſufficient to anſwer them that demand it, be they of the ſame Faith with us, or enemies thereunto? May we cauſe our Faith without reaſon, to appear reaſonable in the eyes of Men? This being required even of Learners in the School of Chriſt, the duty of their teachers in bringing them unto ſuch ripeneſs, muſt needs be ſomewhat more than only to read the Sentences of Scripture, and then Paraphraſtically to ſcholy them, to vary them with ſundry Forms of ſpeech, without arguing or diſputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching may commend it ſelf unto the World, by that eaſineſs and facility which is in it; but a Law or a Pattern it is not, as ſome do imagine, for all Men to follow, that will do good in the Church of Chriſt. Our Lord and Saviour himſelf did hope by diſputation to do ſome good, yea, by diſputation not only of, but againſt the truth, albeit with purpoſe for the truth. That Chriſt ſhould be the Son of *David*, was truth; yet againſt this truth our Lord in the Goſpel objected, If Chriſt be the Son of *David*, how doth *David* call him Lord? There is as yet no way known how to diſpute, or to determine of things diſputed, without the uſe of Natural Reaſon. If we pleaſe to add unto Chriſt their example, who followed him as near in all things as they could, the Sermon of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, ſet down in the *Acts*, where the People would have offered unto them

Acts 13. 36. & 2. 34.

1 Pet. 3. 15.

Matth. 22. 43.

Acts 14. 15.

Acts 15.

Sacrifice; in that Sermon what is there, but only Natural Reaſon to diſprove their act? *O Men, why do ye theſe things? We are Men even ſubject to the ſelf-ſame Paſſions with you: We Preach unto you to leave theſe Vanities, and to turn to the living God, the God that hath not left himſelf without witneſs, in that he hath done good to the World, giving rain and fruitful Seaſons, filling our heart with joy and gladneſs.* Neither did they only uſe Reaſon in winning ſuch unto a Chriſtian belief, as were yet thereto unconverted, but with Believers themſelves they followed the ſelf-ſame courſe. In that great and ſolemn aſſembly of Believing Jews, how doth *Peter* prove that the Gentiles were partakers of the Grace of God, as well as they, but by reaſon drawn from thoſe effects, which were apparently known amongſt them? *God which knoweth hearts, hath borne them witneſs, in giving unto them the Holy Ghoſt as unto us.* The light therefore, which the Star of Natural Reaſon and Wiſdom caſteth, is too bright to be obſcured by the miſt of a word or two, uttered to diminiſh that opinion which juſtly hath been received concerning the force and virtue thereof, even in matters that touch moſt nearly the principal duties of Men, and the glory of the Eternal God. In all which hitherto hath been ſpoken, touching the force and uſe of Man's Reaſon in things Divine, I muſt crave, that I be not ſo underſtood or conſtrued, as if any ſuch thing, by virtue thereof, could be done without the aid and aſſiſtance of God's moſt bleſſed Spirit. The thing we have handled according to the queſtion moved about it; which queſtion is, whether the light of Reaſon be ſo pernicious, that in deviſing Laws for the Church, Men ought not by it to ſearch what may be fit and convenient? For this cauſe therefore we have endeavoured to make it appear, how in the Nature of Reaſon it-ſelf there is no impediment, but that the ſelf-ſame Spirit, which revealeth the things that God hath ſet down in his Law, may alſo be thought to aid and direct Men in finding out by the light of Reaſon, what Laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, over and beſides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with thoſe Men, by whom Human Laws are defined to be Ordinances, which ſuch as have lawful Authority given them for that purpoſe, do probably draw from the Laws of Nature and God by diſcourſe of Reaſon, aided with the influence of Divine Grace: And for that cauſe, it is not ſaid amiſs touching Eccleſiaſtical Canons, *That by inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt they have been made, and conſecrated by the reverend acceptation of all the World.*

c. *Violatores.* 25. q. 1.

How Laws for the Regiment of the Church may be made by the advice of Men, following therein the Light of Reaſon; and how thoſe Laws being not repugnant to the Word of God, are approved in his ſight.

9. Laws for the Church are not made as they ſhould be, unleſs the Makers follow ſuch direction as they ought to be guided by: Wherein that Scripture ſtandeth not the Church of God in any ſtead, or ſerveth nothing at all to direct, but may be let paſs as needleſs to be conſulted with, we judge it prophane, impious, and irreligious to think. For although it were in vain to make Laws which the Scripture hath already made, becauſe what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there reſteth nothing but only that it be executed; yet becauſe both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by Law to provide, that the looſeneſs and ſlackneſs of Men may not cauſe the commandments of God to be unexecuted; and a number of things there are, for which the Scripture hath not provided by any Law, but left them unto the careful diſcretion of the Church; we are to ſearch how the Church in theſe caſes may be well directed, to make that proviſion by laws which is moſt convenient and fit. And what is ſo in theſe caſes, partly Scripture, and partly Reaſon muſt teach to diſcern. Scripture comprehending Examples and Laws; Laws, ſome Natural, and ſome Poſitive; Examples neither are there for all caſes which require Laws to be made, and when they are, they can but direct as Precedents only. Natural Laws direct in ſuch ſort, that in all things we muſt for ever do according unto them; Poſitive ſo, that againſt them in no caſe we may do any thing, as long as the will of God is, that they ſhould remain in force. Howbeit, when Scripture doth yield us Precedents, how far forth they are to be followed; when it giveth Natural Laws, what particular order is thereunto moſt agreeable; when Poſitive, which way to make Laws unrepugnant unto them; yea, though all theſe ſhould want, yet what kind of Ordinances would be moſt for that good of the Church which is aimed at, all this muſt be by Reaſon found out. And therefore, *To refuſe the conduct of the light of Nature, ſaith* St. *Auguſtine, is not Folly alone, but accompanied with Impiety.* The greateſt amongſt the School-divines, ſtudying how to ſet down by exact definition the Nature of a Human Law, (of which Nature all the Churches Conſtitutions are) found not which way better to do it, than in theſe words: *Out of the Precepts of the Law of Nature, as out of certain common and undemonſtrable Principles, Man's Reaſon doth neceſſarily proceed unto certain more particular determinations: Which particular determinations being found out according unto the Reaſon of Man, they have the Names of Human Laws, ſo that ſuch other conditions be therein kept as the making of Laws doth require,* that is, if they whoſe Authority is thereunto required, do eſtabliſh and publiſh them as Laws. And the truth is, that all our controverſie in this cauſe concerning the Orders of the Church, is, What particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth find them out, is the force of Man's Reaſon. That which doth guide and direct his Reaſon, is firſt, the general Law of Nature; which Law of Nature, and the Moral Law of Scripture, are in the ſubſtance of Law all one. But becauſe there are alſo in Scripture a number of Laws particular and poſitive, which being in force may not by any Law of Man be violated, we are in making Laws to have thereunto an eſpecial eye. As for example, it might perhaps ſeem reaſonable unto the Church of God, following the general Laws concerning the nature of Marriage, to ordain in

Luminis naturalis ducatum repellere, non modo ſtultum eſt, ſed & impium, Auguſt. lib. 4. de Trin. cap. 6.

Tho. Aqui. 2. q. 91. art. 3. *Ex præceptis Legis naturalis, quaſi ex quibuſdam principiis communibus & indemonſtrabilibus, neceſſe eſt quod ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter diſponenda. Et iſtæ particulares diſpoſitiones adinventæ ſecundum rationem humanam, dicuntur leges humanæ, obſervatis aliis conditionibus quæ pertinent ad rationem legis.*

particular that Couſin-Germans ſhall not Marry. Which Law notwithſtanding ought not to be received in the Church, if there ſhould be in the Scripture a Law particular to the contrary, forbidding utterly the Bonds of Marriage to be ſo far forth abridged. The ſame *Thomas* therefore, whoſe definition of Human Laws we mentioned before, doth add thereunto this Caution concerning the Rule and Canon, whereby to make them: *Human Laws are meaſures* in reſpect of Men, whoſe actions they muſt direct; howbeit ſuch meaſures they are, as have alſo their higher Rules to be meaſured by, *Which Rules are two, the Law of God, and the Law of Nature.* So that Laws Human muſt be made according to the General Laws of Nature, and without contradiction unto any Poſitive Law in Scripture; otherwiſe they are ill made. Unto Laws thus made and received by a whole Church, they which live within the boſom of that Church, muſt not think it a matter indifferent, either to yield, or not to yield obedience. Is it a ſmall offence to deſpiſe the Church of God? *My Son keep thy Fathers Commandments,* ſaith *Solomon, and forget not thy Mother's inſtruction, bind them both always about thine heart.* It doth not ſtand with the duty which we owe to our Heavenly Father, that to the Ordinances of our Mother the Church we ſhould ſhew our ſelves diſobedient. Let us not ſay we keep the Commandments of the one, when we break the Law of the other: For unleſs we obſerve both, we obey neither. And what doth let, but that we may obſerve both, when they are not the one to the other in any ſort repugnant? For of ſuch Laws only we ſpeak, as being made in form and manner already declared, can have in them no contradiction unto the Laws of Almighty God. Yea, that which is more, the Laws thus made God himſelf doth in ſuch ſort authorize, that to deſpiſe them, is to deſpiſe in them him. It is a looſe and licentious opinion which the Anabaptiſts have embraced, holding, that a Chriſtian Mans liberty is loſt, and the Soul which Chriſt hath redeemed unto himſelf, injuriouſly drawn into ſervitude under the yoke of Human Power, if any Law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: In obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, and not the conſtraint of Man is to lead us, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God,* and not ſuch as live in thraldom unto Men. Their judgment is therefore, that the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit no Law-makers, but the Evangeliſts. The Author of that which cauſeth another thing to be, is Author of that thing alſo which thereby is cauſed. The light of Natural Underſtanding, Wit and Reaſon, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every Man entring into the World. If there proceed from us any thing afterwards corrupt and naught, the Mother thereof is our own darkneſs, neither doth it proceed from any ſuch cauſe, whereof God is the Author. He is the Author of all that we think or do, by virtue of that Light which himſelf hath given. And therefore the Laws which the very Heathens did gather to direct their Actions by, ſo far forth as they proceed from the light of Nature, God himſelf doth acknowledge to have proceeded even from himſelf, and that he was the Writer of them in the Tables of their Hearts. How much more then is he the Author of thoſe Laws which have been made by his Saints, endued further with the Heavenly Grace of his Spirit, and directed as much as might be with ſuch inſtructions as his Sacred word doth yield? Surely, if we have unto thoſe Laws that dutiful regard which their Dignity doth require, it will not greatly need, that we ſhould be exhorted to live in obedience unto them. If they have God himſelf for their Author, contempt which is offered unto them cannot chuſe but redound unto him. The ſafeſt, and unto God the moſt acceptable way of framing our Lives therefore, is with all Humility, Lowlineſs and Singleneſs of Heart, to ſtudy which way our willing Obedience, both unto God and Man, may be yielded, even to the utmoſt of that which is due.

1.2.Queſt.95. Art. 3.

1 Cor. 11.22. Prov. 6. 20.

Rom. 8. 14.

John 1. 5.

Rom. 1. 19. & 2. 15.

10. Touching the Mutability of Laws that concern the Regiment and Polity of the Church, changed they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed, or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this queſtion about the changing of Laws, concerneth only ſuch Laws as are Poſitive, and do make that now good or evil, by being commanded or forbidden, which otherwiſe of it ſelf were not ſimply, the one or the other. Unto ſuch Laws it is expreſly ſometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where expreſt, then have we no light to direct our judgments, concerning the changeableneſs or immutability of them, but by conſidering the nature and quality of ſuch Laws: The nature of every Law muſt be judged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptneſs of things therein preſcribed unto the ſame end. It may ſo fall out, that the reaſon why ſome Laws of God were given, is neither opened, nor poſſible to be gathered by Wit of Man: As why God ſhould forbid *Adam* that one Tree, there was no way for *Adam* ever to have certainly underſtood. And at *Adam*'s ignorance of this point Satan took advantage, urging the more ſecurely a falſe cauſe, becauſe the true was unto *Adam* unknown. Why the Jews were forbidden to Plough their Ground with an Ox and an Aſs; why to cloath themſelves with mingled attire of Wooll and Linnen, it was both unto them, and to us it remaineth obſcure. Such Laws perhaps cannot be abrogated, ſaving only by whom they were made; becauſe the intent of them being known unto none but the Author, he alone can judge how long it is requiſite they ſhould endure. But if the reaſon why things were inſtituted may be known, and being known, do appear manifeſtly to be of perpetual neceſſity; then are thoſe things alſo perpetual, unleſs they ceaſe to be effectual unto that purpoſe, for which they were at the firſt inſtituted. Becauſe when a thing doth ceaſe to be available unto the end which gave it Being, the continuance of it muſt then of neceſſity appear ſuperfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how ſometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards, when time hath changed the ancient courſe of things, doth grow to be either very hurtful, or not ſo greatly profitable and neceſſary. If therefore the end for which a Law

That neither God's being the Author of Laws, nor his committing them to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were inſtituted, is any reaſon ſufficient to prove that they are unchangeable.

Deut. 22. 10. 11.

provideth be perpetually neceſſary, and the way whereby it provideth perpetually alſo moſt apt, no doubt but that every ſuch Law ought for ever to remain unchangeable. Whether God be the Author of Laws, by authoriſing that power of Men whereby they are made, or by delivering them made immediately from himſelf, by word only, or in writing alſo, or howſoever, notwithſtanding the Authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made, maketh them alſo changeable. The Law of Ceremonies came from God. *Moſes* had commandment to commit it unto the ſacred Records of Scripture, where it continueth even unto this very day and hour; in force ſtill as the *Jew* ſurmiſeth, (becauſe God himſelf was Author of it, and for us to aboliſh what he hath eſtabliſhed, were preſumption moſt intolerable. But (that which they in the blindneſs of their obdurate hearts are not able to diſcern) ſith the end for which that Law was ordained, is now fulfilled, paſt and gone; how ſhould it but ceaſe any longer to be, which hath no longer any cauſe of being in force as before? *That which neceſſity of ſome ſpecial time doth cauſe to be enjoyned, bindeth no longer than during that time, but doth afterward become free.* Which thing is alſo plain, even by that Law which the Apoſtles aſſembled at the Council of *Jeruſalem* did from thence deliver unto the Church of Chriſt; the Preface whereof to authoriſe it, was, *To the Holy Ghoſt, and to us it hath ſeemed good*: Which ſtyle they did not uſe as matching themſelves in Power with the Holy Ghoſt, but as teſtifying the Holy Ghoſt to be the Author, and themſelves but only Utterers of that Decree. This Law therefore to have proceeded from God as the Author thereof, no faithful Man will deny. It was of God, not only becauſe God gave them the power whereby they might make Laws, but for that it proceeded even from the Holy Motion and Suggeſtion of that ſecret Divine Spirit, whoſe ſentence they did but only pronounce. Notwithſtanding, as the Law of Ceremonies delivered unto the *Jews*, ſo this very Law which the Gentiles received from the Mouth of the Holy Ghoſt, is in like reſpect abrogated by deceaſe of the end for which it was given. But ſuch as do not ſtick at this point, ſuch as grant that what hath been inſtituted upon any ſpecial cauſe, needeth not to be obſerved, that cauſe ceaſing, do notwithſtanding herein fail; they judge the Laws of God only by the Author and main End for which they were made, ſo that for us to change that which he hath eſtabliſhed, they hold it execrable pride and preſumption, if ſo be the end and purpoſe for which God by that mean provideth, be permanent. And upon this they ground thoſe ample Diſputes concerning Orders and Offices, which being by him appointed for the Government of his Church, if it be neceſſary always that the Church of Chriſt be governed, then doth the end for which God provided, remain ſtill; and therefore in thoſe means which he by Law did eſtabliſh as being fitteſt unto that end, for us to alter any thing, is to lift up our ſelves againſt God, and as it were to countermand him. Wherein they mark not, that Laws are Inſtruments to rule by, and that Inſtruments are not only to be framed according unto the general end for which they are provided, but even according unto that very particular which riſeth out of the matter whereon they have to work. The end wherefore Laws were made may be permanent, and thoſe Laws nevertheleſs require ſome alteration, if there be any unfitneſs in the means which they preſcribe as tending unto that end and purpoſe. As for example, a Law that to bridle Theft doth puniſh Thieves with a quadruple reſtitution, hath an end which will continue as long as the World it ſelf continueth. Theft will be always, and will always need to be bridled. But that the mean which this Law provideth for that end, namely, the puniſhment of quadruple reſtitution, that this will be always ſufficient to bridle and reſtrain that kind of enormity, no Man can warrant. Inſufficiency of Laws doth ſometimes come by want of judgment in the Makers. Which cauſe cannot fall into any Law termed properly and immediately Divine, as it may and doth into Human Laws often. But that which hath been once moſt ſufficient, may wax otherwiſe by alteration of time and place; that puniſhment which hath been ſometime forcible to bridle ſin, may grow afterwards too weak and feeble. In a word, we plainly perceive by the difference of thoſe three Laws, which the *Jews* received at the hands of God, the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto God maketh his Laws, continue always one and the ſame, his Laws alſo do the like, for which cauſe the Moral Law cannot be altered. Secondly, that whether the matter whereon Laws are made, continue or continue not, if their end have once ceaſed, they ceaſe alſo to be of force; as in the Law Ceremonial it fareth. Finally, that albeit the end continue, as in that Law of Theft ſpecified, and in a great part of thoſe ancient Judicials it doth; yet for as much as there is not in all reſpects the ſame ſubject or matter remaining, for which they were firſt inſtituted, even this is ſufficient cauſe of change. And therefore Laws, though both ordained of God himſelf, and the end for which they were ordained continuing, may notwithſtanding ceaſe, if by alteration of Perſons or Times they be found inſufficient to attain unto that end. In which reſpect why may we not preſume, that God doth even call for ſuch change or alteration, as the very condition of things themſelves doth make neceſſary? They which do therefore plead the Authority of the Law-maker, as an argument wherefore it ſhould not be Lawful to change that which he hath inſtituted, and will have this the cauſe why all the Ordinances of our Saviour are immutable; they which urge the Wiſdom of God as a proof, that whatſoever Laws he hath made, they ought to ſtand, unleſs himſelf from Heaven proclaim them diſannulled, becauſe it is not in Man to correct the Ordinance of God; may know, if it pleaſe them to take notice thereof, that we are far from preſuming to think that Men can better any thing which God hath done, even as we are from thinking that Men ſhould preſume to undo ſome things of Men, which God doth know they cannot better. God never ordained any thing that could be bettered. Yet many things he hath, that have been changed, and that for the better. That which ſucceed-

Quod pro neceſſitate temporis ſtatutum eſt, ceſſante neceſſitate, debet ceſſare pariter quod urgebat 1. q. 1. *Quod pro neceſſit.*

Acts 15.

Counterp. p. 8.

ſucceedeth as better now when change is requiſite, had been worſe, when that which now is changed was inſtituted. Otherwiſe God had not then left this to chuſe that, neither would now reject that to chuſe this, were it not for ſome new-grown occaſion making that which hath been better worſe. In this caſe therefore Men do not preſume to change God's Ordinance, but they yield thereunto requiring it-ſelf to be changed. Againſt this it is objected, that to abrogate or innovate the Goſpel of Chriſt, if Men or Angels ſhould attempt, it were moſt heinous and curſed ſacriledge. And the Goſpel, as they ſay, containeth not only Doctrine inſtructing Men how they ſhould believe, but alſo Precepts concerning the Regiment of the Church. Diſcipline therefore is a part of the Goſpel, and God being the Author of the whole Goſpel, as well of Diſcipline as of Doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them have a common cauſe. So that as we are to believe for ever the Articles of Evangelical Doctrine, ſo the precepts of Diſcipline we are in like ſort bound for ever to obſerve. Touching points of Doctrine, as for example, the Unity of God, the Trinity of Perſons, Salvation by Chriſt, the Reſurrection of the Body, Life Everlaſting, the Judgment to come, and ſuch like, they have been ſince the firſt hour that there was a Church in the World, and till the laſt they muſt be believed: But as for matters of Regiment, they are for the moſt part of another nature. To make new Articles of Faith and Doctrine, no Man thinketh it lawful; new Laws of Government, what Common-wealth or Church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? *The Rule of Faith,* ſaith *Tertullian, is but one, and that alone immoveable, and impoſſible to be framed or caſt anew.* The Law of outward Order and Polity not ſo. There is no reaſon in the World wherefore we ſhould eſteem it as neceſſary always to do, as always to believe the ſame things; ſeeing every Man knoweth, that the matter of Faith is conſtant, the matter contrariwiſe of Action daily changeable, eſpecially the matter of Action belonging unto Church-Polity. Neither can I find that Men of ſoundeſt judgment have any otherwiſe taught, than that Articles of Belief, and things which all Men muſt of neceſſity do, to the end they may be ſaved, are either expreſly ſet down in Scripture, or elſe plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to Diſcipline and outward Polity, the Church hath Authority to make Canons, Laws and Decrees, even as we read that in the Apoſtles times it did. Which kind of Laws (for as much as they are not in themſelves neceſſary to Salvation) may after they are made, be alſo changed as the difference of times or places ſhall require. Yea, it is not denied, I am ſure, by themſelves, that certain things in Diſcipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Whereupon I demand, are thoſe changeable Points of Diſcipline commanded in the Word of God, or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be received in the Church; how can their former Poſition ſtand, condemning all things in the Church, which in the Word are not commanded? If they be commanded, and yet may ſuffer change; how can this latter ſtand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their diſtinction touching Matters of Subſtance and of Circumſtance, though true, will not ſerve. For be they great things, or be they ſmall, if God have commanded them in the Goſpel, and his commanding them in the Goſpel do make them unchangeable, there is no reaſon we ſhould more change the one, than we may the other. If the Authority of the Maker do prove unchangeableneſs in the Laws which God hath made, then muſt all Laws, which he hath made, be neceſſarily for ever permanent, though they be but of Circumſtance only, and not of Subſtance. I therefore conclude, that neither God's being Author of Laws for Government of his Church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reaſon ſufficient, wherefore all Churches ſhould for ever be bound to keep them without change. But of one thing we are here to give them warning by the way: For whereas in this Diſcourſe we have oftentimes profeſt, that many parts of Diſcipline or Church-Polity are delivered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driven to confeſs their Diſcipline to be delivered in Scripture; and that having no other means to avoid it, we are fain to argue for the changeableneſs of Laws ordained even by God himſelf, as if otherwiſe theirs of neceſſity ſhould take place, and that under which we live be abandoned. There is no remedy therefore, but to abate this Error in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any ſuch conceit, they do but a little flatter their own cauſe. As for us, we think in no reſpect ſo highly of it. Our perſwaſion is, that no age ever had knowledge of it, but only ours; that they which defend it, deviſed it; that neither Chriſt nor his Apoſtles at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therefore we did ſeek to maintain that which moſt advantageth our own cauſe, the very beſt way for us, and the ſtrongeſt againſt them, were to hold even as they do, that in Scripture there muſt needs be found ſome particular Form of Church-Polity which God hath inſtituted, and which * for that very cauſe belongeth to all Churches, to all Times. But with any ſuch partial eye to reſpect our ſelves, and by cunning to make thoſe things ſeem the trueſt, which are the fitteſt to ſerve our Purpoſe, is a thing which we neither like nor mean to follow. Wherefore, that which we take to be generally true concerning the Mutability of Laws, the ſame we have plainly delivered, as being perſwaded of nothing more than we are of this; † That whether it it be in Matter of Speculation or of Practice, no untruth can poſſibly avail the Patron and Defender long, and that things moſt truly, are likewiſe moſt behovefully ſpoken.

We offer to ſhew the Diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpel, and therefore to have a Common cauſe; ſo that in the repulſe of the Diſcipline, the Goſpel receives a check. And again, I ſpeak of the Diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpel; and therefore neither under nor above the Goſpel, but the Goſpel. *T. C.* l. 2. p. 14.

Tert. De Veland. virg.

Mart. in 1. Sam. 14.

Act 15.

* *Diſciplina eſt Chriſtianæ Eccleſiæ Politia, à Deo ejus rectè Adminiſtrandæ cauſâ conſtituta, ac propterea ex ejus verbo petenda, & ob eandem cauſam omnium Eccleſiarum communis & omnium temporum.* Lib. 3. de Eccleſ. Diſcip in Analy. † Εοίκασιν ἐν οἱ ἀληθεῖς τῶν λόγων, ὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι χρησιμώτατοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον. Συνῳδοὶ γὰρ ὄντες ἔργοις, πιστεύονται. *Ariſt. Ethic. lib.* 10. *cap.* 1.

II. This

Whether Chriſt have forbidden all change of thoſe Laws, which are ſet down in Scripture.

II. This we hold and grant for Truth, that thoſe very Laws which of their own nature are changeable, be notwithſtanding uncapable of change, if he which gave them, being of Authority ſo to do, forbid abſolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration againſt the Will of ſuch a Law-maker. Albeit therefore we do not find any cauſe, why of right there ſhould be neceſſarily an Immutable Form ſet down in Holy Scripture; nevertheleſs, if indeed there have been at any time a Church-Polity ſo ſet down, the change whereof the Sacred Scripture doth forbid; ſurely for Men to alter thoſe Laws which God for perpetuity hath eſtabliſhed, were preſumption moſt intolerable. To prove therefore, that the Will of Chriſt was to eſtabliſh Laws ſo Permanent and Immutable, that in any ſort to alter them cannot but highly offend God, thus they reaſon. Firſt, (a) If *Moſes* being but a ſervant in the Houſe of God, did therein eſtabliſh Laws of Government for a perpetuity; Laws, which they that were of the Houſhold might not alter: Shall we admit into our thoughts, that the Son of God hath in providing for this his Houſhold, declared himſelf leſs faithful than *Moſes*; *Moſes* delivering unto the Jews ſuch Laws as were durable, if thoſe be changeable which Chriſt hath delivered unto us, we are not able to avoid it, but (that which to think were heinous impiety) we of neceſſity muſt confeſs, even the Son of God himſelf to have been leſs faithful than *Moſes*? Which Argument ſhall need no Touch-ſtone to try it by, but ſome other of the like making. *Moſes* erected in the Wilderneſs a Tabernacle, which was moveable from place to place; *Solomon* a ſumptuous and ſtately Temple, which was not moveable: Therefore *Solomon* was faithfuller than *Moſes*, which no Man endued with reaſon will think. And yet by this reaſon it doth plainly follow. He that will ſee how faithful the one or the other was, muſt compare the things which they both did, unto the charge which God gave each of them. The Apoſtle, in making compariſon between our Saviour and *Moſes*, attributeth faithfulneſs unto both, and maketh this difference between them; *Moſes in*, but *Chriſt over*, the Houſe of God; *Moſes* in in that Houſe, which was *his by charge and commiſſion*, though to govern it, yet to govern it *as a ſervant*; but *Chriſt* over this Houſe, as being *his own entire poſſeſſion*. Our Lord and Saviour doth make proteſtation, (b) *I have given unto them the words which thou gaveſt me.* Faithful therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Fathers will. But did any part of that will require the Immutability of Laws concerning Church-Polity? They anſwer, Yea; for elſe God ſhould leſs favour us than the Jews. God would not have their Churches guided by any Laws but his own: And ſeeing this did ſo continue even till Chriſt; now to eaſe God of that care, or rather to deprive the Church of his patronage, what reaſon have we? Surely none to derogate any thing from the ancient love which God hath born to his Church. An Heathen Philoſopher there is, who conſidering how many things Beaſts have, which Men have not, how naked in compariſon of them, how impotent, and how much leſs able we are to ſhift for our ſelves a long time after we enter into this World, repiningly concluded hereupon, that Nature being a careful Mother for them, is towards us a hard-hearted Step-dame. No, we may not meaſure the affection of our gracious God towards his by ſuch differences. For even herein ſhineth his Wiſdom, that though the ways of his Providence be many, yet the end, which he bringeth all at the length unto, is one and the ſelf-ſame. But if ſuch kind of reaſoning were good, might we not even as directly conclude the very ſame concerning Laws of Secular Regiment? Their own Words are theſe; (c) *In the ancient Church of the Jews God did command, and* Moſes *commit unto writing, all things pertinent, as well to the Civil as to the Eccleſiaſtical State.* God gave them Laws of Civil Regiment, and would not permit their Common-weal to be governed by any other Laws than his own. Doth God leſs regard our Temporal eſtate in this World, or provide for it worſe than theirs? To us notwithſtanding he hath not as to them, delivered any particular form of Temporal Regiment, unleſs perhaps we think as ſome do, that the grafting of the Gentiles, and their incorporating into *Iſrael*, doth import that we ought to be ſubject unto the Rites and Laws of their whole Polity. We ſee then how weak ſuch Diſputes are, and how ſmally they make to this purpoſe. That Chriſt did not mean to ſet down particular poſitive Laws for all things, in ſuch ſort as *Moſes* did, the very different manner of delivering the Laws of *Moſes* and the Laws of Chriſt doth plainly ſhew. *Moſes* had Commandment to gather the ordinances of God together diſtinctly, and orderly to ſet them down according unto their ſeveral kinds, for each Publick Duty and Office the Laws that belong thereto, as appeareth in the Books themſelves written of purpoſe for that end. Contrariwiſe the Laws of Chriſt we find rather mentioned by occaſion in the writings of the Apoſtles, than any ſolemn thing directly written to comprehend them in legal ſort. Again, the Poſitive Laws which *Moſes* gave, they were given for the greateſt part with reſtraint to the Land of *Jury*: *Behold*, ſaith *Moſes*, *I have taught you Ordinances and Laws, as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye ſhould do even ſo within the Land whither ye go to poſſeſs it.* Which Laws and Ordinances Poſitive he plainly diſtinguiſhed afterwards from the Laws of the Two Tables, which were Moral. *The Lord ſpake unto you out of the midſt of the Fire; ye heard the voice of the words, but ſaw no ſimilitude, only a voice. Then he declared unto you his Covenant, which he Commanded you to do, the Ten Commandments, and wrote them upon two Tables of Stone. And the Lord commanded me that ſame time, that I ſhould teach you Ordinances and Laws which ye ſhould obſerve in the Land whither ye go to poſſeſs it.* The ſame difference is again ſet down in the next Chapter following. For rehearſal being made of the Ten Commandments, it followeth immediately: *Theſe words the Lord ſpake unto all your multitude in the Mount, out of the midſt of the fire, the cloud and*

the

(a) Heb. 3. 6. Either that commendation of the Son before the ſervant is a falſe teſtimony, or the Son ordained a Permanent Government in the Church. If Permanent, then not to be changed. What then do they that hold it may be changed at the Magiſtrates pleaſure, but adviſe the Magiſtrate by his Poſitive Laws to proclaim, that it is his will, that if there ſhall be a Church within his Dominions, he will maim and deform the ſame? *M. M.* pag. 16. He that was as faithful as *Moſes*, left as clear inſtruction for the Government of the Church: But Chriſt was as faithful as *Moſes. Ergo. Demonſtr. of Diſcip. cap.* 1.

(b) John 17.

Either God hath left a Preſcript Form of Government now, or elſe he is leſs careful under the New Teſtament than under the Old. *Demonſt. of Diſc. cap.* 1.

(c) *Eccleſiaſt. Diſc. lib.* 1.

Rom. 11. 17.
Epheſ. 2. 12. 16.

Deut. 4. 5.

Ver. 12, 13, 14

Deut. 5. 22.

the darkneſs, with a great voice, and added no more, and wrote them upon two Tables of Stone, and delivered them unto me. But concerning other Laws, the People give their conſent to receive them at the Hands of *Moſes. Go thou nearer, and hear all that the Lord our God ſaith, and declare thou unto us all that the Lord our God ſaith unto thee, and we will hear it, and do it.* The Peoples alacrity herein God highly commendeth with moſt effectual and hearty ſpeech; *I have heard the voice of the words of this People, they have ſpoken well. O that there were ſuch an heart in them to fear me, and to keep all my Commandments always, that it might go well with them, and with their Children for ever! Go, ſay unto them, return you to your Tents: But ſtand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the Commandments and the Ordinances, and the Laws which thou ſhalt teach them, that they may do them in the Land which I have given them to poſſeſs.* From this latter kind the former are plainly diſtinguiſhed in many things. They were not both at one time delivered, neither both after one ſort, nor to one end. The former uttered by the voice of God himſelf in the hearing of Six-hundred-thouſand Men; the former written with the Finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Covenant; the former given to be kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other ſide, the latter given after, and neither written by God himſelf, nor given unto the whole multitude immediately from God, but unto *Moſes*, and from him to them both by word and writing; the latter termed Ceremonies, Judgments, Ordinances, but no where Covenant; Finally, the obſervation of the latter reſtrained unto the Land where God would eſtabliſh them to inhabit. The Laws poſitive are not framed without regard had to the place and perſons, for the which they are made. If therefore Almighty God in framing their Laws had an eye unto the Nature of that People, and to the Country where they were to dwell; if theſe peculiar and proper conſiderations were reſpected in the making of their Laws, and muſt be alſo regarded in the Poſitive Laws of all other Nations beſides; then ſeeing that Nations are not all alike, ſurely the giving of one kind of Poſitive Laws unto one only People, without any liberty to alter them, is but a ſlender proof, that therefore one kind ſhould in like ſort be given to ſerve everlaſtingly for all. But that which moſt of all maketh for the clearing of this point, is, * That the Jews who had Laws, ſo particularly determining, and ſo fully inſtructing them in all affairs what to do, were notwithſtanding continually inured with caſes exorbitant, and ſuch as their Laws had not provided for. And in this point much more is granted us than we ask, namely, that for one thing which we have left to the Order of the Church, they had twenty which were undecided by the expreſs Word of God; and that as their Ceremonies and Sacraments were multiplied above ours, even ſo grew the number of thoſe caſes, which were not determined by any expreſs word. So that if we may deviſe one Law, they by this reaſon might deviſe twenty; and if their deviſing ſo many were not forbidden, ſhall their example prove us forbidden to deviſe as much as one Law for the ordering of the Church? We might not deviſe, no not one, if their example did prove, that our Saviour hath utterly forbidden all alteration of his Laws, in as much as there can be no Law deviſed, but needs it muſt either take away from his, or add thereunto more or leſs, and ſo make ſome kind of alteration: But of this ſo large a grant we are content not to take advantage. Men are oftentimes in a ſudden paſſion more liberal, than they would be, if they had leiſure to take advice: and therefore ſo bountiful words of courſe and frank ſpeeches we are contented to let paſs, without turning them unto advantage with too much rigour. It may be they had rather be liſtned unto, when they commend the Kings of *Iſrael*, which attempted nothing in the Government of the Church without the expreſs Word of God; and when they urge, that God left nothing in his Word undeſcribed, whether it concerned the Worſhip of God, or outward Polity, nothing unſet down; and therefore charged them ſtrictly to keep themſelves unto that without any alteration. Howbeit ſeeing it cannot be denied, but that many things there did belong unto the courſe of their publick Affairs, wherein they had no expreſs word at all to ſhew preciſely what they ſhould do; the difference between their condition and ours in theſe caſes, will bring ſome light unto the Truth of this preſent Controverſie. Before the fact of the Son of *Shelomith*, there was no Law which did appoint any certain puniſhment for Blaſphemers: That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impiety, was held in ward till the mind of the Lord was known concerning his caſe. The like practice is alſo mentioned upon occaſion of a breach of the Sabbath-day. They find a poor ſilly creature gathering ſticks in the Wilderneſs; they bring him unto *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and all the Congregation; they lay him in hold, becauſe it was not declared what ſhould be done with him, till God had ſaid unto *Moſes, This Man ſhall die the death:* The Law required to keep the Sabbath; but for the breach of the Sabbath what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted, it did not appoint. Such occaſions as theſe are rare: And for ſuch things as do fall ſcarce once in many Ages of Men, it did ſuffice to take ſuch order as was requiſite when they fell. But if the caſe were ſuch, as being not already determined by Law, were notwithſtanding likely oftentimes to come into queſtion, it gave occaſion of adding Laws that were not before. Thus it fell out in the caſe of thoſe Men polluted, and of the Daughters of *Zelophehad*, whoſe cauſes *Moſes* having brought before the Lord, received Laws to ſerve for the like in time to come. The Jews to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets. And by ſuch means God himſelf inſtructed them from Heaven, what to do in all things that did greatly concern their ſtate, and were not already ſet down in the Law. Shall we then hereupon argue even againſt our own experience and knowledge? Shall we ſeek to perſwade Men, that of neceſſity it is with us, as it was with them, that becauſe God is ours in all reſpects, as much

Verſ. 27.

Verſ. 28, 29. 30, 31.

T. C. In the Table to his Second Book.

T. C. lib. 1. *p.* 446. If he will needs ſeperate the Worſhip of God from the External Polity; yet as the Lord ſet forth the one, ſo he left nothing undeſcribed in the other.

Levit. 24. 31.

Num. 15. 34.

Numb. 9.

Numb. 27.

---

* *T. C. lib.* 1. *p.* 35. Whereas you ſay, that they (the Jews) had nothing, but was determined by the Law, and we have many things undetermined and left to the Order of the Church, I will offer for one that you ſhall bring that we have left to the Order of the Church, to ſhew you that they had twenty which were undecided by the expreſs word of God.

as theirs, therefore either no ſuch way of direction hath been at any time; or if it hath been, it doth ſtill continue in the Church; or if the ſame do not continue, that yet it muſt be at the leaſt ſupplied by ſome ſuch mean as pleaſeth us to account of equal force? A more dutiful and religious way for us, were to admire the Wiſdom of God, which ſhineth in the beautiful variety of all things. But moſt in the manifold and yet harmonious diſſimilitude of thoſe ways, whereby his Church upon Earth is guided from age to age throughout all Generations of Men. The Jews were neceſſarily to continue till the coming of Chriſt in the fleſh, and the gathering of Nations unto him. So much the promiſe made unto *Abraham* did import: So much the Prophecy of *Jacob* at the hour of his Death did foreſhew. Upon the ſafety therefore of their very outward ſtate and condition for ſo long, the after-good of the whole World, and the Salvation of all did depend. Unto their ſo long ſafety, for two things it was neceſſary to provide, namely, the preſervation of their ſtate againſt foreign reſiſtance, and the continuance of their peace within themſelves. Touching the one, as they received the promiſe of God to be the Rock of their defence, againſt which whoſo violently did ruſh, ſhould but bruiſe and batter themſelves; ſo likewiſe they had his Commandment in all their affairs that way, to ſeek direction and counſel from him. Mens Conſultations are always perilous. And it falleth out many times, that after long deliberation thoſe things are by their wit even reſolved on, which by trial are found moſt oppoſite to publick ſafety. It is no impoſſible thing for States, be they never ſo well eſtabliſhed, yet by over-ſight in ſome one act or treaty between them and their potent oppoſites, utterly to caſt away themſelves for ever. Wherefore leſt it ſhould ſo fall out to them, upon whom ſo much did depend; they were not permitted to enter into War, nor conclude any League of Peace, nor to wade through any act of moment between them and foreign States, unleſs the Oracle of God, or his Prophets, were firſt conſulted with. And leſt domeſtical diſturbance ſhould waſte them within themſelves, becauſe there was nothing unto this purpoſe more effectual, than if the Authority of their Laws and Governors were ſuch as none might preſume to take exception againſt it, or to ſhew diſobedience unto it, without incurring the hatred and deteſtation of all Men that had any ſpark of the fear of God; therefore he gave them even their Poſitive Laws from Heaven, and as oft as occaſion required, choſe in like ſort Rulers alſo to lead and govern them. Notwithſtanding ſome deſperately impious there were, which adventured to try what harm it could bring upon them, if they did attempt to be Authors of Confuſion, and to reſiſt both Governors and Laws. Againſt ſuch Monſters God maintained his own, by fearful execution of extraordinary judgment upon them. By which means it came to paſs, that although they were a People infeſted and mightily hated of all others throughout the World, although by Nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathful, and impatient of reſt and quietneſs; yet there was nothing of force, either one way or other, to work the ruin and ſubverſion of their State, till the time before-mentioned was expired. Thus we ſee that there was not no cauſe of diſſimilitude in theſe things, between that one only People before Chriſt, and the Kingdoms of the World ſince. And whereas it is further alledged, *That albeit in Civil Matters and things pertaining to this preſent life, God hath uſed a greater particularity with them than amongſt us, framing Laws according to the quality of that People and Country; yet the leaving of us at greater liberty in things civil, is ſo far from proving the like liberty in things pertaining to the Kingdom of Heaven, that it rather proves a ſtreighter bond: For even as when the Lord would have his favour more appear by Temporal Bleſſings of this Life, towards the People under the Law, than towards us, he gave alſo Politick Laws moſt exactly, whereby they might both moſt eaſily come into, and moſt ſtedfaſtly remain in poſſeſſion of thoſe earthly benefits: Even ſo at this time, wherein he would not have his favour ſo much eſteemed by thoſe outward commodities, it is required, that as his care in preſcribing Laws for that purpoſe hath ſomewhat faln, in leaving them to Men's Conſultations, which may be deceived; ſo his care for Conduct and Government of the life to come ſhould (if it were poſſible) riſe, in leaving leſs to the order of Men than in times paſt.* Theſe are but weak and feeble Diſputes for the Inference of that Concluſion which is intended. For ſaving only in ſuch conſideration as hath been ſhewed, there is no cauſe wherefore we ſhould think God more deſirous to manifeſt his favour by Temporal Bleſſings towards them, than towards us. Godlineſs had unto them, and it hath alſo unto us, the promiſes both of this Life, and the Life to come. That the care of God hath faln in earthly things, and therefore ſhould riſe as much in Heavenly; that more is left unto Men's conſultations in the one, and therefore leſs muſt be granted in the other; that God having uſed a greater particularity with them than with us, for matters pertaining unto this Life, is to make us amends by the more exact delivery of Laws for Government of the Life to come. Theſe are proportions, whereof if there be any Rule, we muſt plainly confeſs that which truth is, we know it not. God which ſpake unto them by his Prophets, hath unto us by his only-begotten Son; thoſe Myſteries of Grace and Salvation, which were but darkly diſcloſed unto them, have unto us more clearly ſhined. Such differences between them and us, the Apoſtles of Chriſt have well acquainted us withal. But as for matter belonging to the outward Conduct or Government of the Church; ſeeing that even in ſenſe it is manifeſt, that our Lord and Saviour hath not by Poſitive Laws deſcended ſo far into particularities with us, as *Moſes* with them; neither doth by extraordinary means, Oracles and Prophets, direct us, as them he did, in thoſe things which riſing daily by new occaſions are of neceſſity to be provided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to us there ſhould be freedom and liberty granted to make Laws? Yea, but the Apoſtle St. *Paul* doth fearfully charge *Timothy*, Even *in the ſight of God who quickneth all, and of Chriſt Jeſus who witneſſed that famous Confeſſion before* Pontius Pilate, *to keep what was commanded him, ſafe and ſound till the appearance of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* This doth exclude all liberty of changing the

Gen. 18. 18.

Gen. 48. 10.

T. C. lib. 2. p. 440.

1 Tim. 6. 14.
John 18 37.

Laws of Chriſt, whether by abrogation or addition, or howſoever. For in *Timothy* the whole Church of Chriſt receiveth Charge concerning her duty. And that charge is to keep the Apoſtles Commandment: And his Commandment did contain the Laws that concerned Church-Government: And thoſe Laws he ſtraitly requireth to be obſerved without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. In Scripture we grant every one Man's leſſon to be the common inſtruction of all Men, ſo far forth as their caſes are like, and that religiouſly to keep the Apoſtles Commandments in whatſoever they may concern us, we all ſtand bound. But touching that Commandment which *Timothy* was charged with, we ſwerve undoubtedly from the Apoſtles preciſe meaning, if we extend it ſo largely, that the Arms thereof ſhall reach unto all things which were commanded him by the Apoſtle. The very words themſelves do reſtrain themſelves unto ſome ſpecial Commandment among many. And therefore it is not ſaid, *Keep the Ordinances, Laws and Conſtitutions which thou haſt received*; but τ̀ ἐντολὴν *that great commandment, which doth principally concern thee and thy calling*: That Commandment which Chriſt did ſo often inculcate unto *Peter*; that Commandment unto the careful diſcharge whereof they of *Epheſus* are exhorted, *Attend to your ſelves, and to all the flock, wherein the Holy Ghoſt hath placed you Biſhops, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed by his own Blood*: Finally, that Commandment which unto the ſame *Timothy* is by the ſame Apoſtle, even in the ſame form and manner, afterwards again urged, *I charge thee in the ſight of God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which will judge the quick and dead at his appearance and in his Kingdom, Preach the Word of God.* When *Timothy* was inſtituted in that Office, then was the credit and truſt of this duty committed unto his faithful care. The Doctrine of the Goſpel was then given him, *As the precious Talent or Treaſure of Jeſus Chriſt*; Then received he for performance of this duty, *The ſpecial Gift of the Holy Ghoſt.* To keep this Commandment immaculate and blameleſs, *Was to teach the Goſpel of Chriſt without mixture of corrupt and unſound Doctrine*; ſuch as a number, even in thoſe times, intermingled with the Myſteries of Chriſtian Belief. *Till the appearance of Chriſt to keep it ſo*, doth not import the time wherein it ſhould be kept, but rather the time whereunto the final reward for keeping it was reſerved; according to that of St. *Paul* concerning himſelf, *I have kept the Faith; for the reſidue, there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteouſneſs, which the Lord the righteous Judge ſhall in that day render unto me.* If they that Labour in this Harveſt, ſhould reſpect but the preſent fruit of their painful Travel, a poor encouragement it were unto them to continue therein all the days of their Life. But their reward is great in Heaven; The Crown of Righteouſneſs which ſhall be given them in that day, is honourable. The fruit of their induſtry then ſhall they reap with full contentment and ſatisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatneſs of their reward is abundantly ſufficient to countervail the tediouſneſs of their expectation. Wherefore till then, they that are in labour muſt reſt in hope. O *Timothy*, keep that which is committed unto thy charge; that great commandment which thou haſt received, keep till the appearance of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. In which ſenſe although we judge the Apoſtles words to have been uttered; yet hereunto we do not require them to yield, that think any other conſtruction more ſound. If therefore it be rejected, and theirs eſteemed more probable, which hold, That the laſt Words do import perpetual obſervation of the Apoſtles Commandment, impoſed neceſſarily for ever upon the Militant Church of Chriſt: Let them withal conſider, That then his Commandment cannot ſo largely be taken, to comprehend whatſoever the Apoſtle did command *Timothy*. For themſelves do not all bind the Church unto ſome things, whereof *Timothy* received charge, as namely, unto that Precept concerning the choice of Widows. So as they cannot hereby maintain, that all things poſitively commanded concerning the affairs of the Church, were commanded for perpetuity. And we do not deny that certain things were commanded to be, though poſitive, yet perpetual in the Church. They ſhould not therefore urge againſt us places that ſeem to forbid change, but rather ſuch as ſet down ſome meaſure of alteration; which meaſure if we have exceeded, then might they therewith charge us juſtly: Whereas now they themſelves both granting, and alſo uſing liberty to change, cannot in reaſon diſpute abſolutely againſt all change. Chriſt delivered no inconvenient, or unmeet Laws. Sundry of ours they hold inconvenient. Therefore ſuch Laws they cannot poſſibly hold to be Chriſts. Being not his, they muſt of neceſſity grant them added unto his. Yet certain of thoſe very Laws ſo added, they themſelves do not judge unlawful; as they plainly confeſs, both in matter of Preſcript Attire, and of Rites appertaining to Burial. Their own Proteſtations are, that they plead againſt the inconvenience, not the unlawfulneſs of Popiſh Apparel; and againſt the inconvenience, not the unlawfulneſs of Ceremonies in Burial. Therefore they hold it a thing not unlawful, to add to the Laws of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo conſequently they yield, that no Law of Chriſt forbiddeth Addition unto Church-Laws. The Judgment of *Calvin* being alledged againſt them, to whom, of all Men, they attribute moſt; whereas his words be plain, that for Ceremonies and external Diſcipline, the Church hath power to make Laws: The anſwer which hereunto they make, is, That indefinitely the ſpeech is true, and that ſo it was meant by him; namely, that ſome things belonging unto external Diſcipline and Ceremonies, are in the Power and Arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, That

John 21. 15.
Acts 20. 28.

2 Tim. 4. 1.

1 Tim 6. 20. τ̀ παρακαταθήκην.

1 Tim. 4 14.

2 Tim. 4. 7.

T. C. lib. 3 *p.* 241. My Reaſons do never conclude the unlawfulneſs of theſe Ceremonies of Burial, but the inconvenience and inexpedience of them. *And in the Table.* Of the inconvenience, not of the unlawfulneſs of Popiſh Apparel and Ceremonies in Burial. *T. C. lib.* 1. *p.* 32. Upon the indefinite ſpeaking of Mr. *Calvin*, ſaying, Ceremonies and External Diſcipline, without adding all or ſome, you go about ſubtilly to make Men believe, That Mr. *Calvin* hath placed the whole External Diſcipline in the Power and Arbitrement of the Church. For if all External Diſcipline were Arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church, Excommunication alſo, (which is a part of it) might be caſt away; which I think you will not ſay. *And in the very next words before.* Where you would give to underſtand, that Ceremonies and External Diſcipline are not preſcribed particularly by the Word of God; and therefore left to the Order of the Church: You muſt underſtand that all External Diſcipline is not left to the Order of the Church, being particularly preſcribed in the Scriptures, no more than all Ceremonies are left to the Order of the Church, as the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and the Supper of the Lord.

all External Diſcipline, and all Ceremonies, are left to the Order of the Church, in as much as the Sacraments of Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord are Ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate. Again, Excommunication is a part of External Diſcipline, which might alſo be caſt away, if all External Diſcipline were arbitrary and in the choice of the Church. By which their anſwer it doth appear, that touching the names of Ceremony and External Diſcipline they gladly would have us ſo underſtood, as if we did herein contain a great deal more than we do. The fault which we find with them, is, that they over-much abridge the Church of her Power in theſe things. Whereupon they recharge us, as if in theſe things we gave the Church a liberty, which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of Diſcipline containeth, were at the Churches free choice. So that we might either have Church-Governors and Government, or want them; either retain or reject Church-Cenſures as we liſt. They wonder at us, as at Men which think it ſo indifferent what the Church doth in Matter of Ceremonies, that it may be feared leſt we judge the very Sacraments themſelves to be held at the Churches pleaſure. No, the name of Ceremonies we do not uſe in ſo large a meaning, as to bring Sacraments within the compaſs and reach thereof; although things belonging unto the outward form and ſeemly Adminiſtration of them are contained in that name, even as we uſe it. For the name of Ceremonies we uſe as they themſelves do, when they ſpeak after this ſort: *The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, as the weightieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked unto; but the Ceremonies alſo, as Mint and Cumin, ought not to be neglected.* Beſides, in the Matter of External Diſcipline or Regiment it-ſelf, we do not deny but there are ſome things, whereto the Church is bound till the Worlds end. So as the queſtion is only, how far the bounds of the Churches Liberty do reach. We hold, that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make Laws and Orders for it-ſelf, doth extend unto ſundry things of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and ſuch other Matters, whereto their opinion is, that the Churches Authority and Power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in diſputing againſt us about this point, they take their compaſs a great deal wider than the truth of things can afford, producing Reaſons and Arguments by way of generality, to prove that Chriſt hath ſet down all things belonging any way unto the form of ordering his Church, and hath abſolutely forbidden change by Addition or Diminution, great or ſmall (for ſo their manner of diſputing is:) We are conſtrained to make our Defence, by ſhewing that Chriſt hath not deprived his Church ſo far of all Liberty, in making Orders and Laws for it-ſelf, and that they themſelves do not think he hath ſo done.

T. C. lib. 3. *p.* 171.

T. C. lib. 1. *p.* 27. We deny not but certain things are left to the Order of the Church, becauſe they are of the Nature of thoſe which are varied by times, places, perſons and other circumſtances, and ſo could not at once be ſet down and eſtabliſhed for ever.

For are they able to ſhew that all particular Cuſtoms, Rites and Orders of Reformed Churches, have been appointed by Chriſt himſelf? No; They grant, that in Matter of Circumſtance they alter that which they have received; but in things of Subſtance they keep the Laws of Chriſt without change. If we ſay the ſame in our own behalf (which ſurely we may do with a great deal more truth) then muſt they cancel all that hath been before alledged, and begin to enquire afreſh, whether we retain the Laws that Chriſt hath delivered concerning Matters of Subſtance, yea, or no. For our conſtant perſwaſion in this point is as theirs, That we have no where altered the Laws of Chriſt, further than in ſuch Particularities only, as have the nature of things changeable, according to the difference of times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Chriſt hath commanded Prayers to be made, Sacraments to be miniſtred, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning every of theſe ſomewhat Chriſt hath commanded, which muſt be kept till the Worlds end. On the contrary ſide, in every of them ſomewhat there may be added, as the Church ſhall judge it expedient. So that if they will ſpeak to purpoſe, all which hitherto hath been diſputed of, they muſt give over, and ſtand upon ſuch particulars only, as they can ſhew we have either added or abrogated otherwiſe than we ought in the Matter of Church-Polity. Whatſoever Chriſt hath commanded for ever to be kept in his Church, the ſame we take not upon us to abrogate; and whatſoever our Laws have thereunto added beſides, of ſuch quality we hope it is, as no Law of Chriſt doth any where condemn.

I. Wherefore, that all may be laid together, and gathered into a narrow room. 1. So far forth as the Church is the Myſtical Body of Chriſt, and his inviſible Spouſe, it needeth no External Polity. That very part of the Law Divine, which teacheth Faith and Works of Righteouſneſs, is it-ſelf alone ſufficient for the Church of God in that reſpect. But as the Church is a Viſible Society and Body Politick, Laws of Polity it cannot want.

II. 2. Whereas therefore it cometh in the ſecond place to be enquired, what Laws are fitteſt and beſt for the Church; they who firſt embraced that rigorous and ſtrict opinion, which depriveth the Church of Liberty to make any kind of Law for her-ſelf, inclined (as it ſhould ſeem) thereunto, for that they imagined all things which the Church doth without commandment of holy Scripture, ſubject to that reproof which the Scripture it-ſelf uſeth in certain caſes, when Divine Authority ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kind of Order whatſoever, to ſay, *The Word of God teacheth it not, it is a device of the Brain of Man, away with it therefore out of the Church.* St. Auguſtine was of another mind, who ſpeaking of Faſts on the Sunday, ſaith, *That he which would chuſe out that day to faſt on, ſhould give thereby no ſmall offence to the Church of God, which had received a contrary Cuſtom. For in theſe things, whereof the Scripture appointeth no certainty, the uſe of the People of God, or the Ordinances of our Fathers, muſt ſerve for a Law. In which caſe if we will diſpute, and condemn one ſort by anothers cuſtom, it will be but matter of endleſs contention; where, for as much as the Labour of reaſoning ſhall hardly beat into Mens Heads any certain or neceſſary truth, ſurely it ſtandeth us upon to take heed, leſt with the tempeſt of Strife the brightneſs of Charity and Love be darkned.* If all things muſt be commanded of God, which may be practiſed of his Church, I would know what

Iſai. 29. 14. Col. 2. 22.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 86.

commandment the *Gileadites* had to erect that Altar, which is ſpoken of in the Book of *Joſhua*. Joſh. 22.
Did not congruity of Reaſon induce them thereunto, and ſuffice for defence of their Fact? I
would know what commandment the Women of *Iſrael* had yearly to mourn and lament in the
memory of *Jephthah's* Daughter; what commandment the *Jews* had to celebrate their Feaſt of Judg. 11. 40.
Dedication never ſpoken of in the Law, yet ſolemnized even by our Saviour himſelf; what John 10. 22.
commandment, finally, they had for the Ceremony of Odors uſed about the Bodies of the Dead,
after which cuſtom notwithſtanding (ſith it was their cuſtom) our Lord was contented that his
own moſt precious Body ſhould be intombed. Wherefore to reject all Orders of the Church John 19. 40.
which Men have eſtabliſhed, is to think worſe of the Laws of Men in this reſpect, than either
the judgment of wiſe men alloweth, or the Law of God it-ſelf will bear. Howbeit, they
which had once taken upon them to condemn all things done in the Church, and not commanded
of God to be done, ſaw it was neceſſary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion)
to hold, that needs there muſt be in Scripture ſet down a compleat particular Form of
Church-Polity, a Form preſcribing how all the affairs of the Church muſt be ordered, a Form
in no reſpect lawful to be altered by Mortal Men. For Reformation of which over-ſight and
error in them, there were that thought it a part of Chriſtian love and charity to inſtruct them
better, and to open unto them the difference between Matters of perpetual neceſſity to all Mens
ſalvation, and Matters of Eccleſiaſtical-Polity: The one both fully and plainly taught in holy
Scripture, the other not neceſſary to be in ſuch ſort there preſcribed: The one not capable of
any Diminution or Augmentation at all by Men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the
Authors of the former opinion were preſently ſeconded by other wittier and better learned,
who being loth that the Form of Church-Polity which they ſought to bring in, ſhould be otherwiſe
than in the higheſt degree accounted of, took firſt an exception againſt the difference between
Church-Polity and Matters of neceſſity to Salvation; ſecondly, againſt the Reſtraint of
Scripture, which (they ſay) receiveth injury at our Hands, when we teach that it teacheth not
as well Matters of Polity, as of Faith and Salvation. 3. Conſtrained thereby we have been III.
therefore, both to maintain that diſtinction, as a thing not only true in it-ſelf, but by them
likewiſe ſo acknowledged, though unawares. 4. And to make manifeſt that from Scripture IV.
we offer not to derogate the leaſt thing that Truth thereunto doth claim, in as much as by
us it is willingly confeſt, That the Scripture of God is a Store-houſe abounding with ineſtimable
Treaſures of Wiſdom and Knowledge in many kinds, over and above things in this one
kind barely neceſſary; yea, even that Matters of Eccleſiaſtical Polity are not therein omitted, but
taught alſo, albeit not ſo taught as thoſe other things before-mentioned. For ſo perfectly are
thoſe things taught, that nothing ever can need to be added, nothing ever ceaſe to be neceſſary:
Theſe on the contrary ſide, as being of a far other nature and quality, not ſo ſtrictly nor everlaſtingly
commanded in Scripture, but that unto the compleat Form of Church-Polity much
may be requiſite, which the Scripture teacheth not, and much, which it hath taught, become
unrequiſite, ſometime becauſe we need not uſe it, ſometimes alſo becauſe we cannot. In which
reſpect, for mine own part, although I ſee that certain Reformed Churches, the *Scotiſh* eſpecially
and *French*, have not that which beſt agreeth with the Sacred Scripture, I mean the Government
that is by Biſhops, in as much as both thoſe Churches are faln under a different kind of
Regiment; which to remedy, it is for the one altogether too late, and too ſoon for the other,
during their preſent affliction and trouble: This their defect and imperfection I had rather lament
in ſuch a caſe than exagitate, conſidering that Men oftentimes without any fault of their own
may be driven to want that kind of Polity or Regiment, which is beſt; and to content themſelves
with that, which either the irremediable Error of former times, or the neceſſity of the preſent
hath caſt upon them. 5. Now becauſe that Poſition firſt mentioned, which holdeth it neceſſary
that all things which the Church may lawfully do in her own Regiment be commanded V.
in holy Scripture, hath by the later Defenders thereof been greatly qualified; who, though
perceiving it to be over-extream, are nowithſtanding loth to acknowledge any overſight therein,
and therefore labour what they may to ſalve it by conſtruction; we have for the more perſpicuity
delivered what was thereby meant at the firſt. 6. How injurious a thing it were unto all VI.
the Churches of God, for Men to hold it in that meaning. 7. And how imperfect their Interpretations VII.
are, who ſo much labour to help it, either by dividing Commandments of Scripture
into two kinds, and ſo defending that all things muſt be commanded, if not in ſpecial,
yet in general precepts. 8. Or by taking it as meant, that in caſe the Church do deviſe any VIII.
new Order, ſhe ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture only, and not any Star-light
of Man's Reaſon. 9. Both which evaſions being cut off, we have in the next place declared IX.
after what ſort the Church may lawfully frame to her-ſelf Laws of Polity, and in
what reckoning ſuch Poſitive Laws both are with God, and ſhould be with Men. 10. Furthermore, X.
becauſe to abridge the liberty of the Church in this behalf, it hath been made a
thing very odious, that when God himſelf hath deviſed ſome certain Laws, and committed
them to ſacred Scripture, Man by Abrogation, Addition, or any way, ſhould preſume to alter and
change them; it was of neceſſity to be examined, Whether the Authority of God in making,
or his care in committing thoſe his Laws unto Scripture, be ſufficient Arguments to
prove, that God doth in no caſe allow they ſhould ſuffer any ſuch kind of change. 11. The XI.
laſt refuge for proof, That Divine Laws of Chriſtian Church-Polity may not be altered,
by extinguiſhment of any Old, or addition of New in that kind, is partly a marvellous-ſtrange
Diſcourſe, that Chriſt (unleſs he would ſhew himſelf not ſo Faithful as *Moſes*, or not

* *Niſi Reip. ſuæ ſtatum omnem conſtituerit, Magiſtratus ordinarit, ſingulorum munera poteſtatemque deſcripſerit, quæ judiciorum ſorique ratio habenda? quomodo civium finiendæ lites? non ſolum minus Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ providit, quam Moſes olim Judaicæ, ſed quàm à Lycurgo, Solone, Numa, Civitatib ſuis proſpectum ſit.* Lib. de Eccleſiaſt. Diſcip.

* ſo wiſe as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*) muſt needs have ſet down in holy Scripture ſome certain, compleat, and unchangeable Form of Polity; and partly a coloured ſhew of ſome evidence, where change of that ſort of Laws may ſeem expreſly forbidden, although in truth nothing leſs be done. I might have added hereunto their more familiar and popular diſputes, as, The Church is a City, yea, the City of the great King, and the life of a City, is Polity: The Church is the Houſe of the Living God; and what Houſe can there be without ſome order for the Government of it? In the Royal Houſe of a Prince there muſt be Officers for Government, ſuch as not any Servant in the Houſe, but the Prince whoſe the Houſe is, ſhall judge convenient: So the Houſe of God muſt have Orders for the Government of it, ſuch as not any of the Houſhold, but God himſelf hath appointed. It cannot ſtand with the Love and Wiſdom of God, to leave ſuch Order untaken, as is neceſſary for the due Government of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders and attire of *Solomon's* Servants, did ſhew his Wiſdom; therefore he which is greater than *Solomon*, hath not failed to leave in his Houſe ſuch Orders for Government thereof, as may ſerve to be as a Looking-Glaſs for his providence, care and wiſdom to be ſeen in. That little ſpark of the Light of Nature which remaineth in us, may ſerve us for the affairs of this Life. *But as in all other Matters concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, ſo principally in this which concerneth the very Government of that Kingdom, needful it is we ſhould be taught of God. As long as Men are perſwaded of any Order, that it is only of Men, they preſume of their own underſtanding, and they think to deviſe another, not only as good, but better than that which they have received. By ſeverity of puniſhment this preſumption and curioſity may be reſtrained. But that cannot work ſuch chearful obedience as is yielded, where the Conſcience hath reſpect to God as the Author of Laws and Orders. This was it which countenanced the Laws of* Moſes, *made concerning outward Polity for the Adminiſtration of holy things. The like ſome Law-givers of the Heathens did pretend, but falſly; yet wiſely diſcerning the uſe of this perſwaſion. For the better obedience ſake therefore it was expedient, that God ſhould be Author of the Polity of his Church.* But to what iſſue doth all this come? A Man would think that they which hold out with ſuch diſcourſes, were of nothing more fully perſwaded than of this, That the Scripture hath ſet down a compleat Form of Church-Polity, Univerſal, Perpetual, altogether unchangeable. For ſo it would follow, if the premiſes were ſound and ſtrong to ſuch effect as is pretended. Notwithſtanding, they which have thus formally maintained Argument in defence of the firſt over-ſight, are by the very evidence of Truth themſelves conſtrained to make this in effect their concluſion, That the Scripture of God hath many things concerning Church-Polity; that of thoſe many, ſome are of greater weight, ſome of leſs; that what hath been urged as touching Immutability of Laws, it extendeth in Truth no further than only to Laws wherein things of greater moment are preſcribed. Now theſe things of greater moment, what are they? Forſooth, *Doctors, Paſtors, Lay-Elders, Elderſhips compounded of theſe three: Synods, conſiſting of many Elderſhips, Deacons, Women-Church-ſervants, or Widows; free conſent of the People unto actions of greateſt moment, after they be by Churches or Synods orderly reſolved.* All *this Form of Polity* (if yet we may term that a form of building, when Men have laid a few Rafters together, and thoſe not all of the ſoundeſt neither) but howſoever, all *this Form* they conclude is preſcribed in ſuch ſort, that to add to it any thing as of like importance (for ſo I think they mean) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is unlawful. In which reſolution if they will firmly and conſtantly perſiſt, I ſee not but that concerning the points which hitherto have been diſputed of they muſt agree, that they have moleſted the Church with needleſs oppoſition; and henceforward, as we ſaid before, betake themſelves wholly unto the tryal of particulars, whether every of thoſe things which they eſteem as principal, be either ſo eſteemed of, or at all eſtabliſhed for perpetuity in holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church-Polity be received, other than the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things, or in ſmaller. The Matters wherein Church-Polity is converſant, are the Publick Religious Duties of the Church, as the Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, Prayers, Spiritual Cenſures, and the like. To theſe the Church ſtandeth always bound. Laws of Polity are Laws which appoint in what manner theſe duties ſhall be performed. In performance whereof becauſe all that are of the Church cannot jointly and equally work, the firſt thing in Polity required, is a difference of Perſons in the Church, without which difference thoſe Functions cannot in orderly ſort be executed. Hereupon we hold, That God's Clergy are a State, which hath been and will be, as long as there is a Church upon Earth, neceſſarily by the plain Word of God himſelf; a State whereunto the reſt of God's People muſt be ſubject, as touching things that appertain to their Souls Health. For where Polity is, it cannot but appoint ſome to be Leaders of Others, and ſome to be led by others. *If the blind lead the blind, they both periſh.* It is with the Clergy, if their Perſons be reſpected, even as it is with other Men; their quality many times far beneath that which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit, according to the Order of Polity, they being *The lights of the World*, others (though better and wiſer) muſt that way be ſubject unto them. Again, for as much as where the Clergy are any great multitude, order doth neceſſarily require that by degrees they be diſtinguiſhed; we hold, there have ever been, and ever ought to be in ſuch caſe, at leaſtwiſe, two ſorts of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, the one ſubordinate unto the other; as to the Apoſtles in the beginning, and to the Biſhops always ſince, we find plainly both in Scripture, and in all Eccleſiaſtical Records, other Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments have been. Moreover, it cannot enter into any Man's conceit to think it lawful, that every Man which liſteth, ſhould take upon him charge in the Church; and therefore a ſolemn admittance is of ſuch neceſſity, that without it there can be no Church-Polity:

The Defence of godly Miniſters againſt Dr. *Bridges*, 133.

Luke 6. 39.

Matth. 5. 14.

Polity. A number of Particularities there are, which make for the more convenient being of theſe principal and perpetual parts in Eccleſiaſtical Polity, but yet are not of ſuch conſtant uſe and neceſſity in God's Church. Of this kind are times and places appointed for the exerciſe of Religion; Specialties belonging to the Publick Solemnity of the Word, the Sacraments and Prayer; the Enlargement or Abridgment of Functions Miniſterial, depending upon thoſe two Principal before-mentioned; to conclude, even whatſoever doth by way of Formality and Circumſtance concern any publick action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kind be for ever permanent, yet in the latter both much of that which the Scripture teacheth is not always needful; and much the Church of God ſhall always need which the Scripture teacheth not. So as the Form of Polity by them ſet down for perpetuity, is three ways faulty. Faulty in omitting ſome things which in Scripture are of that Nature, as Namely, the difference that ought to be of Paſtors, when they grow to any great multitude: Faulty in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widows and ſuch like, as things of perpetual neceſſity by the Law of God, which in Truth are nothing leſs: Faulty alſo in urging ſome things by Scripture Immutable; as their Lay-Elders, which the Scripture neither maketh Immutable, nor at all teacheth, for any thing either we can as yet find, or they have hitherto been able to prove. But hereof more in the Books that follow. As for thoſe marvellous Diſcourſes, whereby they adventure to argue, That God muſt needs have done the thing which they imagine was to be done: I muſt confeſs, I have often wondered at their exceeding boldneſs herein. When the queſtion is, Whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirm he hath) a compleat particular Immutable Form of Church-Polity; why take they that other both preſumptuous and ſuperfluous labour, to prove he ſhould have done it; there being no way in this caſe to prove the Deed of God, ſaving only by producing that evidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no ſuch thing apparent upon Record, they do as if one ſhould demand a Legacy by force and virtue of ſome Written Teſtament, wherein there being no ſuch thing ſpecified, he pleadeth, That there it muſt needs be, and bringeth arguments from the love or good will which always the Teſtator bore him, imagining that theſe or the like proofs will convict a Teſtament to have that in it, which other Men can no where by reading find: In matters which concern the Actions of God, the moſt dutiful way on our part, is to ſearch what God hath done, and with meekneſs to admire that, rather than to diſpute what he in congruity of Reaſon ought to do. The ways, which he hath whereby to do all things for the greateſt good of his Church, are more in number than we can ſearch, other in nature than that we ſhould preſume to determine which of many ſhould be the fitteſt for him to chooſe, till ſuch time as we ſee he hath choſen of many ſome one; which one we then may boldly conclude to be the fitteſt, becauſe he hath taken it before the reſt. When we do otherwiſe, ſurely we exceed our bounds; who, and where we are, we forget. And therefore needful it is, that our pride in ſuch caſes be controuled, and our Diſputes beaten back with thoſe Demands of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *How unſearchable are his Judgments, and his ways paſt finding out? who hath known the Mind of the Lord, or who was his Counſellor?* Rom. 11. 33.

OF THE

LAWS

OF

Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

BOOK IV.

Concerning their Third Aſſertion, that our Form of Church-Polity is corrupted with Popiſh Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, baniſhed out of certain reformed Churches, whoſe example therein we ought to have followed.

The Matter contained in this Fourth Book.

1. *HOw great uſe Ceremonies have in the Church.*
2. *The firſt thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies, is, that we have not in them ancient Apoſtolical ſimplicity, but a greater pomp and ſtatelineſs.*
3. *The ſecond, that ſo many of them are the ſame which the Church of* Rome *uſeth ; and the reaſons which they bring to prove them for that cauſe blame-worthy.*
4. *How when they go about to expound what Popiſh Ceremonies they mean, they contradict their own Arguments againſt Popiſh Ceremonies.*
5. *An Anſwer to the Argument, whereby they would prove, that ſith we allow the cuſtoms of our Fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow ſuch cuſtoms as the Church of* Rome *hath, becauſe we cannot account of them which are in that Church as of our Fathers.*
6. *To their Allegation, that the courſe of God's own wiſdom doth make againſt our conformity with the Church of* Rome *in ſuch things.*
7. *To the example of the eldeſt Church, which they bring for the ſame purpoſe.*
8. *That it is not our beſt Polity (as they pretend it is) for eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion, to have in theſe things no agreement with the Church of* Rome *being unſound.*
9. *That neither the Papiſts upbraiding us as furniſhed out of their ſtore, nor any hope which in that reſpect they are ſaid to conceive, doth make any more againſt our Ceremonies than the former Allegations have done.*
10. *The grief, which they ſay godly Brethren conceive, at ſuch Ceremonies as we have common with the Church of* Rome.
11. *The third thing, for which they reprove a great part of our Ceremonies, is, for that as we have them from the Church of* Rome, *ſo that Church had them from the* Jews.
12. *The fourth, for that ſundry of them have been (they ſay) abuſed unto Idolatry, and are by that mean become ſcandalous.*
13. *The fifth, for that we retain them ſtill, notwithſtanding the example of certain Churches reformed before us which have caſt them out.*
14. *A Declaration of the proceedings of the* Church of England *for the eſtabliſhment of things as they are.*

How great uſe Ceremonies have in the Church.

SUch was the ancient ſimplicity and ſoftneſs of Spirit, which ſometimes prevailed in the World, that they whoſe words were even as Oracles amongſt Men, ſeemed evermore loth to give ſentence againſt any thing publickly received in the Church of God, except it were wonderful-apparently evil; for that they did not ſo much incline to that ſeverity, which delighteth to reprove the leaſt things it ſeeth amiſs; as to that Charity, which is unwilling to behold any thing that duty bindeth it to reprove. The ſtate of this preſent age, wherein Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekneſs, will not now ſuffer any Man to marvel, whatſoever he ſhall hear reproved, by whomſoever

Thoſe Rites

Rites and Ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the ſelf-ſame now that they were, when Holy and Virtuous Men maintained them againſt profane and deriding Adverſaries, her own children have at this day in deriſion. Whether juſtly or no, it ſhall then appear, when all things are heard, which they have to alledge againſt the outward received Orders of this Church. Which inaſmuch as themſelves do compare unto *Mint* and *Cumin*, granting them to be no part of thoſe things, which in the Matter of Polity are weightier, we hope that for ſmall things their ſtrife will neither be earneſt nor long. The ſifting of that which is objected againſt the Orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong unto this place. Here we are to diſcuſs only thoſe general exceptions, which have been taken at any time againſt them. Firſt therefore, to the end that their nature and uſe, whereunto they ſerve, may plainly appear, and ſo afterwards their quality the better be diſcerned; we are to note, that in every grand or main publick duty, which God requireth at the Hands of his Church, there is, beſides that matter and form wherein the eſſence thereof conſiſteth, a certain outward faſhion, whereby the ſame is in decent ſort adminiſtred. The ſubſtance of all religious actions is delivered from God himſelf in few words. For examples ſake in the Sacraments, *Unto the Element let the Word be added, and they both do make a Sacrament*, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*. Baptiſm is given by the Element of Water, and that preſcript form of Words, which the Church of Chriſt doth uſe; the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is adminiſtred in the Elements of Bread and Wine, if thoſe myſtical words be added thereunto. But the due and decent form of adminiſtring thoſe holy Sacraments doth require a great deal more. The end, which is aimed at in ſetting down the outward form of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now Men are edified, when either their underſtanding is taught ſomewhat, whereof in ſuch actions it behoveth all Men to conſider, or when their hearts are moved with any affection ſuitable thereunto; when their minds are in any ſort ſtirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention and due regard, which in thoſe caſes ſeemeth requiſite. Becauſe therefore unto this purpoſe not only ſpeech, but ſundry ſenſible means beſides have always been thought neceſſary, and eſpecially thoſe means which being object to the eye, the livelieſt and the moſt apprehenſive ſenſe of all other, have in that reſpect ſeemed the fitteſt to make a deep and ſtrong impreſſion; from hence have riſen not only a number of Prayers, Readings, Queſtionings, Exhortings, but even of viſible ſigns alſo, which being uſed in performance of Holy actions, are undoubtedly moſt effectual to open ſuch matter, as Men, when they know and remember carefully, muſt needs be a great deal the better informed to what effect ſuch duties ſerve. We muſt not think but that there is ſome ground of Reaſon even in Nature, whereby it cometh to paſs, that no Nation under Heaven either doth or ever did ſuffer publick actions which are of weight, whether they be Civil and Temporal, or elſe Spiritual and Sacred, to paſs without ſome viſible ſolemnity: The very ſtrangeneſs whereof, and difference from that which is common, doth cauſe Popular eyes to obſerve and to mark the ſame. Words, both becauſe they are common, and do not ſo ſtrongly move the phanſie of Man, are for the moſt part but ſlightly heard; and therefore with ſingular wiſdom it hath been provided, that the deeds of Men, which are made in the preſence of Witneſſes, ſhould paſs not only with words, but alſo with certain ſenſible actions, the memory whereof is far more eaſie and durable than the memory of ſpeech can be. The things, which ſo long experience of all Ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not us preſume to condemn as follies and toys, becauſe we ſometimes know not the cauſe and reaſon of them. A wit diſpoſed to ſcorn whatſoever it doth not conceive, might ask wherefore *Abraham* ſhould ſay to his ſervant, *Put thy hand under my thigh, and ſwear*: was it not ſufficient for his ſervant to ſhew the Religion of an Oath, by naming the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, unleſs that ſtrange Ceremony were added? In Contracts, Bargains and Conveyances, a Man's word is a token ſufficient to expreſs his will. *Yet this was the ancient manner in* Iſrael *concerning redeeming and exchanging to eſtabliſh all things: A Man did pluck off his Shooe, and gave it to his neighbour; and this was a ſure witneſs in* Iſrael. Amongſt the *Romans* in their making of a Bond-man free, was it not wondred wherefore ſo great a-do ſhould be made? The Maſter to preſent his Slave in ſome Court, to take him by the Hand, and not only to ſay in the hearing of the publick Magiſtrate, *I will that this Man become free*; but after theſe ſolemn words uttered to ſtrike him on the cheek, to turn him round, the hair of his head to be ſhaved off, the Magiſtrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be given him: To what purpoſe all this circumſtance? Among the *Hebrews* how ſtrange and in outward appearance almoſt againſt reaſon, that he which was minded to make himſelf a perpetual ſervant, ſhould not only teſtifie ſo much in the preſence of the Judge, but for a viſible token thereof have alſo his ear bored through with an awl? It were an infinite labour to proſecute theſe things ſo far as they might be exemplified both in Civil and Religious actions. For in both they have their neceſſary uſe and force. (a) *The ſenſible things which Religion hath allowed, are reſemblances framed according to things ſpiritually underſtood, whereunto they ſerve as a hand to lead, and a way to direct.* And whereas it may peradventure be objected, that to add to Religious duties ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as are ſignificant, is to inſtitute new Sacraments: ſure I am they will not ſay, that *Numa Pompilius* did ordain a Sacrament; a ſignificant Ceremony he did ordain, in commanding the Prieſts, (b) *to execute the work of their Divine-Service with their Hands as far as to the Fingers covered; thereby ſignifying that fidelity muſt be defended, and that Mens right hands are the ſacred ſeat thereof.* Again, we are alſo to put them in mind, that themſelves do not hold all ſignificant Ceremonies for Sacraments, in as much as impoſition of

Matth. 23. 23. The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, as the weightieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked unto: but the Ceremonies alſo, as *Mint* and *Cumin*, ought not to be neglected. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 171.

Gen. 24. 2.

Ruth 4. 7.

Exod. 21. 6.

(a) Dionyſ. p. 121. Τὰ μὲν αἰσθητὰ ἱερὰ τῶν νοητῶν ἀπεικονίσματα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ χειραγωγία καὶ ὁδός.

(b) Liv. lib. 1. *Manu ad digitos uſq; involutâ rem divinam facere; ſignificantes fidem tutandam, ſedemque ejus etiam in dextris ſacratam eſſe.*

Hands they deny to be a Sacrament, and yet they give thereunto a forcible ſignification. For concerning it their words are theſe, (c) *The party ordained by this Ceremony, was put in mind of his ſeparation to the work of the Lord, that remembring himſelf to be taken as it were with the Hand of God from amongſt others, this might teach him not to account himſelf now his own, nor to do what himſelf liſteth; but to conſider that God hath ſet him about a work, which if he will diſcharge and accompliſh, he may at the Hands of God aſſure himſelf of reward; and if otherwiſe, of revenge.* Touching ſignificant Ceremonies, ſome of them are Sacraments, ſome as Sacraments only. Sacraments are thoſe, which are ſigns and tokens of ſome general promiſed grace, which always really deſcendeth from God unto the Soul that duly receiveth them: Other ſignificant tokens are only as Sacraments, yet no Sacraments: Which is not our diſtinction, but theirs. For concerning the Apoſtles Impoſition of Hands theſe are their own words, *Manuum ſignum hoc & quaſi Sacramentum uſurparunt*; They uſed this ſign, or as it were Sacrament.

(c) *Eccleſ. diſc fol.* 51.

Fol. 25.

2. Concerning Rites and Ceremonies, there may be fault, either in the kind, or in the number and multitude of them. The Firſt thing blamed about the kind of ours, is, that in many things we have departed from the ancient ſimplicity of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, we have embraced more outward ſtatelineſs, we have thoſe Orders in the exerciſe of Religion, which they who beſt pleaſed God, and ſerved him moſt devoutly, never had. For it is out of doubt, that the firſt ſtate of things was beſt, that in the prime of Chriſtian Religion Faith was ſoundeſt, the Scriptures of God were then beſt underſtood by all Men, all parts of Godlineſs did then moſt abound; and therefore it muſt needs follow, that Cuſtoms, Laws and Ordinances deviſed ſince, are not ſo good for the Church of Chriſt; but the beſt way is to cut off later inventions, and to reduce things unto the ancient ſtate wherein at the firſt they were. Which Rule or Canon we hold to be either uncertain, or at leaſtwiſe inſufficient, if not both. For in caſe it be certain, hard it cannot be for them to ſhew us, where we ſhall find it ſo exactly ſet down, that we may ſay without all controverſie, *Theſe were the Orders of the Apoſtles times, theſe wholly and only, neither fewer nor more than theſe.* True it is that many things of this nature be alluded unto, yea many things declared, and many things neceſſarily collected out of the Apoſtles Writings. But is it neceſſary that all the Orders of the Church which were then in uſe, ſhould be contained in their Books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their Writings be well obſerved, it ſhall unto any Man eaſily appear, that no more of them are there touched, than were needful to be ſpoken of ſometimes by one occaſion, and ſometimes by another. Will they allow then of any other records beſides? Well aſſured I am they are far enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keep any thing as Apoſtolical, which is not found in the Apoſtles Writings, in what other Records ſoever it be found. And therefore whereas St. *Auguſtine* affirmeth, that thoſe things which the whole Church of Chriſt doth hold, may well be thought to be Apoſtolical, although they be not found written; this his judgment they utterly condemn. I will not here ſtand in defence of St. *Auguſtine's* opinion, which is that ſuch things are indeed Apoſtolical; but yet with this exception, unleſs the Decree of ſome general Council have haply cauſed them to be received: For of Poſitive Laws and Orders received throughout the whole Chriſtian World, St. *Auguſtine* could imagine no other Fountain ſave theſe two. But to let paſs St. *Auguſtine*, they who condemn him herein, muſt needs confeſs it a very uncertain thing what the Orders of the Church were in the Apoſtles times, ſeeing the Scriptures do not mention them all, and other Records thereof beſides they utterly reject. So that in tying the Church to the Orders of the Apoſtles times, they tye it to a marvellous uncertain rule; unleſs they require the obſervation of no orders but only thoſe which are known to be Apoſtolical by the Apoſtles own Writings. But then is not this their rule of ſuch ſufficiency, that we ſhould uſe it as a touch-ſtone to try the Orders of the Church by for ever. Our end ought always to be the ſame; our ways and means thereunto not ſo. The Glory of God, and the good of the Church, was the thing which the Apoſtles aimed at, and therefore ought to be the mark whereat we alſo level. But ſeeing thoſe Rites and Orders may be at one time more, which at another are leſs available unto that purpoſe: What reaſon is there in theſe things to urge the ſtate of our only age, as a pattern for all to follow? It is not, I am right ſure, their meaning, that we ſhould now aſſemble our People to ſerve God in cloſe and ſecret Meetings; or that common Brooks or Rivers ſhould be uſed for places of Baptiſm; or that the Euchariſt ſhould be miniſtred after Meat; or that the cuſtom of Church-feaſting ſhould be renewed; or that all kind of ſtanding proviſion for the Miniſtry ſhould be utterly taken away, and their Eſtate made again dependant upon the voluntary devotion of Men. In theſe things they eaſily perceive how unfit that were for the preſent, which was for the firſt Age convenient enough. The Faith, Zeal, and Godlineſs of former times is worthily had in honour; but doth this prove that the Orders of the Church of Chriſt muſt be ſtill the ſelf-ſame with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully ſince have ceaſed? They who recall the Church unto that which was at the firſt, muſt neceſſarily ſet bounds and limits unto their ſpeeches. If any thing have been received repugnant unto that which was firſt delivered, the firſt things in this caſe muſt ſtand, the laſt give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is. Let the ſtate of the People of God when they were in the Houſe of Bondage, and their manner of ſerving God in a ſtrange Land, be compared with that which *Canaan* and *Jeruſalem* did afford, and who ſeeth not what huge difference there was between them? In *Egypt*, it may be, they were right glad to take ſome corner of a poor Cottage, and there to ſerve God upon their knees, peradventure covered in duſt and ſtraw ſometimes. Neither were they therefore the leſs accepted of God; but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working of

The firſt thing they blame in the kind of our Ceremonies, is, that we have not in them ancient Apoſtolical ſimplicity, but a greater pomp and ſtatelineſs. *Lib. Eccleſ. diſc.* & *T. C. l.* 3. *p* 181.

Tom. 7. *de bapt. contra Donatiſt. lib.* 5. *cap.* 23. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 31. If this judgment of St. *Auguſtine* be a good judgment and ſound; then there be ſome things commanded of God, which are not in the Scripture; and therefore there is no ſufficient Doctrine contained in Scripture, whereby we may be ſaved. For all the Commandments of God, and of the Apoſtles are needful for our ſalvation. *Vide Ep.* 118.

of their admirable deliverance, did teſtifie that they ſerved him not in vain. Notwithſtanding, in the very deſert they are no ſooner poſſeſs'd of ſome little thing of their own, but a Tabernacle is required at their Hands. Being planted in the Land of *Canaan*, and having *David* to be their King, when the Lord had given him reſt from all his Enemies, it grieved his religious mind to conſider the growth of his own eſtate and dignity, the Affairs of Religion continuing ſtill in the former manner: *Behold, now I dwell in an Houſe of Cedar-Trees, and the Ark of God remaineth ſtill within Curtains.* What he did purpoſe, it was the pleaſure of God that *Solomon* his Son ſhould perform, and perform it in manner ſuitable unto their preſent, not their ancient eſtate and condition. For which cauſe *Solomon* writeth unto the King of *Tyrus*: *The Houſe which I build is great and wonderful; for great is our God above all Gods.* Whereby it clearly appeareth, that the Orders of the Church of God may be acceptable unto him, as well being framed ſuitable to the greatneſs and dignity of later, as when they keep the reverend ſimplicity of ancienter times. Such diſſimilitude therefore between us and the Apoſtles of Chriſt, in the order of ſome outward things, is no argument of default.

2 Sam. 7. 2.

2 Chron. 2. 5

3. Yea, but we have framed our ſelves to the cuſtoms of the Church of *Rome*, our Orders and Ceremonies are Papiſtical. It is eſpied that our Church-founders were not ſo careful as in this matter they ſhould have been, but contented themſelves with ſuch Diſcipline as they took from the Church of *Rome*. Their Error we ought to reform by aboliſhing all Popiſh Orders. There muſt be no communion nor fellowſhip with Papiſts, *Neither in Doctrine, Ceremonies, nor Government.* It is not enough that we are divided from the Church of *Rome* by the ſingle wall of Doctrine, retaining, as we do, part of their Ceremonies, and almoſt their whole Government: But Government or Ceremonies, or whatſoever it be which is Popiſh, away with it. This is the thing they require in us, the utter relinquiſhment of all things Popiſh. Wherein, to the end we may anſwer them according to their plain direct meaning, and not take advantage of doubtful ſpeech, whereby Controverſies grow always endleſs; their main poſition being this, that *nothing ſhould be placed in the Church, but what God in his word hath commanded,* they muſt of neceſſity hold all for Popiſh, which the Church of *Rome* hath over and beſides this. By Popiſh Orders, Ceremonies and Government, they muſt therefore mean in every of theſe ſo much, as the Church of *Rome* hath embraced without commandment of God's word: So that whatſoever ſuch thing we have, if the Church of *Rome* hath it alſo, it goeth under the name of thoſe things that are Popiſh, yea, although it be lawful, although agreeable to the word of God. For ſo they plainly affirm, ſaying: *Although the Forms and Ceremonies which they* (the Church of *Rome*) *uſed were not unlawful, and that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the Word of God, yet notwithſtanding neither the Word of God, nor reaſon, nor the examples of the eldeſt Churches both Jewiſh and Chriſtian, do permit us to uſe the ſame Forms and Ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither ſuch as there may not as good as they, and rather better, be eſtabliſhed.* The queſtion therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of *Rome* in thoſe Orders, Rites and Ceremonies, wherein we do not think them blameable, or elſe ought to deviſe others, and to have no conformity with them, no not ſo much as in theſe things? In this ſenſe and conſtruction therefore as they affirm, ſo we deny, that whatſoever is Popiſh we ought to abrogate. Their Arguments to prove that generally all Popiſh Orders and Ceremonies ought to be clean aboliſhed, are in ſum theſe: Firſt, *whereas we allow the judgment of St.* Auguſtine, *that touching thoſe things of this kind which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to obſerve the cuſtom of the People of God, and the Decrees of our Fore-fathers: How can we retain the Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions of the Papiſts in ſuch things, who were neither the People of God nor our Fore-fathers?* Secondly, *although the Forms and Ceremonies of the Church of* Rome *were not unlawful, neither did contain any thing which is not agreeable to the Word of God, yet neither the Word of God, nor the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, nor reaſon, do permit us to uſe the ſame,* they being Hereticks and ſo near about us, *and their Orders being neither commanded of God, nor yet ſuch, but that as good, or rather better, may be eſtabliſhed. It is againſt the Word of God, to have conformity with the Church of* Rome *in ſuch things; as appeareth, in that the wiſdom of God hath thought it a good way to keep his People from infection of Idolatry and Superſtition, by ſevering them from Idolaters in outward Ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to do things, which are in themſelves very lawful to be done. And further, whereas the Lord was careful to ſever them by Ceremonies from other Nations, yet was he not ſo careful to ſever them from any, as from the Egyptians amongſt whom they lived, and from thoſe Nations which were next Neighbours to them, becauſe from them was the greateſt fear of infection.* So that following the courſe which the wiſdom of God doth teach, *it were more ſafe for us to conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, than to the Papiſts which are ſo near. Touching the example of the eldeſt Churches of God, in one Council it was decreed, that Chriſtians ſhould not deck their Houſes with Bay-leaves and green Boughs, becauſe the Pagans did uſe ſo to do; and that they ſhould not reſt from their labours thoſe days that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keep the firſt day of every month as they did. Another Council decreed that Chriſtians ſhould not celebrate Feaſts on the Birth-daies of the Martyrs, becauſe it was the manner of the Heathen. O,* ſaith Tertullian, *better is the Religion of the Heathen: for they uſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lord's-day, neither the Pentecoſt, and if they knew them, they would have nothing to do with them: for they would be afraid leſt they ſhould ſeem Chriſtians: But we are not afraid to be called Heathens. The ſame* Tertullian *would not have Chriſtians to ſit after they had prayed, becauſe the Idolaters did ſo. Whereby it appeareth, that both of particular Men and of Councils, in making or aboliſhing of Ceremonies, heed had been taken that the Chriſtians ſhould not be like the Idolaters, no not in thoſe things, which of themſelves are moſt indifferent to be uſed or not uſed. The*

Our Orders and Ceremonies blamed, in that ſo many of them are the ſame which the Church of *Rome* uſeth.

Eccleſ. Diſcipl. fol. 12. *T. C. lib.* 1. *p.* 131.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 20.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 25.

T. C. lib. 1. *p.* 131.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 30

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 131.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 132.

Tom. 2. *Braca.* 73.

Con. Africa. cap. 27.

Lib. de Idol.

He ſeemeth to mean the feaſt of Eaſter day, celebrated in the memory of our Saviour's reſurrection, and for that cauſe termed the Lord's day. *Lib. de Anima.*

ſame conformity is not leſs oppoſite unto reaſon, firſt, inaſmuch as contraries muſt be cured by their contraries, and therefore Popery being Anti-chriſtianity, is not healed but by eſtabliſhment of Orders thereunto oppoſite. The way to bring a drunken Man to ſobriety, is to carry him as far from exceſs of drink as may be. To rectifie a crooked ſtick, we bend it on the contrary ſide, as far as it was at the firſt on that ſide from whence we draw it; and ſo it cometh in the end to a middle between both, which is perfect ſtraitneſs. Utter inconformity therefore with the Church of Rome *in these things, is the beſt and ſureſt Policy which the Church can uſe. While we uſe their Ceremonies, they take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our* **Religion** *cannot ſtand by it-ſelf, unleſs it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies.* (a) *They hereby conceive great hope of having the reſt of their Popery in the end, which hope cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickedneſs. Neither is it without cauſe that they have this hope, conſidering that which* **Mr.** Bucer *noteth upon the eighteenth of* **St. Matthew,** *that where theſe things have been left, Popery hath returned; but on the other part, in places which have been cleanſed of theſe things, it hath not yet been ſeen that it hath had any entrance.* (b) *None make ſuch clamours for theſe Ceremonies, as the Papiſts, and thoſe whom they ſuborn; a manifeſt token how much they triumph and joy in theſe things. They breed grief of mind in a number that are godly-minded, and have Anti-chriſtianity in ſuch deteſtation, that their minds are martyred with the very ſight of them in the Church. Such godly Brethren we ought not thus to grieve with unprofitable Ceremonies, yea, Ceremonies wherein there is not only no profit, but alſo danger of great hurt that may grow to the Church by infection, which Popiſh Ceremonies are means to breed.* This in effect is the ſum and ſubſtance of that which they bring by way of oppoſition againſt thoſe Orders which we have common with the Church of *Rome*; theſe are the reaſons wherewith they would prove our Ceremonies in that reſpect worthy of blame.

(a) *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 178.

(b) *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 179.

T. C. l. 3. *p.* 180.

That whereas they who blame us in this behalf, when reaſon evicteth that all ſuch Ceremonies are not to be aboliſhed, make anſwer, that when they condemn Popiſh Ceremonies, their meaning is of Ceremonies unprofitable, or Ceremonies, inſtead whereof as good or better may be deviſed: they cannot hereby get out of the bryars, but contradict and gainſay themſelves: inaſmuch as their uſual manner is to prove, that Ceremonies uncommanded in the Church of God, and yet uſed in the Church of *Rome*, are for this very cauſe unprofitable to us, and not ſo good as others in their place would be.

4. Before we anſwer unto theſe things, we are to cut off that, whereunto they from whom theſe Objections proceed, do oftentimes fly for defence and ſuccour, when the force and ſtrength of their Argument is elided. For the Ceremonies in uſe amongſt us, being in no other reſpect retained, ſaving only for that to retain them is to our ſeeming good and profitable, yea, ſo profitable and ſo good, that if we had either ſimply taken them clean away, or elſe removed them ſo as to place in their ſtead others, we had done worſe: The plain and direct way againſt us herein had been only to prove, that all ſuch Ceremonies as they require to be aboliſhed, are retained by us to the hurt of the Church, or with leſs benefit than the aboliſhment of them would bring. But foraſmuch as they ſaw how hardly they ſhould be able to perform this; they took a more compendious way, traducing the Ceremonies of our Church under the Name of being Popiſh. The cauſe why this way ſeemed better unto them, was, for that the name of Popery is more odious than very Paganiſm amongſt divers of the more ſimple ſort; ſo as whatſoever they hear named Popiſh, they preſently conceive deep hatred againſt it, imagining there can be nothing contained in that name, but needs it muſt be exceeding deteſtable. The ears of the People they have therefore filled with ſtrong clamours. *The Church of* England *is fraught with Popiſh Ceremonies: They that favour the cauſe of Reformation, maintain nothing but the ſincerity of the Goſpel of* Jeſus Chriſt: *All ſuch as withſtand them, fight for the* **Laws** *of his ſworn enemy, uphold the filthy reliques of Antichriſt, and are defenders of that which is Popiſh.* Theſe are the notes, wherewith are drawn from the hearts of the multitude ſo many ſighs; with theſe tunes their minds are exaſperated againſt the lawful Guides and Governors of their Souls; theſe are the voices that fill them with general diſcontentment, as though the boſom of that famous Church wherein they live, were more noiſom than any dungeon. But when the Authors of ſo ſcandalous incantations are examined and called to account, how can they juſtifie ſuch their dealings? when they are urged directly to anſwer, whether it be lawful for us to uſe any ſuch Ceremonies as the Church of *Rome* uſeth, although the ſame be not commanded in the Word of God: Being driven to ſee that the uſe of ſome ſuch Ceremonies muſt of neceſſity be granted lawful, they go about to make us believe that they are juſt of the ſame Opinion, and that they only think ſuch Ceremonies are not to be uſed, when they are unprofitable, or when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed. Which Anſwer is both idle in regard of us, and alſo repugnant to themſelves. It is, in regard of us, very vain to make this anſwer, becauſe they know that what Ceremonies we retain common unto the Church of *Rome*, we therefore retain them, for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be ſuch that others inſtead of them would be worſe. So that when they ſay that we ought to abrogate ſuch Romiſh Ceremonies as are unprofitable, or elſe might have other more profitable in their ſtead, they trifle and they beat the Air about nothing which toucheth us, unleſs they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romiſh Ceremonies, which in their Judgment have either no uſe or leſs uſe, than ſome other might have. But then muſt they ſhew ſome commiſſion, whereby they are authorized to ſit as Judges, and we required to take their judgment for good in this caſe. Otherwiſe, their ſentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppoſe their *Me thinketh* unto the orders of the Church of *England*: As in the Queſtion about Surplices one of them doth; (c) *If we look to the colour, black me thinks is the more decent; if to the form, a garment down to the foot hath a great deal more comelineſs in it.* If they think that we ought to prove the Ceremonies commodious which we have retained, they do in this point very greatly deceive themſelves. For in all right and equity, that which the Church hath received and held ſo long for good, that which publick approbation hath ratified, muſt carry the benefit of preſumption with it to be accounted meet and convenient. They which have ſtood up as yeſterday

T. C. l. 3. *p.* 171. What an open untruth is it, that this is one of our principles, not to be lawful to uſe the ſame Ceremonies which the Papiſts did, when as I have both before declared the contrary, and even here have expreſly added, that they are not to be uſed, when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed?

(c) *Eccleſ. deſcip. fol.* 100.

day to challenge it of defect, muſt prove their challenge. If we being Defendants do anſwer, that the Ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childiſh and unorderly to ſay, that we demand the thing in queſtion, and ſhew the poverty of our cauſe, the goodneſs whereof we are fain to beg that our Adverſaries would grant. For on our part this muſt be the anſwer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burthen of proving doth reſt on them. In them it is frivolous to ſay, we ought not to uſe bad Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, and preſume all ſuch bad, as it pleaſeth themſelves to diſlike, unleſs we can perſwade them the contrary. Beſides, they are herein oppoſite alſo to themſelves. For what one thing is ſo common with them, as to uſe the cuſtom of the Church of *Rome* for an Argument to prove, that ſuch and ſuch Ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for us, inaſmuch as that Church uſeth them? Which uſual kind of diſputing ſheweth, that they do not diſallow only thoſe Romiſh Ceremonies, which are unprofitable, but count all unprofitable, which are Romiſh, that is to ſay, which have been deviſed by the Church of *Rome*, or which are uſed in that Church, and not preſcribed in the word of God. For this is the only limitation which they can uſe ſuitable unto their other Poſitions. And therefore the cauſe which they yield, why they hold it lawful to retain in *Doctrine* and in *Diſcipline* ſome things as good, which yet are common to the Church of *Rome*, is, for that thoſe good things are perpetual Commandments, in whoſe place no other can come: But Ceremonies are changeable. So that their judgment in truth is, that whatſoever by the Word of God is not changeable in the Church of *Rome*, that Churches uſing is a cauſe why reformed Churches ought to change it, and not to think it good or profitable. And leſt we ſeem to father any thing upon them more than is properly their own, let them read even their own words, where they complain, that *we are thus conſtrained to be like unto the Papiſts in any their Ceremonies*; Yea, they urge that this cauſe, although it were alone, ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do them away, *foraſmuch as they are their Ceremonies*; and that the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* doth juſtifie this their complaint. The clauſe is untrue which they add concerning the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*; but the ſentence doth ſhew, that we do them no wrong in ſetting down the ſtate of the queſtion between us thus: Whether we ought to aboliſh out of the Church of *England*, all ſuch Orders, Rites and Ceremonies as are eſtabliſhed in the Church of *Rome*, and are not preſcribed in the Word of God: For the affirmative whereof we are now to anſwer ſuch proofs of theirs as have been before alledged.

T. C. l. 3 p. 176. As for your often repeating, that the Ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, and decent: It is your old wont of demanding the thing in queſtion, and an undoubted argument of your extream poverty. *T. C. l. 3 p. 174.*

T. C. l. 3. p. 177. And that this complaint of ours is juſt, in that we are thus conſtrained to be like unto the Papiſts in any their Ceremonies; and that this cauſe only ought to move them to whom that belongeth, to do theirs away, foraſmuch as they are their Ceremonies; the Reader may further ſee in the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, who brings divers proofs thereof.

5. Let the Church of *Rome* be what it will, let them that are of it be the People of God, and our Fathers in the Chriſtian Faith, or let them be otherwiſe; hold them for Catholicks, or hold them for Hereticks, it is not a thing either one way or other in this preſent queſtion greatly material. Our conformity with them in ſuch things as have been propoſed, is not proved as yet unlawful by all this. St. *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, yea and we have allowed his ſaying, *That the cuſtom of the People of God, and the decrees of our Fore-fathers are to be kept, touching thoſe things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor other given us any charge.* What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they, being neither the People of God, nor our Fore-fathers, are for that cauſe in nothing to be followed? This Conſequent were good, if ſo be it were granted, that only the cuſtom of the People of God, and the Decrees of our Fore-fathers, are in ſuch caſe to be obſerved. But then ſhould no other kind of later Laws in the Church be good, which were a groſs abſurdity to think. *St. Auguſtines* ſpeech therefore doth import, that where we have no divine Precept, if yet we have the cuſtom of the People of God, or a Decree of our Fore-fathers, this is a Law and muſt be kept. Notwithſtanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may obſerve the poſitive conſtitutions of our own Churches, although the ſame were but yeſterday made by our ſelves alone. Nor is there any thing in this to prove, that the Church of *England* might not by Law receive Orders, Rites or Cuſtoms, from the Church of *Rome*, although they were neither the People of God, nor yet our Fore-fathers. How much leſs, when we have received from them nothing but that which they did themſelves receive from ſuch, as we cannot deny to have been the People of God, yea ſuch as either we muſt acknowledge for our own Fore-fathers, or elſe diſdain the race of Chriſt?

That our allowing the cuſtoms of our Fathers to be followed, is no proof that we may not allow ſome cuſtoms which the Church of *Rome* hath, although we do not account of them as of our Fathers.

6. The Rites and Orders wherein we follow the Church of *Rome*, are of no other kind than ſuch as the Church of *Geneva* it-ſelf doth follow them in. We follow the Church of *Rome* in more things; yet they in ſome things of the ſame nature about which our preſent controverſie is: So that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of Rites only, wherein they and we do follow the Church of *Rome*. The uſe of Wafer-cakes, the cuſtom of God-fathers and God-mothers in Baptiſm, are things not commanded nor forbidden in the Scripture, things which have been of old, and are retained in the Church of *Rome*, even at this very Hour. Is conformity with *Rome* in ſuch things a blemiſh unto the Church of *England*, and unto Churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the Reverence they owe unto this Church, in the bowels whereof they have received I truſt that precious and bleſſed vigour, which ſhall quicken them to eternal life; yet at the leaſtwiſe for the ſingular affection which they do bear towards others, take heed how they ſtrike, leſt they wound whom they would not. For undoubtedly it cutteth deeper than they are aware of, when they plead that even ſuch Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, as contain in them nothing which is not of it-ſelf agreeable to the Word of God, ought nevertheleſs to be aboliſhed, and that neither the Word of God, nor reaſon, nor the examples of the Eldeſt Churches, do permit the Church of *Rome* to be therein followed. Hereticks

That the courſe which the wiſdom of God doth teach, maketh not againſt our conformity with the Church of *Rome* in ſuch things.

they are, and they are our Neighbours. By us and amongſt us they lead their Lives. But
what then? Therefore is no Ceremony of theirs lawful for us to uſe? We muſt yield and will,
that none are lawful if God himſelf be a Precedent againſt the uſe of any. But how appeareth
T.C. l. 1. p. 89. & 131. it that God is ſo? Hereby they ſay it doth appear, in that *God ſevered his People from the* Heathens,
but ſpecially from the Egyptians, *and ſuch Nations as were neareſt Neighbours unto them, by*
Levit. 18. 3. *forbidding them to do thoſe things, which were in themſelves very lawful to be done, yea very profitable*
ſome, and incommodious to be forborn; ſuch things it pleaſed God to forbid them, only becauſe thoſe
Heathens *did them, with whom conformity in the ſame thing might have bred infection. Thus in*
Levit. 19. 27. & 19. 19. Deut. 22. 11. & 14. 7. & Levit. 11. Epheſ. 2. 14. *ſhaving, cutting, apparel-wearing, yea in ſundry kinds of Meats alſo, Swines fleſh, Conies and ſuch*
like, they were forbidden to do ſo and ſo, becauſe the Gentiles did ſo. And the end why God forbad
them ſuch things, was to ſever them, for fear of Infection, by a great and an high wall from other Nations,
as St. Paul *teacheth.* The Cauſe of more careful ſeparation from the neareſt Nations, was
the greatneſs of Danger to be eſpecially by them infected. Now *Papiſts* are to us as thoſe Nations
were unto *Iſrael.* Therefore if the wiſdom of God be our Guide, we cannot allow conformity
with them, no not in any ſuch indifferent Ceremonies. Our direct anſwer hereunto is,
that for any thing here alledged we may ſtill doubt, whether the Lord, in ſuch indifferent Ceremomies
as thoſe whereof we diſpute, did frame his People of ſet purpoſe unto any utter diſſimilitude,
either with *Egyptians,* or with any other Nation elſe. And if God did not forbid
them all ſuch indifferent Ceremonies, then our conformity with the Church of *Rome* in ſome
ſuch is not hitherto as yet diſproved, although *Papiſts* were unto us as thoſe *Heathens* were unto
Levit. 18. 3. *Iſrael. After the doings of the Land of* Egypt, *wherein you dwelt, ye ſhall not do, ſaith the Lord;*
and after the manner of the Land of Canaan, *whither I will bring you, ſhall ye not do, neither walk*
in their Ordinances: Do after my judgments, and keep my Ordinances to walk therein: I am the
Lord your God. The Speech is indefinite, *ye ſhall not be like them*: It is not general, *ye ſhall not*
be like them in any thing, or like to them in any thing indifferent, or like unto them in any indifferent
Ceremony of theirs. Seeing therefore it is not ſet down, how far the bounds of his ſpeech
concerning diſſimilitude ſhould reach, how can any man aſſure us, that it extendeth farther than
to thoſe things only wherein the Nations there mentioned were Idolatrous, or did againſt that
which the Law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not ſeem a thing very probable, that God doth
purpoſely add, *Do after my judgments,* as giving thereby to underſtand that his meaning in the
former ſentence was, but to bar ſimilitude in ſuch things as were repugnant unto the Ordinances,
Laws and Statutes which he had given? *Egyptians* and *Canaanites* are for examples ſake named
unto them, becauſe the Cuſtoms of the one they had been, and of the other they ſhould be
beſt acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like unto either of them, was ſuch
peradventure as had been no whit leſs unlawful, although thoſe Nations had never been. So
that there is no neceſſity to think that God for fear of infection by reaſon of nearneſs, forbad
them to be like unto the *Canaanites* or the *Egyptians,* in thoſe things which otherwiſe had been
lawful enough. For I would know what one thing was in thoſe Nations, and is here forbidden,
being indifferent in it-ſelf, yet forbidden only becauſe they uſed it? In the Laws of *Iſrael*
Levit. 19. 27. we find it written, *Ye ſhall not cut round the corners of your Heads, neither ſhalt thou tear the*
tufts of thy Beard. Theſe things were uſual amongſt thoſe Nations, and in themſelves they are
indifferent. But are they indifferent, being uſed as ſigns of immoderate and hopeleſs lamentation
for the Dead? In this ſenſe it is that the Law forbiddeth them. For which cauſe the very
Levit. 21. 5. next words following are, *Ye ſhall not cut your fleſh for the Dead, nor make any print of a*
mark upon you; I am the Lord. The like in *Leviticus,* where ſpeech is of mourning for the Dead,
They ſhall not make bald parts upon their Head, nor ſhave off the locks of their Beard, nor make any
Deut. 14. 1. *cutting in their Fleſh.* Again, in *Deuteronomy, Ye are the Children of the Lord your God; ye ſhall*
not cut your ſelves, nor make you Baldneſs between your eyes for the Dead. What is this but in effect
1 Theſ. 4. 13. the ſame which the Apoſtle doth more plainly expreſs, ſaying, *Sorrow not as they do who*
have no hope? The very light of Nature it-ſelf was able to ſee herein a fault; that which thoſe
Nations did uſe, having been alſo in uſe with others, the ancient *Roman* laws do forbid. That
ſhaving therefore and cutting which the Law doth mention, was not a matter in it-ſelf indifferent,
and forbidden only becauſe it was in uſe amongſt ſuch Idolaters as were Neighbours to
the People of God; but to uſe it had been a ctime, though no other People or Nation under
Levit. 19. 19. Heaven ſhould have done it ſaving only themſelves. As for thoſe Laws concerning attire, *There*
Deut. 22. 11. *ſhall no Garment of Linnen and Woollen come upon thee*; as alſo thoſe touching food and diet, wherein
Swines fleſh together with ſundry other meats are forbidden; the uſe of theſe things had
been indeed of it-ſelf harmleſs and indifferent: So that hereby it doth appear, how the Law of
God forbad in ſome ſpecial conſideration, ſuch things as were lawful enough in themſelves. But
Deut. 14. 7. Levit. 11. yet even here they likewiſe fail of that they intend. For it doth not appear that the conſideration
in regard whereof the Law forbiddeth theſe things, was becauſe thoſe Nations did uſe
Levit. 19. 19. them. Likely enough it is that the *Canaanites* uſed to feed as well on Sheeps as on Swines
fleſh; and therefore if the forbidding of the latter had no other reaſon than diſſimilitude with that
People, they which of their own heads alledge this for reaſon, can ſhew I think ſome reaſon
more than we are able to find, why the former was not alſo forbidden. Might there not be
ſome other myſtery in this Prohibition than they think of? Yes, ſome other myſtery there was in
Deut. 14. Levit. 11. it by all likelihood. For what reaſon is there, which ſhould but induce, and therefore much leſs
inforce us to think, that care of diſſimilitude between the People of God and the Heathen Nations
about them, was any more the cauſe of forbidding them to put on Garments of ſundry
ſtuff, than of charging them withal not to ſow their Fields with Meſlin; or that this was any more

the cauſe, of forbidding them to eat Swine's fleſh, than of charging them withal not to eat the fleſh of *Eagles*, *Hawks*, and the like. Wherefore although the Church of *Rome* were to us, as to *Iſrael* the *Egyptians* and *Canaanites* were of old; yet doth it not follow that the wiſdom of God without reſpect doth teach us to erect between us and them a partition-wall of difference, in ſuch things indifferent as have been hitherto diſputed of.

7. Neither is the example of the eldeſt Churches a whit more available to this purpoſe. Notwithſtanding ſome fault undoubtedly there is in the very reſemblance of Idolaters. Were it not ſome kind of blemiſh to be like unto Infidels and Heathens, it would not ſo uſually be objected; Men would not think it any advantage in the cauſes of Religion, to be able therewith juſtly to charge their Adverſaries as they do. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainly appear, what force this hath, and how far the ſame extendeth, we are to note how all Men are naturally deſirous, that they may ſeem neither to judge, nor to do amiſs; becauſe every Error and Offence is a ſtain to the Beauty of Nature, for which cauſe it bluſheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrary. From thence it riſeth, that they which diſgrace or depreſs the credit of others, do it either in both or in one of theſe. To have been in either directed by a weak and imperfect rule, argueth imbecillity and imperfection. Men being either led by reaſon, or by imitation of other Mens examples; if their Perſons be odious whoſe example we chuſe to follow, as namely, if we frame our opinions to that which condemned Hereticks think, or direct our Actions according to that which is practiſed and done by them; it lies as an heavy prejudice againſt us, unleſs ſomewhat mightier than their bare example, did move us to think or do the ſame things with them. Chriſtian Men therefore having, beſides the common light of all Men, ſo great help of Heavenly direction from above, together with the Lamps of ſo bright examples as the Church of God doth yield, it cannot but worthily ſeem reproachful for us, to leave both the one and the other, to become Diſciples unto the moſt hateful ſort that live, to do as they do, only becauſe we ſee their example before us, and have a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore ſafely conclude, that it is not evil ſimply, to concur with the Heathens either in opinion or in action: And that conformity with them is only then a diſgrace, when either we follow them in that they think and do amiſs, or follow them generally in that they do, without other reaſon than only the liking we have to the pattern of their example: Which liking doth intimate a more univerſal approbation of them than is allowable. *Fauſtus* the Manichee therefore objecting againſt the Jews, that they forſook the Idols of the Gentiles; but their Temples, and Oblations, and Altars, and Prieſthoods, and all kind of Miniſtry of Holy things, they exerciſed even as the Gentiles did, yea more ſuperſtitiouſly a great deal; againſt the Catholick Chriſtians likewiſe, that between them and the Heathens there was in many things little difference; *From them* (ſaith *Fauſtus*) *ye have learned to hold that one only God is the Author of all, their Sacrifices you have turned into Feaſts of Charity, their Idols into Martyrs, whom ye honour with the like Religious offices unto theirs; the Ghoſts of the dead ye appeaſe with Wine and Delicates, the Feſtival Days of the Nations ye celebrate together with them, and of their kind of life ye have utterly changed nothing.* St. *Auguſtine*'s defence in behalf of both, is, that touching the matters of Action, Jews and Catholick Chriſtians were free from the Gentiles faultineſs, even in thoſe things which were objected, as tokens of their agreement with the Gentiles, and concerning their conſent in opinion, they did not hold the ſame with the Gentiles, becauſe Gentiles had ſo taught, but becauſe Heaven and Earth had ſo witneſſed the ſame to be truth, that neither the one ſort could err in being fully perſwaded thereof, nor the other but err in caſe they ſhould not conſent with them. In things of their own nature indifferent, if either Councils or particular Men have at any time with ſound judgment miſliked conformity between the Church of God and Infidels, the cauſe thereof hath been ſomewhat elſe than only affectation of diſſimilitude. They ſaw it neceſſary ſo to do, in reſpect of ſome ſpecial accident, which the Church being not alway ſubject unto, hath not ſtill cauſe to do the like. For example, in the dangerous days of Tryal, wherein there was no way for the truth of Jeſus Chriſt to triumph over Infidelity, but through the conſtancy of his Saints, whom yet a natural deſire to ſave themſelves from the flame might peradventure cauſe to joyn with Pagans in external Cuſtoms, too far uſing the ſame as a cloak to conceal themſelves in, and a miſt to darken the eyes of Infidels withal: For remedy hereof thoſe Laws it might be were provided, which forbad that Chriſtians ſhould deck their Houſes with Boughs, as the Pagans did uſe to do, to reſt thoſe Feſtival-Days whereon the Pagans reſted, or celebrate ſuch Feaſts as were, though not Heatheniſh, yet ſuch as the ſimpler ſort of Heathens might be beguiled in ſo thinking them. As for *Tertullian*'s judgment concerning the Rites and Orders of the Church; no Man, having judgment, can be ignorant how juſt exceptions may be taken againſt it. His opinion touching the Catholick Church was unindifferent, as touching our Church the opinion of them that favour this pretended Reformation is. He judged all them who did not Montanize, to be but carnally minded; he judged them ſtill over-abjectly to fawn upon the *Heathens*, and to curry favour with *Infidels*; Which as the Catholick Church did well provide that they might not do indeed, ſo *Tertullian* over-often through diſcontentment carpeth injuriouſly at them, as though they did it even when they were free from ſuch meaning. But if it were, ſo that either the judgment of thoſe Councils before alledged, or of *Tertullian* himſelf againſt the Chriſtians, are

---

Epheſ. 2. 14.

That the example of the eldeſt Churches, is not herein againſt us.

*T.C.l.*1.*p.*132. The Councils although they did not obſerve themſelves always in making of Decrees this Rule; yet have kept this conſideration continually in making of their Laws, that they would have the Chriſtians differ from others in their Ceremonies.

Tom. 6. *cont. Fauſt. Manich. lib.* 20. *cap* 4.

*T.C.l.*1.*p.*132. Alſo it was decreed in another Council that they ſhould not deck their Houſes with Bay-leaves and green Boughs, becauſe the Pagans did uſe ſo; and that they ſhould not reſt from their labour thoſe days that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keep the firſt day of every Month as they did.

*T.C.l.*3.*p.*132. *Tertul.* ſaith, O, ſaith he, better is the Religion of the Heathen: for they uſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lord's-Day neither, &c. but we are not afraid to be called Heathen. *T.C.l.*1.*p.*133. But having ſhewed this in general, to be the polity of God firſt, and of his People afterwards, to put as much difference as can be commodiouſly between the People of God and others which are not, I ſhall not, &c.

in no ſuch conſideration to be underſtood as we have mentioned; if it were ſo, that Men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, only for uſing the Ceremonies of a Religion *contrary* unto their own, and that *this cauſe* is ſuch as ought to prevail no leſs with us than with them; ſhall it not follow, that ſeeing there is ſtill between our Religion and Paganiſm the ſelf-ſame *contrariety*, therefore we are ſtill no leſs rebukable, if we now deck our Houſes with Boughs, or ſend New-years gifts unto our Friends, or Feaſt on thoſe days which the Gentiles then did, or ſit after Prayer as they were accuſtomed? For ſo they infer upon the premiſes, that as great difference as commodiouſly may be, there ſhould be in all outward Ceremonies between the People of God, and them which are not his People. Again they teach, as hath been declared, that there is not as great a difference as may be between them, except the one do avoid whatſoever Rites and Ceremonies uncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach, that the very difference of Spiritual condition it-ſelf between the Servants of Chriſt and others, requireth ſuch difference in Ceremonies between them, although the one be never ſo far disjoyned in time or place from the other. But in caſe the People of God and *Belial* do chance to be Neighbours; then as the danger of infection is greater, ſo the ſame difference they ſay is thereby made more neceſſary. In this reſpect as the Jews were ſevered from the Heathen, ſo moſt eſpecially from the Heathen neareſt them. And in the ſame reſpect we, which ought to differ howſoever from the Church of *Rome*, are now, they ſay, by reaſon of our nearneſs more bound to differ from them in Ceremonies than from *Turks*. A ſtrange kind of ſpeech unto Chriſtian ears, and ſuch, as I hope, they themſelves do acknowledge unadviſedly uttered. *We are not ſo much to fear infection from Turks as from Papiſts.* What of that? we muſt remember that by conforming rather our ſelves in that reſpect to *Turks*, we ſhould be ſpreaders of a worſe infection into others, than any we are likely to draw from *Papiſts* by our conformity with them in Ceremonies. If they did hate, as *Turks* do, the Chriſtians; or as *Canaanites* did of old the Jewiſh Religion, even in groſs; the circumſtance of local nearneſs in them unto us, might haply inforce in us a duty of greater ſeparation from them than from thoſe other mentioned. But foraſmuch as *Papiſts* are ſo much in Chriſt nearer unto us than *Turks*, is there any reaſonable Man, trow you, but will judge it meeter that our Ceremonies of Chriſtian Religion ſhould be *Popiſh* than *Turkiſh* or *Heatheniſh*? Eſpecially conſidering that we were not brought to dwell amongſt them (as *Iſrael* in *Canaan*) having not been of them. For even a very part of them we were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, firſt to reform our ſelves (whence grew our ſeparation) and then by all good means to ſeek alſo their Reformation; had we not only cut off their corruptions, but alſo eſtranged our ſelves from them in things indifferent; who ſeeth not how greatly prejudicial this might have been to ſo good a cauſe, and what occaſion it had given them to think (to their greater obduration in evil) that through a froward or wanton deſire of Innovation we did unconſtrainedly thoſe things, for which Conſcience was pretended? Howſoever the caſe doth ſtand, as *Juda* had been rather to chuſe conformity in things indifferent with *Iſrael*, when they were neareſt oppoſites, than with the fartheſt removed Pagans: So we in like caſes, much rather with *Papiſts* than with *Turks*. I might add further, for a more full and compleat Anſwer, ſo much concerning the large odds between the caſe of the eldeſt Churches in regard of thoſe Heathens, and ours in reſpect of the Church of *Rome*, that very cavillation it-ſelf ſhould be ſatisfied, and have no ſhift to fly unto.

That it is not our beſt policy for the eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion, to have in theſe things no agreement with the Church of *Rome* being unſound. *T.C.l.* 1. *p.* 132. Common reaſon ſo doth teach that contraries are cured by their contraries. Now Chriſtianity and Antichriſtianity, the Goſpel and Popery, be contraries: and therefore Antichriſtianity muſt be cured, not by it ſelf, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary unto it.

8. But that no one thing may detain us over-long, I return to their Reaſons againſt our conformity with that Church. That extream diſſimilitude which they urge upon us, is now commended as our beſt and ſafeſt policy for eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion. The ground of which politick poſition is, That *Evils muſt be cured by their contraries*; and therefore the cure of the Church infected with the poyſon of Anti-chriſtianity, muſt be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be. A medled eſtate of the Orders of the Goſpel and the Ceremonies of Popery, is not the beſt way to baniſh Popery. We are contrariwiſe of opinion, that he which will perfectly recover a ſick, and reſtore a diſeaſed body unto health, muſt not endeavour ſo much to bring it to a ſtate of ſimple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety unto thoſe evils which are to be cured. He that will take away extream heat, by ſetting the Body in extremity of cold, ſhall undoubtedly remove the diſeaſe, but together with it the diſeaſed too. The firſt thing therefore in skilful cures is the knowledge of the part affected, the next is of the evil which doth affect it; the laſt is not only of the kind, but alſo of the meaſure of contrary things whereby to remove it. They which meaſure Religion by diſlike of the Church of *Rome*, think every Man ſo much the more ſound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to ſeem more large. And therefore ſome there are, namely the *Arians* in reformed Churches of *Poland*, which imagine the Canker to have eaten ſo far into the very Bones and Marrow of the Church of *Rome*, as if it had not ſo much as a ſound belief; no, not concerning God himſelf, but that the very belief of the Trinity were a part of Anti-chriſtian corruption; and that the wonderful providence of God did bring to paſs, that the Biſhop of the See of *Rome* ſhould be famous for his triple Crown; a ſenſible mark whereby the world might know him to be that Myſtical Beaſt ſpoken of in the *Revelation*, to be that great and notorious Anti-chriſt in no one reſpect ſo much as in this, that he maintaineth the Doctrine of the Trinity. Wiſdom therefore and skill is requiſite to know, what parts are ſound in that Church, and what corrupted. Neither is it to all Men apparent, which complain of unſound parts, with what kind of unſoundneſs every ſuch part is poſſeſſed. They can ſay, that in *Doctrine*, in *Diſcipline*, in *Prayers*, in *Sacraments*, the Church of *Rome* hath, as it hath indeed, very foul and groſs corruptions: the nature whereof, notwithſtanding, becauſe they have not for the moſt part exact skill and knowledge

to diſcern, they think that amiſs many times wich is not, and the ſalve of Reformation they mightily call for; but where and what the ſores are which need it, as they wot full little, ſo they think it not greatly material to ſearch. Such Mens contentment muſt be wrought by ſtratagem: The uſual method of Art is not for them. But with thoſe that profeſs more than ordinary and common knowledge of good from evil, with them that are able to put a difference between things naught and things indifferent in the Church of *Rome*, we are yet at controverſie about the manner of removing that which is naught; whether it may not be perfectly helpt, unleſs that alſo which is indifferent be cut off with it, ſo far till no Rite or Ceremony remain which the Church of *Rome* hath, being not found in the Word of God. If we think this too extream, they reply, that to draw Men from great exceſs, it is not amiſs, though we uſe them unto ſomewhat leſs than is competent; and that a crooked ſtick is not ſtraightned, unleſs it be bent as far on the clean contrary ſide, that ſo it may ſettle it-ſelf at the lentgh in a middle eſtate of evenneſs between both. But how can theſe compariſons ſtand them in any ſtead? When they urge us to extream oppoſition againſt the Church of *Rome*, do they mean we ſhould be drawn unto it only for a time, and afterwards return to a mediocrity? Or was it the purpoſe of thoſe Reformed Churches, which utterly aboliſhed all Popiſh Ceremonies, to come in the end back again to the middle point of evenneſs and moderation? Then have we conceived amiſs of their meaning. For we have always thought their Opinion to be, that utter inconformity with the Church of *Rome*, was not an extremity whereunto we ſhould be drawn for a time, but the very mediocrity it-ſelf wherein they meant we ſhould ever continue. Now by theſe compariſons it ſeemeth clean contrary, that howſoever they have bent themſelves at firſt to an extream contrariety againſt the Romiſh Church, yet therein they will continue no longer, than only till ſuch time as ſome more moderate courſe for eſtabliſhment of the Church may be concluded. Yea, albeit this were not at the firſt their intent, yet ſurely now there is great cauſe to lead them unto it. They have ſeen that experience of the former Policy, which may cauſe the Authors of it to hang down their Heads. When *Germany* had ſtricken off that which appeared corrupt in the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, but ſeemed neverthele ſs in Diſcipline ſtill to retain therewith very great conformity: *France*, by that rule of Policy which hath been before-mentioned, took away the Popiſh Orders which *Germany* did retain. But proceſs of time hath brought more light into the World; whereby Men perceiving that they of the Religion in *France* have alſo retained ſome Orders, which were before in the Church of *Rome*, and are not commanded in the Word of God; there hath ariſen a Sect in *England*, which following ſtill the very ſelf-ſame Rule of policy, ſeeketh to reform even the *French* Reformation, and purge out from thence alſo dregs of Popery. Theſe have not taken as yet ſuch root that they are able to eſtabliſh any thing. But if they had, what would ſpring out of their ſtock, and how far the unquiet wit of Man might be carried with rules of ſuch policy, God doth know. The trial which we have lived to ſee, may ſomewhat teach us what Poſterity is to fear. But our Lord, of his infinite Mercy, avert whatſoever evil our ſwervings on the one Hand or on the other may threaten unto the ſtate of his Church.

T. C. l. 1 *p.* 132. If a Man would bring a drunken Man to ſobriety, the beſt and neareſt way is to carry him as far from his exceſs in drink as may be: and if a Man could not keep a mean, it were better to fault in preſcribing leſs than he ſhould drink, than to fault in giving him more than he ought. As we ſee, to bring a ſtick which is crooked to be ſtraight, we do not only bow it ſo far until it come to be ſtraight, but we bend it ſo far until we make it to be ſo crooked on the other ſide, as it was before of the firſt ſide, to this end that at the laſt it may ſtand ſtraight, and as it were in the mid-way between both the crooks.

9. That the Church of *Rome* doth hereby take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſay our Religion is not able to ſtand of it-ſelf, unleſs it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies, is not a matter of ſo great moment, that it did need to be objected, or doth deſerve to receive anſwer. The name of Blaſphemy in this place is like the Shooe of *Hercules* on a Child's Foot. If the Church of *Rome* do uſe any ſuch kind of ſilly exprobration, it is no ſuch ugly thing to the ear, that we ſhould think the honour and credit of our Religion to receive thereby any great wound. They which hereof make ſo perilous a matter, do ſeem to imagine, that we have erected of late a frame of ſome new Religion; the furniture whereof we ſhould not have borrowed from our Enemies, leſt they relieving us might afterwards laugh and gibe at our Poverty: Whereas in truth the Ceremonies which we have taken from ſuch as were before us, are not things that belong to this or that Sect, but they are the ancient Rites and Cuſtoms of the Church of Chriſt; whereof our ſelves being a part, we have the ſelf-ſame intereſt in them which our Fathers before us had, from whom the ſame are deſcended unto us. Again, in caſe we had been ſo much beholden privately unto them, doth the reputation of one Church ſtand by ſaying unto another, *I need thee not*? If ſome ſhould be ſo vain and impotent, as to mar a benefit with reproachful upbraiding, where at the leaſt they ſuppoſe themſelves to have beſtowed ſome good turn; yet ſurely a wiſe bodies part it were not, to put out his fire, becauſe his fond and fooliſh Neighbour, from whom he borrowed peradventure wherewith to kindle it, might haply caſt him therewith in the teeth, ſaying, Were it not for me thou wouldeſt freeze, and not be able to heat thy ſelf. As for that other argument derived from the ſecret affection of Papiſts, with whom our conformity in certain Ceremonies is ſaid to put them in great hope, that their whole Religion in time will have re-entrance, and therefore none are ſo clamorous amongſt us for the obſervation of theſe Ceremonies, as Papiſts and ſuch as Papiſts ſuborn to ſpeak for them: Whereby it clearly appeareth how much they rejoyce, how much they triumph in theſe things; our anſwer hereunto is ſtill the ſame, that the benefit we have by ſuch Ceremonies over-weigheth even this alſo. No Man that is

That we are not to aboliſh our Ceremonies either becauſe Papiſts upbraid us as having taken from them, or for that they are ſaid hereby to conceive I know not what great hopes.

T. C. l. 3 *p.* 178. By uſing of theſe Ceremonies, the Papiſts take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelf, unleſs it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies.

T. C. l. 3 *p.* 179. To prove the Papiſts triumph and joy in theſe things I alledged further that there are none which make ſuch clamours for theſe Ceremonies, as the Papiſts, and thoſe which they ſuborn ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Il. α.

T.C. l.3.p 179. Thus they conceiving hope of having the reſt of their Popery in the end, it cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickedneſs, &c. For not the cauſe but the occaſion alſo ought to be taken away, &c. Although let the Reader judge, whether they have cauſe given to hope, that the tail of Popery yet remaining, they ſhall the eaſilier hale in the whole body after: conſidering alſo that Mr. *Bucer* noteth, that where theſe things have been left, there Popery hath returned: but on the other part, in places which have been cleanſed of theſe dregs, it hath not been ſeen that it hath had any entrance.

Eccleſ.diſ.f.94.

not exceeding partial can well deny, but that there is moſt juſt cauſe wherefore we ſhould be offended greatly at the Church of *Rome*. Notwithſtanding, at ſuch times as we are to deliberate for our-ſelves, the freer our minds are from all diſtempered affections, the ſounder and better is our judgment. When we are in a fretting mood at the Church of *Rome*, and with that angry diſpoſition enter into any cogitation of the Orders and Rites of our Church; taking particular ſurvey of them, we are ſure to have always one eye fixed upon the countenance of our Enemies, and according to the blithe or heavy aſpect thereof, our other eye ſheweth ſome other ſuitable token either of diſlike or approbation towards our own Orders. For the rule of our Judgment in ſuch caſe being only that of *Homer*, *This is the thing which our Enemies would have*; what they ſeem contented with, even for that very cauſe we reject; and there is nothing but it pleaſeth us much the better, if we eſpy that it galleth them. Miſerable were the ſtate and condition of that Church, the weighty affairs whereof ſhould be ordered by thoſe deliberations, wherein ſuch an humour as this were predominant. We have moſt heartily to thank God therefore, that they amongſt us, to whom the firſt conſultations of cauſes of this kind fell, were Men, which aiming at another mark, namely, the glory of God and the good of this his Church, took that which they judged thereunto neceſſary, not rejecting any good or convenient thing, only becauſe the Church of *Rome* might perhaps like it. If we have that which is meet and right, although they be glad, we are not to envy them this their ſolace; we do not think it a duty of ours, to be in every ſuch thing their Tormentors. And whereas it is ſaid, that Popery for want of this utter extirpation hath in ſome places taken root & flouriſhed again, but hath not been able to re-eſtabliſh it-ſelf in any place, after proviſion made againſt it by utter evacuation of all Romiſh Ceremonies, and therefore as long as we hold any thing like unto them, we put them in ſome more hope, than if all were taken away: as we deny not but this may be true; ſo being of two evils to chuſe the leſs, we hold it better that the Friends and Favourers of the Church of *Rome* ſhould be in ſome kind of hope to have a corrupt Religion reſtored, than both we and they conceive juſt fear, leſt under colour of rooting out Popery, the moſt effectual means to bear up the ſtate of Religion be removed, and ſo a way made either for Paganiſm, or for extream Barbarity to enter. If deſire of weakning the hope of others ſhould turn us away from the courſe we have taken, how much more the care of preventing our own fear with-hold us from that we are urged unto? Eſpecially ſeeing that our own fear we know, but we are not ſo certain what hope the Rites and Orders of our Church have bred in the hearts of others. For it is no ſufficient Argument therefore to ſay, that in maintaining and urging theſe Ceremonies none are ſo clamorous as Papiſts, and they whom Papiſts ſuborn; this ſpeech being more hard to juſtifie than the former, and ſo their proof more doubtful than the thing it-ſelf, which they prove. He that were certain that this is true, muſt have marked who they be that ſpeak for Ceremonies; he muſt have noted, who amongſt them doth ſpeak ofteneſt, or is moſt earneſt; he muſt have been both acquainted thoroughly with the Religion of ſuch, and alſo privy to what conferences or compacts are paſſed in ſecret between them and others; which kinds of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which alledge this, would have it taken as a thing that needeth no proof, a thing which all Men know and ſee. And if ſo be it were granted them as true, what gain they by it? Sundry of them that be Popiſh, are eager in maintenance of Ceremonies. Is it ſo ſtrange a matter to find a good thing furthered by ill Men of a ſiniſter intent and purpoſe, whoſe forwardneſs is not therefore a bridle to ſuch as favour the ſame cauſe with a better and ſincerer meaning? They that ſeek, as they ſay, the removing of all Popiſh Orders out of the Church, and reckon the ſtate of Biſhops in the number of thoſe Orders, do (I doubt not) preſume that the cauſe which they proſecute, is holy. Notwithſtanding it is their own ingenuous acknowledgment, that even this very cauſe which they term ſo often by an excellency, *The Lords Cauſe, is*, gratiſſima, *moſt acceptable unto ſome which hope for prey and ſpoyl by it, and that our Age hath ſtore of ſuch, and that ſuch are the very Sectaries of* Dionyſius *the famous Atheiſt*. Now if hereupon we ſhould upbraid them with Irreligious, as they do us with Superſtitious favourers; if we ſhould follow them in their own kind of Pleading, and ſay, that the moſt clamorous for this pretended Reformation, are either Atheiſts or elſe Proctors ſuborned by Atheiſts; the Anſwer which herein they would make unto us, let them apply unto themſelves, and there an end. For they muſt not forbid us to preſume our cauſe in defence of our Church-orders to be as good as theirs againſt them, till the contrary be made manifeſt to the World.

10. In the mean while ſorry we are, that any good and godly mind ſhould be grieved with that which is done. But to remedy their grief, lyeth not ſo much in us as in themſelves. They do not wiſh to be made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remove all out of the Church, whereat they ſhew themſelves to be ſorrowful, would be, as we are perſwaded, hurtful, if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to perſwade the contrary, they muſt and will, I doubt not, find out ſome other good mean to chear up themſelves. Amongſt which means the example of *Geneva* may ſerve for one. Have not they the old Popiſh cuſtom of uſing God-fathers and God-mothers in Baptiſm? The old Popiſh cuſtom of adminiſtring the bleſſed Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt with Wafer-cakes? Theſe things then the Godly there can digeſt. Wherefore ſhould not the Godly here learn to do the like, both in them, and in the reſt of the like nature? Some

The grief which, they ſay, godly Brethren conceive in regard of ſuch Ceremonies as we have common with the Church of *Rome*. *T. C.* l. 1. p. 180. There be numbers which have Anti-chriſtianity in ſuch deteſtation, that they cannot without grief of mind behold them. And afterwards, ſuch godly Brethren are not eaſily to be grieved, which they ſeem to be, when they are thus Martyred in their minds, for Ceremonies, which, (to ſpeak the beſt of them) are unprofitable.

further mean peradventure it might be to aſſwage their grief, if ſo be they did conſider the revenge they take on them, which have been, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in ſo great grief ſo long. For if the maintenance of Ceremonies be a corroſive to ſuch as oppugn them, undoubtedly to ſuch as maintain them it can be no great pleaſure, when they behold how that which they reverence is oppugned. And therefore they that judge themſelves Martyrs, when they are grieved, ſhould think withal what they are whom they grieve. For we are ſtill to put them in mind, that the cauſe doth make no difference; for that it muſt be preſumed as good at the leaſt on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided, who have ſtood for Truth, and who for Error. So that till then the moſt effectual medicine, and withal the moſt ſound, to eaſe their grief, muſt not be (in our opinion) the taking away of thoſe things whereat they are grieved, but the altering of that perſwaſion which they have concerning the ſame. For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more becauſe we are alſo perſwaded, that it is but conceit in them to think, that thoſe *Romiſh* Ceremonies, whereof we have hitherto ſpoken, are like leprous Clothes, infectious to the Church; or like ſoft and gentle Poyſons, the venom whereof being inſenſibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is never felt working. Thus they ſay: but becauſe they ſay it only, and the World hath not as yet had ſo great experience of their Art, in curing the Diſeaſes of the Church, that the bare authority of their word ſhould perſwade in a cauſe ſo weighty; they may not think much if it be required at their hands to ſhew; Firſt, by what means ſo deadly Infection can grow from ſimilitude between us and the Church of *Rome*, in theſe things indifferent: Secondly, for that it were infinite, if the Church ſhould provide againſt every ſuch Evil as may come to paſs, it is not ſufficient that they ſhew poſſibility of dangerous Event, unleſs there appear ſome likelyhood alſo of the ſame to follow in us, except we prevent it. Nor is this enough, unleſs it be moreover made plain, that there is no good and ſufficient way of prevention, but by evacuating clean, and by emptying the Church of every ſuch Rite and Ceremony, as is preſently called in queſtion. Till this be done, their good affection towards the ſafety of the Church is acceptable, but the way they perſcribe us to preſerve it by, muſt reſt in ſuſpence. And leſt hereat they take occaſion to turn upon us the ſpeech of the Prophet *Jeremy* uſed againſt *Babylon*, *Behold we have done our endeavour to cure the Diſeaſes of* Babylon, *but ſhe through her wilfulneſs doth reſt uncured*: let them conſider into what ſtraits the Church might drive it-ſelf, in being guided by this their counſel. Their axiom is, That the ſound believing Church of Jeſus Chriſt, may not be like Heretical Churches in any of thoſe indifferent things, which Men make choice of, and do not take by preſcript appointment of the Word of God. In the word of God the uſe of Bread is preſcribed, as a thing without which the Euchariſt may not be celebrated: but as for the kind of Bread, it is not denied to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of it-ſelf, we are by this axiom of theirs to avoid the uſe of unleavened Bread in their Sacrament, becauſe ſuch Bread the Church of *Rome* being Heretical uſeth. But doth not the ſelf-ſame axiom bar us even from leavened Bread alſo, which the Church of the *Grecians* uſeth, the opinions whereof are in a number of things the ſame, for which we condemn the Church of *Rome*; and in ſome things erroneous, where the Church of *Rome* is acknowledged to be ſound; as namely in the Article of the Holy Ghoſts proceeding? And leſt here they ſhould ſay, that becauſe the Greek Church is farther off, and the Church of *Rome* nearer, we are in that reſpect rather to uſe that which the Church of *Rome* uſeth not; let them imagine a reformed Church in the City of *Venice*, where a Greek Church and Popiſh both are. And when both theſe are equally near, let them conſider what the third ſhall do. Without leavened or unleavened Bread, it can have no Sacrament: the word of God doth tye it to neither; and their axiom doth exclude it from both. If this conſtrain them, as it muſt, to grant that their axiom is not to take any place, ſave in thoſe things only where the Church hath larger ſcope; it reſteth, that they ſearch out ſome ſtronger reaſon than they have as yet alledged; otherwiſe they conſtrain not us to think that the Church is tyed unto any ſuch rule or axiom, not then when ſhe hath the wideſt field to walk in, and the greateſt ſtore of choice.

T.C. l. 3. p. 171. Although the corruptions in them ſtrike not ſtraight to the heart, yet as gentle Poyſons they conſume by little and little.

Jer. 51. 9.

11. Againſt ſuch Ceremonies generally as are the ſame in the Church of *England* and of *Rome*, we ſee what hath been hitherto alledged. Albeit therefore we do not find the one Churches having of ſuch things, to be ſufficient cauſe why the other ſhould not have them: Nevertheleſs, in caſe it may be proved, that amongſt the number of Rites and Orders common unto both, there are Particulars, the uſe whereof is utterly unlawful, in regard of ſome ſpecial bad and noyſom quality; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquiſh ſuch Rites and Orders, what freedom ſoever we have to retain the other ſtill. As therefore we have heard their general exception againſt all thoſe things, which being not commanded in the Word of God, were firſt received in the Church of *Rome*, and from thence have been derived into ours, ſo it followeth that now we proceed unto certain kinds of them, as being excepted againſt, not only for that they are in the Church of *Rome*, but are beſides either *Jewiſh* or abuſed unto Idolatry, and ſo grown ſcandalous. The Church of *Rome* they ſay, being aſhamed of the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, did almoſt out of all Religions take whatſoever had any fair and gorgeous ſhew, borrowing in that reſpect from the Jews ſundry of their aboliſhed Ceremonies. Thus by fooliſh and ridiculous imitation, all their Maſſing furniture almoſt they took from the Law, leſt having an Altar and a Prieſt, they ſhould want Veſtments for their Stage; ſo that whatſoever we have in common with the Church of *Rome*, if the ſame be of this kind, we ought to remove it. *Conſtantine the Emperor ſpeaking of the keeping of the Feaſt of* Eaſter, ſaith, *That it is an unworthy thing to have any thing common with that moſt ſpiteful company of the Jews. And a little after he ſaith, That it is moſt abſurd and againſt reaſon, that the Jews ſhould vaunt and glory that the Chriſtians could not keep thoſe things without their Doctrine. And in another place it is ſaid after this ſort; It is convenient ſo to order the matter, that we have nothing*

Their exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as we have received from the Church of *Rome*, that Church having taken them from the Jews.

Eccleſ. Diſci. fol. 98. And *T.C. l. 3. p.* 181. Many of theſe Popiſh Ceremonies fault by reaſon of the pomp in them: where they ſhould be agreeable to the ſimplicity of the Goſpel of Chriſt crucified.

T.C. l. 1. p. 131.
Euſeb. l. 3. c. 17.
Socra. l 1 *c.* 9.
To 1. *Concil. Laod. Can.* 38.

common with that Nation. The Council of Laodicea, *which was afterward confirmed by the ſixth General*
Council, decreed, That the Chriſtians ſhould not take unleavened Bread of the Jews, or communicate
with their Impiety. For the eaſier manifeſtation of truth in this point, two things there are
which muſt be conſidered; namely the cauſes wherefore the Church ſhould decline from *Jewiſh*
Ceremonies, and how far it ought ſo to do. One cauſe is, that the Jews were the deadlieſt and
ſpitefulleſt Enemies of Chriſtianity that were in the world, and in this reſpect their Orders ſo
far forth to be ſhunned, as we have already ſet down in handling the Matter of Heatheniſh Ceremonies.
For no enemies being ſo venomous againſt Chriſt as Jews, they were of all other moſt
odious, and by that mean leaſt to be uſed as fit Church-Patterns for Imitation. Another cauſe
is the Solemn Abrogation of the Jews Ordinances; which Ordinances for us to reſume, were to
check our Lord himſelf which hath diſannulled them. But how far this ſecond cauſe doth extend,
it is not on all ſides fully agreed upon. And touching thoſe things whereunto it reacheth not,
although there be ſmall cauſe, wherefore the Church ſhould frame it-ſelf to the Jews example,
in reſpect of their perſons which are moſt hateful; yet God himſelf having been the Author of
their Laws, herein they are (notwithſtanding the former conſideration) ſtill worthy to be honoured,
and to be followed above others, as much as the ſtate of things will bear. Jewiſh Ordinances
had ſome things Natural, and of the perpetuity of thoſe things no Man doubteth. That which
was Poſitive, we likewiſe know to have been by the coming of Chriſt, partly neceſſary not to be
kept, and partly indifferent to be kept, or not. Of the former kind Circumciſion and Sacrifice were.
For this point *Stephen* was accuſed, and the Evidence which his Accuſers brought againſt him in
Acts 6.13,14. judgment, was, *This Man ceaſeth not to ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt this holy Place, and the Law;*
for we have heard him ſay, That this Jeſus of Nazareth *ſhall deſtroy this place, and ſhall change the*
Ordinances that Moſes *gave us.* True it is, that this Doctrine was then taught, which Unbelievers
condemning for Blaſphemy, did therein commit that which they did condemn. The Apoſtles
notwithſtanding, from whom *Stephen* had received it, did not ſo teach the Abrogation, no
not of thoſe things which were neceſſarily to ceaſe, but that even the Jews, being Chriſtian, might
Vide *Niceph.* for a time continue in them. And therefore in *Jeruſalem* the firſt Chriſtian Biſhop not circumciſed
lib. 3. cap. 25. & Sulpit. was *Mark*; and he not Biſhop till the days of *Adrian* the Emperor; after the overthrow of
Sever. p. 149. *Jeruſalem* there having been Fifteen Biſhops before him, which were all of the Circumciſion. The
in Edit. Plant. Chriſtian Jews did think at the firſt, not only themſelves, but the Chriſtian Gentiles alſo bound;
Acts 15. and that neceſſarily, to obſerve the whole Law. There went forth certain of the Sect of Phariſees
which did believe; and they, coming unto *Antioch*, taught, that it was neceſſary for the Gentiles
to be circumciſed, and to keep the Law of *Moſes.* Whereupon there grew diſſention, *Paul* and
Barnabas diſputing againſt them. The determination of the Council held at *Jeruſalem* concerning
Acts 21. 25. this Matter, was finally this; *Touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and determined,*
Acts 15. 24. *that they obſerve no ſuch thing:* Their Proteſtation by Letters is, *For as much as we have*
heard, that certain which departed from us, have troubled you with words, and cumbred your minds, ſaying,
Ye muſt be circumciſed and keep the Law; know, that we gave them no ſuch Commandment. Paul
therefore continued ſtill teaching the Gentiles, not only that they were not bound to obſerve the
Laws of *Moſes*, but that the obſervation of thoſe Laws which were neceſſarily to be abrogated,
was in them altogether unlawful. In which point his Doctrine was miſ-reported, as though he
had every where Preached this, not only concerning the Gentiles, but alſo touching the Jews.
Wherefore coming unto *James* and the reſt of the Clergy at *Jeruſalem*, they told him plainly
Acts 21. 20. of it, ſaying, *Thou ſeeſt, Brother, how many thouſand Jews there are which believe, and they are all*
zealous of the Law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teacheſt all the Jews which are amongſt
the Gentiles, to forſake Moſes, *and ſayeſt, that they ought not to circumciſe their children, neither to*
live after the Cuſtoms. And hereupon they gave him counſel to make it apparent in the eyes of
all Men, that thoſe flying reports were untrue, and that himſelf being a Jew kept the Law, even
as they did. In ſome things therefore we ſee the Apoſtles did teach, That there ought not to be
Conformity between the Chriſtian Jews and Gentiles. How many things this Law of Inconformity
did comprehend, there is no need we ſhould ſtand to examine. This general is true, That
the Gentiles were not made conformable unto the Jews, in that which was neceſſarily to ceaſe
Acts 15. 28. at the coming of Chriſt. Touching things Poſitive, which might either ceaſe or continue as occaſion
ſhould require, the Apoſtles tendring the zeal of the Jews, thought it neceſſary to bind
even the Gentiles for a time, to abſtain as the Jews did, from things offered unto Idols, from Blood,
Acts 16. 4. from Strangled. Theſe Decrees were every where delivered unto the Gentiles, to be ſtraightly
obſerved and kept. In the other Matters where the Gentiles were free, and the Jews in their
Rom. 14. 10. own opinion ſtill tied, the Apoſtles Doctrine unto the Jews, was, *Condemn not the Gentile*; unto
the Gentile, *Deſpiſe not the Jew*: The one ſort they warned to take heed, that ſcrupuloſity
did not make them rigorous in giving unadviſed ſentence againſt their Brethren, which were
free; the other, that they did not become ſcandalous by abuſing their liberty and freedom to the
offence of their weak Brethren, which were ſcrupulous. From hence therefore two Concluſions
there are, which may evidently be drawn; the firſt, That whatſoever Conformity of Poſitive Laws,
the Apoſtles did bring in between the Churches of Jews and Gentiles it was in thoſe things only,
which might either ceaſe or continue a ſhorter or a longer time, as occaſion did moſt require; the
ſecond, That they did not impoſe upon the Churches of the Gentiles, any part of the Jews Ordinances
with Bond of neceſſary and perpetual obſervation, (as we all, both by doctrine and practice,
acknowledge) but only in reſpect of the conveniency and fitneſs for the preſent ſtate of the
Church, as then it ſtood. The words of the Councils Decree, concerning the Gentiles, are, *It*
ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt, and to us, to lay upon you no more burden, ſaving only theſe things of neceſſity;

Abſtinence from Idol-offerings, from Strangled, and Blood, and from Fornication. So that in other things Poſitive, which the coming of Chriſt did not neceſſarily extinguiſh, the Gentiles were left altogether free. Neither ought it to ſeem unreaſonable, that Gentiles ſhould neceſſarily be bound and tied to Jewiſh Ordinances, ſo far forth as that Decree importeth. For to the Jew, who knew, that their difference from other Nations, which were Aliens and Strangers from God, did eſpecially conſiſt in this, that God's People had poſitive Ordinances given to them of God himſelf; it ſeemeth marvellous hard, that the Chriſtian Gentiles ſhould be incorporated into the ſame Common-wealth with God's own choſen People, and be ſubject to no part of his Statutes, more than only the Law of Nature which Heathens count themſelves bound unto. It was an opinion conſtantly received amongſt the Jews, that God did deliver to the Sons of *Noah* ſeven Precepts: Namely, to live in ſome form of Regiment under 1 Publick Laws. 2. To ſerve and call upon the Name of God. 3. To ſhun Idolatry. 4. Not to ſuffer effuſion of Blood. 5. To abhor all unclean knowledge in the Fleſh. 6. To commit no Rapine. 7. Finally, Not to eat of any living Creature, whereof the Blood was not firſt let out. If therefore the Gentiles would be exempted from the Law of *Moſes*, yet it might ſeem hard, they ſhould alſo caſt off even thoſe things Poſitive, which were obſerved before *Moſes*, and which were not of the ſame kind with Laws that were neceſſarily to ceaſe. And peradventure hereupon the Council ſaw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles ſhould according unto the third, the ſeventh, and the fifth of thoſe Precepts, abſtain from things ſacrificed unto Idols, from Strangled and Blood, and from Fornication. The reſt the Gentiles did of their own accord obſerve, Nature leading them thereunto. And did not Nature alſo teach them to abſtain from Fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reaſon think, that as the former two are poſitive, ſo likewiſe this, being meant as the Apoſtle doth otherwiſe uſually underſtand it. But very Marriage, within a number of degrees, being not only by the Law of *Moſes*, but alſo by the Law of the Sons of *Noah* (for ſo they took it) an unlawful diſcovery of nakedneſs: This diſcovery of nakedneſs by unlawful Marriages, ſuch as *Moſes* in the Law reckoneth up, I think it for mine own part more probable to have been meant in the Words of that Canon, than Fornication according unto the ſenſe of the Law of Nature. Words muſt be taken according to the matter whereof they are uttered. The Apoſtles command to abſtain from Blood. Conſtrue this according to the Law of Nature, and it will ſeem that Homicide only is forbidden. But conſtrue it in reference to the Law of the Jews, about which the queſtion was, and it ſhall eaſily appear to have a clean other ſenſe, and in any Man's Judgment a truer, when we expound it of eating, and not of ſhedding Blood: So if we ſpeak of Fornication, he that knoweth no Law, but only the Law of Nature, muſt needs make thereof a narrower conſtruction, than he which meaſureth the ſame by a Law, wherein ſundry kinds even of Conjugal Copulation are prohibited as impure, unclean, unhoneſt. St. *Paul* himſelf doth term Inceſtuous Marriage, Fornication. If any do rather think, that the Chriſtian Gentiles themſelves, through the looſe and corrupt Cuſtom of thoſe times, took ſimple Fornication for no ſin, and were in that reſpect offenſive unto believing Jews, which by the Law had been better taught: Our propoſing of another conjecture, is unto theirs no prejudice. Some things therefore we ſee there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to be like unto the Jews; ſome things wherein they were commanded not to be unlike. Again, ſome things alſo there were, wherein no Law of God did let, but that they might be either like or unlike, as occaſion ſhould require. And unto this purpoſe *Leo* ſaith, *Apoſtolical Ordinance, (beloved) knowing that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt came not into this World to undo the Law, hath in ſuch ſort diſtinguiſhed the Myſteries of the old Teſtament, that certain of them it hath choſen out to benefit Evangelical knowledge withal, and for that purpoſe appointed, that thoſe things which before were Jewiſh, might now be Chriſtian Cuſtoms.* The cauſe why the Apoſtles did thus conform the Chriſtians, as much as might be, according to the pattern of the Jews, was to rein them in by this mean the more, and to make them cleave the better. The Church of Chriſt hath had in no one thing ſo many and ſo contrary occaſions of Dealing, as about Judaiſm; ſome having thought the whole Jewiſh Law wicked and damnable in it-ſelf; ſome not condemning it as the former ſort abſolutely, have notwithſtanding judged it, either ſooner neceſſary to be abrogated, or further unlawful to be obſerved than truth can bear; ſome of ſcrupulous ſimplicity urging perpetual and univerſal obſervation of the Law of *Moſes* neceſſary, as the Chriſtian Jews, at the firſt in the Apoſtles times; ſome, as Hereticks, holding the ſame no leſs, even after the contrary determination ſet down by conſent of the Church at *Jeruſalem*; finally, ſome being herein reſolute through meer infidelity, and with open profeſt enmity againſt Chriſt, as unbelieving Jews. To controul ſlanderers of the Law and Prophets, ſuch as *Marcionites* and *Manichees* were, the Church in her Liturgies hath intermingled with Readings out of the New-Teſtament, Leſſons taken out of the Law and Prophets; whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, ſaith of the Chureh of Chriſt, *It intermingleth with Evangelical and Apoſtolical Writings, the Law and the Prophets; and from thence it drinketh in that Faith which with water it ſealeth, cloatheth with the Spirit, nouriſheth with the Euchariſt, with Martyrdom ſetteth forward.* They would have wondred in thoſe times to hear, that any Man being not a Favourer of Hereſie, ſhould term this by way of diſdain, *Mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles.* They which honour the Law as an Image of the Wiſdom of God himſelf, are notwithſtanding to know that the ſame had an end in Chriſt. But what? Was the Law ſo aboliſhed with Chriſt, that after his Aſcenſion the Office of Prieſts became immediately wicked, and the very name hateful, as importing the exerciſe of an ungodly

Lib qui Seder Olam inſcribitur.

1 ויגיו
2 כרלת-חשם
3 עא
4 שפיכותר-מים
5 גילו יערו-ית
6 הגזל
7 אכר מיז תתי

Heb. 13. 4.
1 Cor. 5. 11.
Gal. 5. 19

Levit. 18.

1 Cor. 5. 1.

Leo in Jejun. menſ. ſept. Ser. 9.

Tertul. de præſcript. adverſ. hæret.
T. C. l. 3. *p.* 171. What an abuſing alſo is it to affirm, the mangling of the Goſpels and Epiſtles to have been brought into the Church by Godly and learned Men? *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 216. Seeing that the office and function of Prieſts was after our Saviour Chriſt's Aſcenſion naught and ungodly; the name whereby they were called, which did exerciſe that ungodly function, cannot be otherwiſe taken, than in the evil part.

function? No, as long as the glory of the Temple continued, until the time of that final deſolation was accompliſhed, the very *Chriſtian Jews* did continue with their Sacrifices, and other parts of legal Service. That very Law therefore which our Saviour was to aboliſh, did not *ſo ſoon* become unlawful to be obſerved as ſome imagine; nor was it afterward unlawful *ſo far*, that the very Name of Altar, of Prieſts, of Sacrifice it-ſelf ſhould be baniſhed out of the World. For though God do now hate Sacrifice, whether it be Heatheniſh or Jewiſh, ſo that we cannot have the ſame things which they had, but with impiety; yet unleſs there be ſome greater let than the only evacuation of the Law of *Moſes*, the names themſelves may (I hope) be retained without ſin, in reſpect of that proportion, which things eſtabliſhed by our Saviour have unto them which by him are abrogated. And ſo throughout all the Writings of the ancient Fathers, we ſee that the words which were, do continue; the only difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical uſe; and are as ſo many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did ſignifie in the Letter, is accompliſhed in the Truth. And as no Man can deprive the Church of this liberty, to uſe names whereunto the Law was accuſtomed; ſo neither are we generally forbidden the uſe of things which the Law hath, though it neither command us any particularity, as it did the Jews a number; and the weightieſt which it did command them, are unto us in the Goſpel prohibited. Touching ſuch, as through ſimplicity of error did urge univerſal and perpetual obſervation of the Law of *Moſes* at the firſt, we have ſpoken already. Againſt Jewiſh Hereticks and falſe Apoſtles teaching afterwards the ſelf-ſame, St. *Paul* in every Epiſtle commonly either diſputeth or giveth warning. Jews that were zealous for the Law, but withal Infidels in reſpect of Chriſtianity, and to the name of Jeſus Chriſt moſt ſpiteful enemies, did, while they flouriſhed, no leſs perſecute the Church than Heathens. After their Eſtate was overthrown, they were not that way ſo much to be feared. Howbeit, becauſe they had their Synagogues in every famous City almoſt throughout the World, and by that means great opportunity to withdraw from the Chriſtian Faith, which to do they ſpared no labour; this gave the Church occaſion to make ſundry Laws againſt them. As in the Council of *Laodicea*, *The Feſtival Preſents which Jews or Hereticks uſe to ſend, muſt not be received, nor Holy-days ſolemnized in their company.* Again, *from the Jews Men ought not to receive their Unleavened* (*Bread*,) *nor to communicate with their Impieties.* Which Council was afterwards indeed confirmed by the Sixth General Council. But what was the true ſenſe or meaning, both of the one, and the other? Were Chriſtians here forbidden to communicate in Unleavened Bread, becauſe the Jews did ſo, being Enemies of the Church? He which attentively ſhall weigh the words, will ſuſpect that they rather forbid communion with Jews, than imitation of them; much more, if with theſe two Decrees be compared a third in the Council of *Conſtantinople*: *Let no Man, either of the Clergy or Laity, eat the Unleavened of the Jews, nor enter into any familiarity with them, nor ſend for them in ſickneſs, nor take Phyſick at their Hands, nor as much as go into the Bath with them. If any do otherwiſe, being a Clergy-man, let him be depoſed; if being a Lay-perſon, let Excommunication be his Puniſhment.* If theſe Canons were any Argument, that they which made them, did utterly condemn ſimilitude between the Chriſtians and Jews in things indifferent appertaining unto Religion, either becauſe the Jews were enemies unto the Church, or elſe for that their Ceremonies were abrogated; theſe Reaſons had been as ſtrong and effectual againſt their keeping the Feaſt of *Eaſter* on the ſame Day the Jews kept theirs, and not according to the Cuſtom of the Weſt-Church. For ſo they did from the firſt beginning till *Conſtantine's* time. For in theſe two things, the Eaſt and Weſt-Churches did interchangably both confront the Jews, and concur with them; the Weſt-Church uſing Unleavened Bread, as the Jews in their Paſſover did, but differing from them in the Day whereon they kept the Feaſt of *Eaſter*; contrariwiſe, the Eaſt-Church celebrating the Feaſt of *Eaſter* on the ſame Day with the Jews, but not uſing the ſame kind of Bread which they did. Now if ſo be the Eaſt-Church in uſing Leavened Bread had done well, either for that the Jews were enemies to the Church, or becauſe Jewiſh Ceremonies were abrogated; How ſhould we think but that *Victor*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, (whom all judicious Men do in that behalf diſallow) did well to be ſo vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like diſſimilitude for the Feaſt of *Eaſter*? Again, If the Weſt-Churches had in either of thoſe two reſpects affected diſſimilitude with the Jews in the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, What reaſon had they to draw the Eaſtern Church herein unto them, which reaſon did not enforce them to frame themſelves unto it in the Ceremony of Leavened Bread? Difference in Rites ſhould breed no controverſie between one Church and another; but if controverſie be once bred, it muſt be ended. The Feaſt of *Eaſter* being therefore litigious in the Days of *Conſtantine*, who honoured of all other Churches moſt the Church of *Rome*; which Church was the Mother, from whoſe Breaſts he had drawn that Food which gave him nouriſhment to eternal life; ſith agreement was neceſſary, and yet impoſſible, unleſs the one part were yielded unto; his deſire was, that of the two, the Eaſtern Church ſhould rather yield. And to this end he uſeth ſundry perſwaſive ſpeeches. When *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Rome*, going about to ſhew what the Catholick Church ſhould do, had alledged what the Hereticks themſelves did, namely, That they received ſuch as came unto them, and offered not to Baptize them anew; St. *Cyprian*, being of a contrary mind to him about the matter at that time in queſtion, which was, *Whether Hereticks converted ought to be rebaptized, yea, or no*; anſwered the Allegation of Pope *Stephen* with exceeding great ſtomach, ſaying, *To this degree of wretchedneſs, the Church of God and Spouſe of Chriſt is now come, that her ways ſhe frameth to the example of Hereticks; that to celebrate the Sacraments, which Heavenly Inſtruction hath delivered, light it-ſelf doth borrow from darkneſs, and Chriſtians do that which Antichriſts do.* Now albeit *Conſtantine* have done that, to further a bet-

ter

Concil. *Laod.* Can. 37, 38. *T. C l.* 1. *p.* 132.

T. C l. 3. *p.* 176.

Concil. *Conſtantinop.* 6. cap. 11.

Cypr. ad *Pompei* lib. cont. Epiſt. *Stephani.*

ter cauſe, which *Cyprian* did to countenance a worſe, namely, the Rebaptization of Hereticks; and have taken advantage at the odiouſneſs of the Jews, as *Cyprian* of Hereticks, becauſe the Eaſtern Church kept their Feaſt of *Eaſter* always the Fourteenth day of the Month, as the Jews did, what day of the week ſoever it fell; or howſoever *Conſtantine* did take occaſion in the handling of that cauſe to ſay, * *It is unworthy to have any thing common with that ſpiteful Nation of the Jews*: Shall every Motive Argument uſed in ſuch kind of Conferences, be made a rule for others ſtill to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like Nature, when as probable inducements may lead them to the contrary? Let both this and other Allegations ſuitable unto it, ceaſe to bark any longer idly againſt that truth, the courſe and paſſage whereof it is not in them to hinder.

* *Socr.* Eccleſiaſt. hiſt. l. 5. c. 21. *Plerique in Aſiâ minore antiquitus 14 die menſis, nullâ ratione diei Sabbati habitâ, hoc feſtum obſervarunt. Quod dum faciebant, cum aliis qui aliam rationem in eodem feſto agendo ſequebantur, uſque eo nequaquam diſſenſerunt, quoad Victor Epiſcopus Romanus ſupra modum iracundiâ inflammatus, omnes in Aſiâ qui erant τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατῆ) appellati, excommunicaverit. Ob quod factum, Irenæus Epiſcopus Lugduni in Victorem per Epiſtolam gravitur invectus eſt. Euſeb.* de vita Conſtant. lib. 3. cap. 17. *Quid præſtabilius, quidve auguſtius eſſe poterat, quam ut hoc feſtum per quod ſpem immortalitatis nobis oſtentatam habemus uno modo & ratione apud omnes integre ſincereque obſervaretur? Ac primum omnium indignum planè videbatur ut ritum & conſuetudinem imitantes Judæorum (qui quoniam ſuas ipſorum manus immani ſcelere polluerunt, merito, ut ſceleſtos decet, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) iſtud feſtum ſanctiſſimum ageremus. In noſtra enim ſitum eſt poteſtate ut, illorum more rejecto, veriore ac magis ſincero inſtituto (quod quidem uſque à prima paſſionis die hactenus recoluimus) hujus feſti celebrationem ad poſterorum ſeculorum memoriam propagemus. Nibil igitur ſit nobis commune cum Judæorum turba, omnium odioſa maxime.*

12. But the weightieſt Exception, and of all the moſt worthy to be reſpected, is againſt ſuch kind of Ceremonies, as have been ſo groſly and ſhamefully abuſed in the Church of *Rome*, that where they remain they are ſcandalous, yea they cannot chuſe but be ſtumbling-blocks, and grievous cauſes of offence. Concerning this point therefore we are firſt to note, What properly it is, to be ſcandalous or offenſive. Secondly, What kind of Ceremonies are ſuch. And Thirdly, When they are neceſſarily for remedy thereof to be taken away, and when not. The common conceit of the vulgar ſort is, whenſoever they ſee any thing which they miſlike and are angry at, to think that every ſuch thing is ſcandalous, and that themſelves in this caſe are the Men concerning whom our Saviour ſpake in ſo fearful manner, ſaying, *Whoſoever ſhall ſcandalize or offend any one of theſe little ones which believe in me*, (that is, as they conſtrue it, Whoſoever ſhall anger the meaneſt and ſimpleſt Artizan which carrieth a good mind, by not removing out of the Church ſuch Rites and Ceremonies as diſpleaſe him) *better he were drowned in the bottom of the Sea.* But hard were the caſe of the Church of Chriſt, if this were to ſcandalize. Men are ſcandalized when they are moved, led and provoked unto ſin. At good things evil Men may take occaſion to do evil; and ſo Chriſt himſelf was a Rock of offence in *Iſrael*, they taking occaſion at his poor eſtate, and at the ignominy of his Croſs, to think him unworthy the Name of that great and glorious *Meſſias*, whom the Prophets deſcribe in ſuch ample and ſtately terms. But that which we therefore term offenſive, becauſe it inviteth Men to offend, and by a dumb kind of Provocation, encourageth, moveth, or any way leadeth unto ſin, muſt of neceſſity be acknowledged actively ſcandalous. Now ſome things are ſo even by their very eſſence and nature, ſo that whereſoever they be found, they are not, neither can be without this force of provocation unto evil; of which kind all examples of ſin and wickedneſs are. Thus *David* was ſcandalous in that bloody act, whereby he cauſed the enemies of God to be blaſphemous: Thus the whole ſtate of *Iſrael* was ſcandalous, when their publick diſorders cauſed the name of God to be ill ſpoken of amongſt the Nations. It is of this kind that *Tertullian* meaneth: *Offence or ſcandal, if I be not deceived*, ſaith he, *is when the example not of a good, but of an evil thing, doth ſet Men forward unto ſin. Good things can ſcandalize none, ſave only evil minds*: Good things have no ſcandalizing Nature in them. Yet that which is of its own Nature, either good or at leaſt not evil, may by ſome accident become ſcandalous at certain times, and in certain places, and to certain Men; the open uſe thereof nevertheleſs being otherwiſe without danger. The very Nature of ſome Rites and Ceremonies therefore is ſcandalous, as it was in a number of thoſe which the *Manichees* did uſe, and is in all ſuch as the Law of God doth forbid. Some are offenſive only through the agreement of Men to uſe them unto evil, and not elſe; as the moſt of thoſe things indifferent, which the Heathens did to the ſervice of their falſe Gods; which, another in heart condemning their Idolatry, could not do with them in ſhew and token of Approbation, without being guilty of ſcandal given. Ceremonies of this kind are either deviſed at the firſt unto evil; as the *Eunomian* Hereticks in diſhonour of the Bleſſed Trinity, brought in the laying of Water but once, to croſs the cuſtom of the Church, which in Baptiſm did it thrice: Or elſe having had a profitable uſe, they are afterwards interpreted and wreſted to the contrary; as thoſe Hereticks which held the Trinity to be three diſtinct, not Perſons, but Natures, abuſed the Ceremony of three times laying on Water in Baptiſm, unto the ſtrengthning of their Hereſie. The Element of Water is in Baptiſm neceſſary; once to lay it on or thrice, is indifferent. For which cauſe, *Gregory* making mention thereof, ſaith, *To dive an Infant, either thrice, or but once in Baptiſm, can be no way a thing reprovable; ſeeing that both in three times waſhing, the Trinity of Perſons; and in one, the unity of the Godhead may be ſignified.* So that of theſe two Ceremonies, neither being hurtful in it-ſelf, both may ſerve unto good purpoſe; yet one was deviſed, and the other converted unto evil. Now whereas in the Church of *Rome* certain Ceremonies are ſaid to have been ſhamefully abuſed unto evil, as the Ceremony of Croſſing at Baptiſm, of Kneeling at the Euchariſt, of uſing Wafer-Cakes, and ſuch like, the queſtion is, Whether for remedy of that evil, wherein ſuch Ceremonies have been ſcandalous, and perhaps may be ſtill unto ſome, even amongſt our ſelves, whom the preſence and ſight of them may confirm in that former error, whereto they ſerved in times paſt, they are of neceſſity to be removed. Are theſe, or any other Ceremonies we have common with the Church of *Rome*, ſcandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no Man objecteth. Are any ſuch, as have been polluted from their very Birth, and inſtituted, even at the

Their Exception againſt ſuch Ceremonies as have been abuſed by the Church of *Rome*, and are ſaid in that reſpect to be ſcandalous.

Matth. 18. 6.

1 Pet. 2. 8.

2 Sam. 12. 14.
Rom. 2. 24.
Ezek. 36. 20.
Tertul. lib. de Virgin. Veland.

Epiſt. ad Leandrum Hiſp.

unto that thing which is evil? That which hath been ordained impiouſly at the firſt, may wear out that impiety in tract of time; and then what doth let, but that the uſe thereof may ſtand without offence? The Names of our Months and of our Days, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what diſhonour unto God they are ſaid to have been deviſed at the firſt. What could be ſpoken againſt any thing more effectual to ſtir hatred, than that which ſometime the ancient Fathers in this caſe ſpeak? Yet thoſe very names are at this Day in uſe throughout Chriſtendom, without hurt or ſcandal to any. Clear and manifeſt it is, that things deviſed by Hereticks, yea, deviſed of a very heretical purpoſe, even againſt Religion, and at their firſt deviſing worthy to have been withſtood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that cuſtom, the inventers whereof were the *Eunomian* Hereticks. So that cuſtoms once eſtabliſhed and confirmed by long uſe, being preſently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held ſcandalous. But concerning thoſe our Ceremonies which they reckon for moſt Popiſh, they are not able to avouch that any of them was otherwiſe inſtituted, than unto good; yea, ſo uſed at the firſt. It followeth then, that they all are ſuch as having ſerved to good purpoſe, were afterwards converted unto the contrary. And ſith it is not ſo much as objected againſt us, that we retain together with them, the evil wherewith they have been infected in the Church of *Rome*: I would demand, Who they are whom we ſcandalize, by uſing harmleſs things unto that good end, for which they were firſt inſtituted. Amongſt our ſelves that agree in the approbation of this kind of good uſe, no Man will ſay, that one of us is offenſive and ſcandalous unto another. As for the favourers of the Church of *Rome*, they know how far we herein differ and diſſent from them; which thing neither we conceal, and they by their publick writings alſo profeſs daily, how much it grieveth them: So that of them there will not many riſe up againſt us, as witneſſes unto the Indictment of Scandal, whereby we might be condemned and caſt, as having ſtrengthned them in that evil, wherewith they pollute themſelves in the uſe of the ſame Ceremonies. And concerning ſuch as withſtand the Church of *England* herein, and hate it becauſe it doth not ſufficiently ſeem to hate *Rome*; they (I hope) are far enough from being by this mean drawn to any kind of Popiſh Error. The multitude therefore of them, unto whom we are ſcandalous through the uſe of abuſed Ceremonies, is not ſo apparent, that it can juſtly be ſaid in general of any one ſort of Men or other, we cauſe them to offend. If it be ſo, that now or then ſome few are eſpyed, who having been accuſtomed heretofore to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, are not ſo ſcoured of their former ruſt, as to forſake their ancient perſwaſion which they have had, howſoever they frame themſelves to outward obedience of Laws and Orders; becauſe ſuch may miſconſter the meaning of our Ceremonies, and ſo take them, as though they were in every ſort the ſame they have been; Shall this be thought a reaſon ſufficient whereon to conclude, that ſome Law muſt neceſſarily be made to aboliſh all ſuch Ceremonies? They anſwer, that there is no Law of God which doth bind us to retain them. And St. *Paul's* rule is, that in thoſe things from which without hurt we may lawfully abſtain, we ſhould frame the uſage of our Liberty, with regard to the weakneſs and imbecillity of our Brethren. Wherefore unto them which ſtood upon their own defence, ſaying, *All things are lawful unto me*; he replyeth, *But all things are not expedient* in regard of others. All things are clean, all Meats are lawful; but evil unto that Man that eateth offenſively. If for thy meats ſake thy Brother be grieved, thou walkeſt no longer according to Charity. Deſtroy not him with thy Meat, for whom Chriſt died. Diſſolve not for foods ſake the work of God. We that are ſtrong, muſt bear the imbecillity of the impotent, and not pleaſe our ſelves. It was a weakneſs in the Chriſtian Jews, and a maim of judgment in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of thoſe meats, which themſelves were afraid to touch, for fear of tranſgreſſing the Law of *Moſes*; yea, hereat their hearts did ſo much riſe, that the Apoſtle had juſt cauſe to fear, leſt they would rather forſake Chriſtianity, than endure any fellowſhip with ſuch, as made no conſcience of that which was unto them abominable. And for this cauſe mention is made of deſtroying the weak by meats, and of diſſolving the work of God, which was his Church, a part of the Living Stones whereof were believing Jews. Now thoſe weak Brethren before-mentioned are ſaid to be as the Jews were, and our Ceremonies which have been abuſed in the Church of *Rome*, to be as the ſcandalous Meats from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abſtain in the preſence of Jews, for fear of averting them from Chriſtian Faith. Therefore as Charity did bind them to refrain from that, for their Brethrens ſake, which otherwiſe was lawful enough for them; ſo it bindeth us for our Brethrens ſake likewiſe, to aboliſh ſuch Ceremonies, although we might lawfully elſe retain them. But between theſe two caſes there are great odds. For neither are our weak Brethren as the Jews, nor the Ceremonies which we uſe as the Meats which the Gentiles uſed. The Jews were known to be generally weak in that reſpect; whereas contrariwiſe the imbecillity of ours is not common unto ſo many, that we can take any ſuch certain notice of them. It is a chance, if here and there ſome one be found; and therefore ſeeing we may preſume Men commonly otherwiſe, there is no neceſſity, that our practice ſhould frame it-ſelf by that which the Apoſtle doth preſcribe to the Gentiles. Again, their uſe of Meats was not like unto our Ceremonies; that being a matter of private Action in common life, where every Man was free to order that which himſelf did; but this a publick conſtitution for the ordering of the Church: And we are not to look, that the Church ſhould change her publick Laws and Ordinances, made according to that which is judged ordinarily and commonly fitteſt for the whole, although it chance that for ſome particular Men the ſame be found incon-

Hom. 11. de Paſch. *Idololatriæ conſuetudo in tantum homines occæcaverat; ut Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurii, Jovis, Veneris, Saturni, & diverſis Elementorum ac Dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, & luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent.* Beda de ratione temp. cap. 4. *Octavus dies idem primus eſt, ad quem reditur, indeque rurſus Hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina à planetis Gentilitas indidit, habere ſe credentes à Sole Spiritum, à Luna corpus, à Marte ſanguinem, à Mercurio ingenium & linguam, à Jove temperantiam, à Venere voluptatem, à Saturno tarditatem.* Iſid. Hiſp. lib. 5. Etymol. cap. 30. *Dies dicti à Diis, quorum nomina Romani quibuſdam ſyderibus ſacraverunt.*

1 Cor. 6. 12.

Rom. 14. & 15. 1.

Vide Harmenop. *lib.* 1. *tit.* 1. *ſect.* 28.

inconvenient, eſpecially when there may be other remedy alſo againſt the ſores of particular inconveniences. In this caſe therefore, where any private harm doth grow, we are not to reject inſtruction, as being an unmeet plaiſter to apply unto it; neither can we ſay, that he which appointeth Teachers for Phyſitians in this kind of evil, is, *As if a Man would ſet one to watch a child all day long, leſt he ſhould hurt himſelf with a Knife, whereas by taking away the Knife from him, the danger is avoided, and the ſervice of the Man better employed.* For a Knife may be taken from a child, without depriving them of the benefit thereof, which have years and diſcretion to uſe it. But the Ceremonies which Children do abuſe, if we remove quite and clean, as it is by ſome required that we ſhould; then are they not from Children only, but from other alſo; which is as though, becauſe Children may perhaps hurt themſelves with Knives, we ſhould conclude, that therefore the uſe of Knives is to be taken quite and clean even from Men alſo. Thoſe particular Ceremonies which they pretend to be ſo ſcandalous, we ſhall in the next Book have occaſion more throughly to ſift, where other things alſo traduced in the publick duties of the Church, whereunto each of theſe appertaineth, are together with theſe to be touched, and ſuch Reaſons to be examined as have at any time been brought either againſt the one, or the other. In the mean while, againſt the conveniency of curing ſuch evils by inſtruction, ſtrange it is, that they ſhould object the multitude of other neceſſary Matters, wherein Preachers may better beſtow their time, than in giving Men warning not to abuſe Ceremonies: A wonder it is, that they ſhould object this, which have ſo many years together troubled the Church with quarrels, concerning theſe things; and are even to this very hour ſo earneſt in them, that if they write or ſpeak publickly but five words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous eſtate of the Church of *England*, in reſpect of abuſed Ceremonies. How much happier had it been for this whole Church, if they which have raiſed contention therein, about the abuſe of Rites and Ceremonies, had conſidered in due time that there is indeed ſtore of Matters, fitter and better a great deal for Teachers to ſpend time and labour in? It is through their importunate and vehement Aſſeverations, more than through any ſuch experience which we have had of our own, that we are enforced to think it poſſible for one or other, now and then, at leaſtwiſe in the prime of the Reformation of our Church, to have ſtumbled at ſome kind of Ceremonies. Wherein, for as much as we are contented to take this upon their credit, and to think it may be; ſith alſo, they further pretend the ſame to be ſo dangerous a Snare to their Souls, that are at any time taken therein; they muſt give our Teachers leave, for the ſaving of thoſe Souls (be they never ſo few) to intermingle ſometime with other more neceſſary things, Admonition concerning theſe not unneceſſary. Wherein they ſhould in reaſon more eaſily yield this leave, conſidering, that hereunto we ſhall not need to uſe the hundredth part of that time, which themſelves think very needful to beſtow, in making moſt bitter Invectives againſt the Ceremonies of the Church.

T.C.l.3.p.178

T.C.l.3.p.177 It is not ſo convenient, that the Miniſter, having ſo many neceſſary points to beſtow his time in, ſhould be driven to ſpend it in giving warning of not abuſing them, of which (although they were uſed to the beſt) there is no profit.

13. But to come to the laſt point of all; The Church of *England* is grievouſly charged with forgetfulneſs of her duty, which duty had been to frame her ſelf unto the Pattern of their Example, that went before her in the Work of Reformation. (a) *For as the Churches of Chriſt ought to be moſt unlike the Synagogue of Anti-chriſt in their indifferent Ceremonies; ſo they ought to be moſt like one unto another, and for preſervation of Unity, to have as much as poſſible may be, all the ſame Ceremonies. And therefore* St. *Paul to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of* Corinth, *that they ſhould make their gatherings for the Poor upon the firſt day of the Sabbath (which is our Sunday) alledgeth this for a Reaſon,* (b) *That he had ſo ordained in other Churches.* Again, *As children of one Father, and Servants of one Family; ſo all Churches ſhould not only have one Diet, in that they have one Word, but alſo wear, as it were, one Livery in uſing the ſame Ceremonies.* Thirdly, (c) *This Rule did the Great Council of* Nice *follow, when it ordained, that where certain at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt did pray Kneeling, they ſhould pray Standing: The reaſon whereof is added, which is, That one Cuſtom ought to be kept throughout all Churches. It is true, That the diverſity of Ceremonies ought not to cauſe the Churches to diſſent one with another: But yet it maketh moſt to the avoiding of Diſſention, that there be amongſt them an Unity, not only in Doctrine, but alſo in Ceremonies.* (d) *And therefore our Form of Service is to be amended, not only for that it cometh too near that of the Papiſts, but alſo becauſe it is ſo different from that of the Reformed Churches.* Being asked, to what Churches ours ſhould conform it ſelf, and why other Reformed Churches ſhould not as well frame themſelves to ours; Their anſwer is, *That if there be any Ceremonies which we have better than others, they ought to frame themſelves to us: If they have better than we, then we ought to frame our ſelves to them: If the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the later Churches ſhould conform themſelves to the firſt, as the younger Daughter to the Elder.* (e) *For as* St. *Paul in the Members, where all other things are equal, noteth it for a mark of honour above the reſt, that one is called before another to the Goſpel; ſo is it, for the ſame cauſe, amongſt the Churches.* (f) *And in this reſpect he pincheth the* Corinths, *that not being the firſt which received the Goſpel, yet they would have their ſeveral manners from other Churches. Moreover, where the Ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conform themſelves unto the more. For as much therefore as all the Churches* (ſo far as they know which plead after this manner) *of our Confeſſion in Doctrine, agree in the Abrogation of divers things which we retain: Our Church ought, either to ſhew that they have done evil, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conform her ſelf in that, which ſhe cannot deny to be well abrogated.* In this Axiom, that Preſervation of Peace and Unity amongſt Chriſtian Churches ſhould be by all good means procured, we joyn moſt willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we, but that to the avoiding of Diſſention it availeth much, that there be amongſt them an Unity as well in Ceremonies as in Doctrine. The only doubt is, about the manner of their Unity; How far Churches are bound to be Uniform in their Ceremonies, and what way they ought to take for that purpoſe. Touching the one, the Rule which they have ſet down, is, That in Ceremonies indifferent all Churches ought to be one of

Our Ceremonies excepted againſt, for that ſome Churches, Reformed before ours, have caſt out thoſe things, which we, notwithſtanding their example to the contrary, do retain ſtill.

(a) *T.C.l.*1. *p.*133.

(b) 1 Cor. 16. 1.

(c) *Can.* 20. The Canon of that Council which is here cited, doth provide againſt kneeling at Prayer on Sundays, or for fifty days after *Eaſter*, on any day, and not at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt only.

(d) *T.C.l.*3. *p.* 182 183.

(e) Rom. 16. 5. 7.

(f) 1 Cor. 14. 37.

them unto another as like as *poſſibly* they may be. Which *poſſibly* we cannot otherwiſe conſter, than that it doth require them to be, even as like as they may be, without breaking any Poſitive Ordinance of God. For the Ceremonies whereof we ſpeak, being Matter of Poſitive Law, they are indifferent, if God have neither himſelf commanded nor forbidden them, but left them unto the Churches diſcretion; ſo that if as great Uniformity be required as is poſſible in theſe things, ſeeing that the Law of God forbiddeth not any one of them; it followeth, that from the greateſt unto the leaſt, they muſt be in every Chriſtian Church the ſame, except meer impoſſibility of ſo having it be the hindrance. To us this Opinion ſeemeth over-extream and violent: We rather incline to think it a juſt and reaſonable cauſe for any Church, the State whereof is free and independent, if in theſe things it differ from other Churches, only for that it doth not judge it ſo fit and expedient, to be framed therein by the pattern of their example, as to be otherwiſe framed than they. That of *Gregory* unto *Leander* is a charitable Speech, and a peaceable; *In una fide nil officit Eccleſiæ ſanctæ conſuetudo diverſa. Where the Faith of the Holy Church is one, a difference in Cuſtoms of the Church doth no harm.* That of St. *Auguſtine* to *Caſſulanus* is ſomewhat particular, and toucheth what kind of Ceremonies they are, wherein one Church may vary from the example of another, without hurt. *Let the Faith of the whole Church, how wide ſoever it hath ſpread it-ſelf, be always one, although the Unity of Belief be famous for variety of certain Ordinances, whereby that which is rightly believed, ſuffereth no kind of let or impediment.* Calvin goeth further, *As concerning Rites in particular, let the ſentence of* Auguſtine *take place, which leaveth it free unto all Churches to receive their own Cuſtom. Yea, ſometime it profiteth, and is expedient that there be difference, leſt Men ſhould think that Religion is tyed to outward Ceremonies. Always provided, that there be not any emulation, nor that Churches, delighted with novelty, affect to have that which others have not.* They which grant it true, That the diverſity of Ceremonies in this kind, ought not to cauſe diſſenſion in Churches, muſt either acknowledge, that they grant in effect nothing by theſe words; or, if any thing be granted, there muſt as much be yielded unto, as we affirm againſt their former ſtrict Aſſertion. For, if Churches be urged by way of duty, to take ſuch Ceremonies as they like not of, how can diſſenſion be avoided? Will they ſay, that there ought to be no diſſenſion, becauſe ſuch as are urged ought to like of that whereunto they are urged? If they ſay this, they ſay juſt nothing. For how ſhould any Church like to be urged of duty, by ſuch as have no authority or power over it, unto thoſe things which being indifferent, it is not of duty bound unto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no diſſenſion, becauſe that which Churches are not bound unto, no Man ought by way of duty to urge upon them; And if any Man do, he ſtandeth in the ſight both of God and Men moſt juſtly blameable, as a needleſs Diſturber of the Peace of God's Church, and an Author of Diſſenſion. In ſaying this, they both condemn their own practice, when they preſs the Church of *England* with ſo ſtrict a bond of duty in theſe things; and they overthrow the ground of their practice, which is, That there ought to be in all kind of Ceremonies Uniformity, unleſs impoſſibility hinder it. For Proof whereof it is not enough to alledge what St. *Paul* did about the Matter of Collections, or what Noblemen do in the Liveries of their Servants, or what the Council of *Nice* did for Standing in time of Prayer on certain days: Becauſe, though St. *Paul* did will them of the Church of *Corinth* (a), every Man to lay up ſomewhat by him upon the Sunday, and to reſerve it in ſtore, till himſelf did come thither to ſend it to the Church of *Jeruſalem* for relief of the Poor there; ſignifying withal, that he had taken the like order with the Churches of *Galatia*; yet the reaſon which he yieldeth of this order taken, both in the one place and the other, ſheweth the leaſt part of his meaning to have been that whereunto his words are writhed. *Concerning Collection for the Saints,* (he meaneth them of *Jeruſalem*) *as I have given order to the Church of* Galatia, *ſo likewiſe do ye* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *that is, in every firſt day of the week let each of you lay aſide by himſelf, and reſerve according to that which God hath bleſſed him with; that when I come, collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you ſhall chuſe, them I may forthwith ſend away by Letters, to carry your beneficence unto* Jeruſalem. Out of which words to conclude the duty of Uniformity throughout all Churches in all manner of indifferent Ceremonies, will be very hard, and therefore beſt to give it over. But perhaps they are by ſo much the more loth to forſake this Argument, for that it hath, though nothing elſe, yet the name of Scripture, to give it ſome kind of countenance more than the pretext of Livery-coats affordeth them. For neither is it any Mans duty to cloath all his children, or all his ſervants with one weed; nor theirs to cloath themſelves ſo, if it were left to their own judgments, as theſe Ceremonies are left of God to the judgment of the Church. And ſeeing Churches are rather in this caſe like divers Families, than like divers ſervants of one Family, becauſe every Church, the ſtate whereof is independent upon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for it-ſelf in things indifferent; therefore of the two, we may rather infer, That as one Family is not abridged of liberty to be cloathed in Friers Gray, for that another doth wear Clay-colour; ſo neither are all Churches bound to the ſelf-ſame indifferent Ceremonies, which it liketh ſundry to uſe. As for that Canon in the Council of *Nice*, let them but read it, and weigh it well. The ancient uſe of the Church throughout all Chriſtendom was, for fifty days after *Eaſter* (which fifty days were called *Pentecoſt*, though moſt commonly the laſt day of them, which is Whitſunday, be ſo called) in like ſort on all the Sundays throughout the whole year, their manner was to ſtand at Prayer: Whereupon their meetings unto that purpoſe on thoſe days had the name of *Stations* given them. Of which Cuſtom *Tertullian* ſpeaketh in this wiſe; *It is not with us thought fit, either to faſt on the Lords day, or to pray Kneeling. The ſame immunity from Faſting and Kneeling we keep all the time which is between the Feaſts of Eaſter and Pentecoſt.* This being therefore an order generally received in the Church;

Reſpon ad Med.

(a) *T. C. l.* 1. *p* 133. And therefore St. *Paul*, to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of *Corinth*, that they ſhould make their Gatherings for the Poor upon the firſt day of the Sabbath (which is our Sunday,) alledgeth this for a Reaſon, that he had ſo ordained in other Churches.

1 Cor. 16. 1.

*T.C.l.*3 *p.* 133. So that as children of one Father, and ſervants of one Maſter, he will have all the Churches, not only have one diet, in that they have one word but alſo wear as it were one Livery in uſing the ſame Ceremonies.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 133. This Rule did the Great Council of *Nice* follow, &c. *Die Dominico & per omnem Pentecoſtem, nec de geniculis adorare, & jejunium ſolvere, &c. De Coro. Militis.*

when ſome began to be ſingular and different from all others, and that in a Ceremony which was then judged very convenient for the whole Church, even by the whole, thoſe few excepted which brake out of the common Pale; the Council of *Nice* thought good to encloſe them again with the reſt, by a Law made in this ſort: *Becauſe there are certain which will needs kneel at the time of Prayer on the Lords day, and in the fifty days after Eaſter; the holy Synod judging it meet that a convenient cuſtom be obſerved throughout all Churches hath decreed, That Standing we make our Prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth think convenient for the whole, the ſame if any part do wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrailed again by that general authority whereunto each particular is ſubject, and that the Spirit of ſingularity in a few, ought to give place unto publick judgment; this doth clearly enough appear; but not that all Chriſtian Churches are bound in every indifferent Ceremony to be uniform; becauſe where the whole Church hath not tyed the parts unto one and the ſame thing, they being therein left each to their own choice, may either do as others do, or elſe otherwiſe, without any breach of duty at all. Concerning thoſe indifferent things, wherein it hath been heretofore thought good, that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould be uniform, the way which they now conceive to bring this to paſs was then never thought on. For till now it hath been judged, that ſeeing the Law of God doth not preſcribe all particular Ceremonies which the Church of Chriſt may uſe, and in ſo great variety of them as may be found out; it is not poſſible, That the Law of Nature and Reaſon ſhould direct all Churches unto the ſame things, each deliberating by it-ſelf, what is moſt convenient: The way to eſtabliſh the ſame things indifferent throughout them all, muſt needs be the judgment of ſome Judicial authority drawn into one only ſentence, which may be a rule for every particular to follow. And becauſe ſuch authority over all Churches, is too much to be granted unto any one mortal Man; there yet remaineth that which hath been always followed, as the beſt, the ſafeſt, the moſt ſincere and reaſonable way; namely, the Verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and ſet down in the Aſſembly of ſome General Council. But to maintain, That all Chriſtian Churches ought for Unities ſake to be uniform in all Ceremonies, and then to teach, that the way of bringing this to paſs muſt be by mutual imitation, ſo that where we have better Ceremonies than others, they ſhall be bound to follow us; and we them, where theirs are better: How ſhould we think it agreeable and conſonant unto reaſon? For ſith in things of this nature, there is ſuch variety of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to think that better, which another Church led by other inducements judgeth to be worſe: (For example, the Eaſt-Church did think it better to keep *Eaſter*-day after the manner of the Jews, the Weſt-Church better to do otherwiſe; the Greek-Church judgeth it worſe to uſe Unleavened Bread in the Eucharist, the Latine Church Leavened: One Church eſteemeth it not ſo good, to receive the Euchariſt ſitting as ſtanding, another Church not ſo good ſtanding as ſitting; there being on the one ſide probable Motives, as well as on the other:) unleſs they add ſomewhat elſe to define more certainly what Ceremonies ſhall ſtand for beſt, in ſuch ſort, that all Churches in the World ſhall know them to be the beſt, and ſo know them, that there may not remain any queſtion about this point, we are not a whit the nearer for that they have hitherto ſaid. They themſelves, although reſolved in their own judgments what Ceremonies are beſt, foreſeeing that ſuch as they are addicted unto be not all ſo clearly and ſo incomparably beſt, but others there are, or may be at leaſtwiſe, when all things are well conſidered, as good; knew not which way ſmoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without providing ſome more certain rule to be followed for eſtabliſhment of Uniformity in Ceremonies, when there are divers kinds of equal goodneſs: And therefore in this caſe they ſay, That the latter Churches, and the fewer, ſhould conform themſeves unto the elder, and the more. Hereupon they conclude, that for as much as all the Reformed Churches (ſo far as they know) which are of our Confeſſion in Doctrine, have agreed already in the Abrogation of divers things which we retain; our Church ought either to ſhew, that they have done evil, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault for not conforming her-ſelf to thoſe Churches, in that which ſhe cannot deny to be in them well abrogated. For the authority of the firſt Churches, (and thoſe they account to be the firſt in this cauſe which were firſt Reformed) they bring the compariſon of younger Daughters conforming themſelves in attire to the example of their elder Siſters; wherein there is juſt as much ſtrength of Reaſon, as in the Livery-Coats before mentioned. St. *Paul*, they ſay, noteth it for a mark of ſpecial honour, that *Epænetus* was the firſt Man in all *Achaia*, which did embrace the Chriſtian Faith; after the ſame ſort, he toucheth it alſo as a ſpecial preheminence of *Junius* and *Andronicus*, that in Chriſtianity they were his Ancients. The *Corinthians* he pincheth with this demand, *Hath the word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?* But what of all this? If any Man ſhould think that alacrity and forwardneſs in good things doth add nothing unto Mens commendation, the two former ſpeeches of St. *Paul* might lead him to reform his judgment. In like ſort to take down the ſtomach of proud conceited Men, that glory, as though they were able to ſet all others to School, there can be nothing more fit, than ſome ſuch words as the Apoſtles third ſentence doth contain; wherein he teacheth the Church of *Corinth* to know, that there was no ſuch great odds between them, and the reſt of their Brethren, that they ſhould think themſelves to be Gold, and the reſt to be but Copper. He therefore uſeth ſpeech unto them to this effect: *Men inſtructed in the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt there both were before you, and are beſides you in the world; ye neither are the Fountain from which firſt, nor yet the River into which alone, the Word hath flowed.* But although as *Epænetus* was the firſt Man in all *Achaia*, ſo *Corinth* had been the firſt Church in the whole World that received Chriſt; the Apoſtle doth not ſhew, that in any kind of things indifferent whatſoever, this ſhould have made their example a Law unto all others. Indeed, the example of ſundry Churches for approbation of one thing doth ſway much; but yet ſtill as having the force of an example only, and not of a Law. They are effectual to move any Church, unleſs ſome greater thing do hinder; but they bind none, no not though they be many; ſaving only when they are the major part of a General Aſſembly, and then

T.C.l.3.p.183. If the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter Churches ſhould conform themſelves to the firſt, &c. *And again,* The fewer ought to conform themſelves unto the more.

Rom. 16.5.

1 Cor.14.36.

their voices being more in number, muſt over-ſway their judgments who are fewer, becauſe in ſuch caſes the greater half is the whole. But as they ſtand out ſingle, each of them by it-ſelf, their number can purchaſe them no ſuch authority, that the reſt of the Churches being fewer ſhould be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquiſh as good Ceremonies as theirs for theirs. Whereas therefore it is concluded out of theſe ſo weak Premiſſes, that the retaining of divers things in the Church of *England*, which other Reformed Churches have caſt out, muſt needs argue that we do not well, unleſs we can ſhew that they have done ill; what needed this wreſt to draw out from us an accuſation of foreign Churches? It is not proved as yet, that if they have done well, our duty is to follow them, and to forſake our own courſe, becauſe it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be as well for us every way, as theirs for them. And if the proofs alledged for confirmation hereof had been ſound, yet ſeeing they lead no further than only to ſhew, that where we can have no better Ceremonies, theirs muſt be taken; as they cannot with modeſty think themſelves to have found out abſolutely the beſt, which the wit of Men may deviſe; ſo liking their own ſomewhat better than other Mens, even becauſe they are their own, they muſt in equity allow us to be like unto them in this affection: Which if they do, they eaſe us of that uncourteous burden, whereby we are charged, either to condemn them, or elſe to follow them. They grant we need not follow them, if our own ways already be better. And if our own be but equal, the Law of Common Indulgence alloweth us to think them, at the leaſt, half a thought the better, becauſe they are our own; which we may very well do, and never draw any Indictment at all againſt theirs, but think commendably even of them alſo.

T C l 3. p. 183. Our Church ought either to ſhew that they have done evil, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conform herſelf in that which ſhe cannot deny to be well abrogated.

A Declaration of the proceedings of the Church of *England*, for eſtabliſhment of things as they are.

14. To leave Reformed Churches therefore, and their Actions, for him to judge of, in whoſe ſight they are, as they are; and our deſire is, that they may even in his ſight be found ſuch, as we ought to endeavour by all means, that our own may likewiſe be: Somewhat we are enforced to ſpeak by way of Simple Declaration, concerning the proceedings of the Church of *England* in theſe affairs, to the end, that Men whoſe minds are free from thoſe partial conſtructions, whereby the only name of Difference from ſome other Churches is thought cauſe ſufficient to condemn ours, may the better diſcern, whether that we have done be reaſonable, yea or no. The Church of *England* being to alter her received Laws, concerning ſuch Orders, Rites and Ceremonies, as had been in former times an hindrance unto Piety and Religious Service of God, was to enter into conſideration firſt, That the change of Laws, eſpecially concerning matter of Religion, muſt be warily proceeded in. Laws, as all other things human, are many times full of imperfection, and that which is ſuppoſed behoveful unto Men, proveth oftentimes moſt pernicious. The wiſdom which is learned by tract of time, findeth the Laws that have been in former ages eſtabliſhed, needful in latter to be abrogated. Beſides, that which ſometime is expedient, doth not always ſo continue; and the number of needleſs Laws unaboliſhed, doth weaken the force of them that are neceſſary. But true withal it is, that Alteration, though it be from worſe to better, hath in it inconveniences, and thoſe weighty; unleſs it be in ſuch Laws as have been made upon ſpecial occaſions, which occaſions ceaſing, Laws of that kind do abrogate themſelves. But when we abrogate a Law as being ill made, the whole cauſe for which it was made ſtill remaining; Do we not herein revoke our very own deed, and upbraid our ſelves with folly, yea, all that were makers of it with overſight and with error? Further, if it be a Law which the cuſtom and continual practice of many ages or years hath confirmed in the minds of Men, to alter it muſt needs be troubleſome and ſcandalous. It amazeth them, it cauſeth them to ſtand in doubt, whether any thing be in it-ſelf by nature either good or evil, and not all things rather ſuch as Men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold even thoſe things diſproved, diſannulled, rejected, which uſe had made in a manner natural. What have we to induce Men unto the willing obedience and obſervation of Laws, but the weight of ſo many Mens judgments, as have with deliberate advice aſſented thereunto; the weight of that long Experience, which the World hath had thereof with conſent and good liking? So that to change any ſuch Law, muſt needs with the common ſort impair and weaken the force of thoſe Grounds, whereby all Laws are made effectual. Notwithſtanding, we do not deny alteration of Laws to be ſometimes a thing neceſſary; as when they are unnatural, or impious, or otherwiſe hurtful unto the Publick Community of Men, and againſt that good for which Human Societies were inſtituted. When the Apoſtles of our Lord and Saviour were ordained to alter the Laws of Heatheniſh Religion received throughout the whole World; choſen, I grant, they were (*Paul* excepted, the reſt) ignorant, poor, ſimple, unſchooled altogether, and unlettered Men; howbeit, extraordinarily endued with ghoſtly Wiſdom from above, before ever they undertook this enterprize, yea, their authority confirmed by Miracle, to the end it might plainly appear that they were the Lord's Ambaſſadors, unto whoſe Soveraign power for all fleſh to ſtoop, for all the Kingdoms of the Earth to yield themſelves willingly conformable in whatſoever ſhould be required, it was their duty. In this caſe therefore, their oppoſitions in maintenance of publick Superſtition againſt Apoſtolick endeavours, as that they might not condemn the ways of their ancient Predeceſſors, that they muſt keep *Religiones Traditas*, the Rites which from age to age had deſcended, that the Ceremonies of Religion had been ever accounted by ſo much holier as elder; theſe and the like Allegations in this caſe were vain and frivolous. Not to ſtay longer therefore in ſpeech concerning this point, we will conclude, That as the change of ſuch Laws as have been ſpecified is neceſſary, ſo the evidence that they are ſuch muſt be great. If we have neither voice from Heaven, that ſo pronounceth of them; neither ſentence of Men grounded upon ſuch manifeſt and clear proof, that they in whoſe Hands it is to alter them, may likewiſe infallibly even in Heart and Conſcience judge them ſo; upon neceſſity to urge alteration, is to trouble and diſturb without neceſſity. As for Arbitrary Alterations, when Laws in themſelves not ſimply bad or unmeet are changed for better and more expedient; if the benefit

of that which is newly better deviſed be but ſmall, ſith the cuſtom of eaſineſs to alter and change is ſo evil, no doubt, but to bear a tolerable ſore is better than to venture on a dangerous remedy. Which being generally thought upon as a matter that touched nearly their whole enterprize, whereas change was notwithſtanding concluded neceſſary, in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receive by a number of things then in uſe, whereupon a great deal of that which had been was now to be taken away and removed out of the Church; yet ſith there are divers ways of abrogating things eſtabliſhed, they ſaw it beſt to cut off preſently ſuch things, as might in that ſort be extinguiſhed without danger, leaving the reſt to be aboliſhed by diſuſage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of Abrogation; ſo touching the ſtint or meaſure thereof, Rites and Ceremonies, and other external things of like Nature being hurtful unto the Church, either in reſpect of their quality, or in regard of their Number; in the former, there could be no doubt or difficulty, what ſhould be done, their deliberation in the latter was more hard. And therefore in as much as they did reſolve to remove only ſuch things of that kind as the Church might beſt ſpare, retaining the reſidue; their whole counſel is in this point utterly condemned, as having either proceeded from the blindneſs of thoſe times, or from negligence, or from deſire of honour and glory, or from an erroneous opinion, that ſuch things might be tolerated for a while; or if it did proceed (as they which would ſeem moſt favourable, are content to think it poſſible) from a purpoſe, *partly the eaſilier to draw Papiſts unto the Goſpel*, by keeping ſo many orders ſtill the ſame with theirs, *and partly to redeem peace thereby, the breach whereof they might fear would enſue upon more thorow alteration*; or howſoever it came to paſs, the thing they did is judged evil. But ſuch is the lot of all that deal in Publick Affairs, whether of Church or Common-wealth, that which Men liſt to ſurmiſe of their doings, be it good or ill, they muſt before-hand patiently arm their minds to endure. Wherefore to let go private ſurmiſes, whereby the thing in it-ſelf is not made, either better or worſe; if juſt and allowable Reaſons might lead them to do as they did, then are all theſe cenſures fruſtrate. Touching Ceremonies harmleſs therefore in themſelves, and hurtful only in reſpect of number: Was it amiſs to decree, That thoſe things which were leaſt needful, and newlieſt come, ſhould be the firſt that were taken away; as in the abrogating of a number of Saints days, and of other the like cuſtoms it appeareth they did, till afterwards the Form of Common-Prayer being perfected, Articles of ſound Religion and Diſcipline agreed upon, Catechiſms framed for the needful inſtruction of Youth, Churches purged of things that indeed were burthenſom to the People, or to the ſimple offenſive and ſcandalous, all was brought at the length unto that wherein now we ſtand? Or was it amiſs, that having this way eaſed the Church, as they thought, of ſuperfluity, they went not on till they had plucked up even thoſe things alſo, which had taken a great deal ſtronger and deeper root, thoſe things, which to abrogate without conſtraint of manifeſt harm thereby ariſing, had been to alter unneceſſarily (in their judgments) the ancient-received cuſtom of the whole Church, the univerſal practice of the People of God, and thoſe very decrees of our Fathers, which were not only ſet down by agreement of General Councils, but had accordingly been put in ure, and ſo continued in uſe till that very time preſent? True it is, that neither Councils nor Cuſtoms, be they never ſo ancient and ſo general, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtful to be retained. Where things have been inſtituted, which being convenient and good at the firſt do afterwards in proceſs of time wax otherwiſe; we make no doubt but they may be altered, yea, though Councils or Cuſtoms General have received them. And therefore it is but a needleſs kind of oppoſition which they make, who thus diſpute, *If in thoſe things which are not expreſſed in the Scripture, that is to be obſerved of the Church, which is the cuſtom of the People of God, and decree of our Fore-fathers; then how can theſe things at any time be varied*, which heretofore have been once ordained in ſuch ſort? Whereto we ſay, that things ſo ordained are to be kept, howbeit not neceſſarily any longer than till there grow ſome urgent cauſe to ordain the contrary. For there is not any poſitive Law of Men, whether it be general or particular, received by formal expreſs conſent, as in Councils, or by ſecret approbation, as in Cuſtoms it cometh to paſs; but the ſame may be taken away, if occaſion ſerve. Even as we all know that many things generally kept heretofore, are now in like ſort generally unkept and aboliſhed every where. Notwithſtanding, till ſuch things be aboliſhed, what exception can there be taken againſt the judgment of St. *Auguſtine*, who ſaith, *that of things harmleſs, whatſoever there is which the whole Church doth obſerve throughout the World, to argue for any Man's immunity from obſerving the ſame, it were a point of moſt inſolent madneſs*? And ſurely, odious it muſt needs have been for one Chriſtian Church, to aboliſh that which all had received and held for the ſpace of many ages, and that without any detriment unto Religion, ſo manifeſt and ſo great, as might in the Eyes of impartial Men appear ſufficient to clear them from all blame of Raſh and inconſiderate proceeding, if in fervor of zeal they had removed ſuch things. Whereas contrariwiſe ſo reaſonable Moderation herein uſed, hath freed us from being deſervedly ſubject unto that bitter kind of obloquy, whereby as the Church of *Rome* doth under the colour of love towards thoſe things which be harmleſs, maintain extreamly moſt hurtful corruptions; ſo we peradventure might be upbraided, that under colour of hatred towards thoſe things that are corrupt, we are on the other ſide as extream, even againſt moſt harmleſs Ordinances; and as they are obſtinate to retain that, which no Man of any conſcience is able well to defend; ſo we might be reckoned fierce and violent, to tear away that which if our own Mouths did condemn, our Conſciences would ſtorm and repine thereat. The *Romans* having baniſhed *Tarquinius* the Proud, and taken a ſolemn Oath that they never would permit any Man more to reign, could not herewith content themſelves, or think that Tyranny was throughly extinguiſhed, till they had driven one of their Conſuls to depart the City, againſt whom they found not in the world what to object, ſaving only that his name was *Tarquine*, and that the Common-wealth could not ſeem to have recovered perfect freedom, as long as

T C l. 2. p. 29. It may well be their purpoſe was by that temper of Popiſh Ceremonies with the Goſpel, partly the eaſilier to draw the Papiſts to the Goſpel, *&c.* partly to redeem Peace thereby.]

T. C. l. 3. p. 30.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 118.

T.C. *l.* 1 *p.* 131. For indeed it were more ſafe for us to conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the *Turks* which are far off, than to the Papiſts which are ſo near.

a Man of ſo dangerous a name was left remaining. For the Church of *England* to have done the like, in caſting out Papal Tyranny and Superſtition; to have ſhewed greater willingneſs of accepting the very Ceremonies of the *Turk*, Chriſt's profeſſed enemy, than of the moſt indifferent things which the Church of *Rome* approveth: To have left not ſo much as the Names which the Church of *Rome* doth give unto things innocent: To have rejected whatſoever that Church doth make account of, be it never ſo harmleſs in it-ſelf, and of never ſo ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, than only that it hath been the hap thereof, to be uſed by the Church of *Rome*, and not to be commanded in the Word of God. This kind of proceeding might haply have pleaſed ſome few Men, who having begun ſuch a courſe themſelves, muſt needs be glad to ſee their example followed by us. But the Almighty which giveth wiſdom, and inſpireth with right underſtanding whomſoever it pleaſeth him, he foreſeeing that which Man's wit had never been able to reach unto; namely, what Tragedies the attempt of ſo extream alteration would raiſe in ſome Parts of the Chriſtian World, did for the endleſs good of his Church (as we cannot chuſe but Interpret it) uſe the Bridle of his Provident reſtraining hand, to ſtay thoſe eager affections in ſome, and to ſettle their reſolution upon a courſe more calm and moderate; leſt as in other moſt ample and heretofore moſt flouriſhing Dominions it hath ſince faln out, ſo likewiſe, if in ours it had come to paſs, that the adverſe part being enraged, and betaking it-ſelf to ſuch practices, as Men are commonly wont to embrace, when they behold things brought to deſperate extremities, and no hope left to ſee any other end, than only the utter oppreſſion and clean extinguiſhment of one ſide: By this mean Chriſtendom flaming in all parts of greateſt importance at once, they all had wanted that comfort of mutual relief, whereby they are now for the time ſuſtained (and not the leaſt by this our Church, which they ſo much impeach) till mutual Combuſtions, Blood-ſheds and Waſtes (becauſe no other inducements will ſerve) may enforce them through very faintneſs, after the experience of ſo endleſs miſeries, to enter on all ſides at the length into ſome ſuch conſultation, as may tend to the beſt re-eſtabliſhment of the whole Church of Jeſus Chriſt. To the ſingular good whereof it cannot but ſerve as a profitable direction, to teach Men what is moſt likely to prove available, when they ſhall quietly conſider the tryal that hath been thus long had of both kinds of Reformation; as well this moderate kind which the Church of *England* hath taken, as that other more extream and rigorous, which certain Churches elſewhere have better liked. In the mean while it may be, that ſuſpence of judgment and exerciſe of Charity were ſafer and ſeemlier for Chriſtian Men, than the hot purſuit of theſe Controverſies, wherein they that are more fervent to diſpute, be not always the moſt able to determine. But who are on his ſide, and who againſt him, our Lord in his good time ſhall reveal. And ſith thus far we have proceeded in opening the things that have been done, let not the principal doers themſelves be forgotten. When the ruins of the Houſe of God (that Houſe which conſiſting of Religious Souls, is moſt immediately the precious Temple of the Holy Ghoſt) were become not in his ſight alone, but in the eyes of the whole World ſo exceeding great, that very Superſtition began to feel it-ſelf too far grown; the firſt that with us made way to repair the decays thereof, by beheading Superſtition, was King *Henry* the Eighth; the Son and Succeſſor of which famous King, as we know, was *Edward* the Saint: In whom (for ſo by the event we may gather) it pleaſed God Righteous and Juſt to let *England* ſee, what a bleſſing ſin and iniquity would not ſuffer it to enjoy. Howbeit, that which the Wiſe Man hath ſaid concerning *Enoch* (whoſe days were, though many in reſpect of ours, yet ſcarce as three to nine in compariſon of theirs with whom he lived) the ſame to that admirable child moſt worthily may be applied, *Though he departed this World ſoon, yet fulfilled he much time.* But what enſued? That work, which the one in ſuch ſort had begun, and the other ſo far proceeded in, was in ſhort ſpace ſo overthrown, as if almoſt it had never been: Till ſuch time as that God, whoſe property is to ſhew his mercies then greateſt when they are neareſt to be utterly deſpaired of, cauſed in the depth of diſcomfort and darkneſs a moſt glorious Star to ariſe, and on her head ſetled the Crown, whom himſelf had kept as a Lamb from the ſlaughter of thoſe bloody times, that the experience of his goodneſs in her own deliverance, might cauſe her merciful diſpoſition to take ſo much the more delight in ſaving others, whom the like neceſſity ſhould preſs. What in this behalf hath been done towards Nations abroad, the parts of Chriſtendom moſt afflicted can beſt teſtifie. That which eſpecially concerneth our ſelves in the preſent matter we treat of, is, the ſtate of Reformed Religion, a thing at her coming to the Crown even raiſed as it were by miracle from the dead; a thing which we ſo little hoped to ſee, that even they which beheld it done, ſcarcely believed their own ſenſes at the firſt beholding. Yet being then brought to paſs, thus many years it hath continued ſtanding by no other worldly mean, but that one only hand which erected it, that hand, which as no kind of imminent danger could cauſe at the firſt to with-hold it-ſelf, ſo neither have the practices ſo many, ſo bloody, following ſince, been ever able to make weary. Nor can we ſay in this caſe ſo juſtly, that *Aaron* and *Hur*, the Eccleſiaſtical and Civil States, have ſuſtained the Hand which did lift it-ſelf to Heaven for them; as that Heaven it-ſelf hath by this Hand ſuſtained them, no aid or help having thereunto been miniſtred for performance of the Work of Reformation, other than ſuch kind of help or aid, as the Angel in the Prophet *Zachariah* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *Neither by an army, nor ſtrength, but by my Spirit, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* Which Grace and Favour of Divine Aſſiſtance, having not in one thing or two ſhewed it-ſelf, nor for ſome few days or years appeared, but in ſuch ſort ſo long continued, our manifold ſins and tranſgreſſions ſtriving to the contrary; What can we leſs thereupon conclude, than that God would at leaſtwiſe by tract of time teach the World, that the thing which he bleſſeth, defendeth, keepeth ſo ſtrangely, cannot chuſe but be of him? Wherefore, if any refuſe to believe us diſputing for the Verity of Religion eſtabliſhed, let them believe God himſelf thus miraculouſly working for it; and wiſh life, even for ever and ever, unto that Glorious and ſacred Inſtrument whereby he worketh.

OF THE LAWS OF Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

BOOK V.

Concerning their Fourth Aſſertion, That touching ſeveral Publick Duties of Chriſtian Religion, there is amongſt us much Superſtition retained in them; and concerning Perſons, which for performance of thoſe Duties are endued with the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Order, our Laws and Proceedings according thereunto, are many ways herein alſo corrupted.

The Matter contained in this Fifth Book.

1. *True Religion is the Root of all true Virtues, and the ſtay of all Well-ordered Common-wealths.*
2. *The moſt extream oppoſite to true Religion, is affected Atheiſm.*
3. *Of Superſtition, and the Root thereof, either miſguided zeal, or Ignorant fear of Divine Glory.*
4. *Of the Redreſs of Superſtition in God's Church, and concerning the Queſtion of this Book.*
5. *Four General Propoſitions demanding that which may reaſonably be granted, concerning Matters of outward Form in the Exerciſe of true Religion. And fifthly, Of a Rule not ſafe nor reaſonable in theſe Caſes.*
6. *The firſt Propoſition touching Judgments, what things are convenient in the outward publick ordering of Church Affairs.*
7. *The ſecond Propoſition.*
8. *The third Propoſition.*
9. *The fourth Propoſition.*
10. *The Rule of Mens private Spirits, not ſafe in theſe Caſes to be followed.*
11. *Places for the Publick Service of God.*
12. *The Solemnity of Erecting Churches, condemned; the Hallowing and Dedicating of them, ſcorned by the Adverſary.*
13. *Of the Names, whereby we diſtinguiſh our Churches.*
14. *Of the Faſhion of our Churches.*
15. *The Sumptuouſneſs of Churches.*
16. *What Holineſs and Virtue we aſcribe to the Church, more than other places.*
17. *Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.*
18. *Of Publick Teaching or Preaching, and the firſt kind thereof, Catechizing.*
19. *Of Preaching, by reading publickly the Books of holy Scripture, and concerning ſuppoſed Untruths in thoſe Tranſlations of Scripture, which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choice which we make in reading.*
20. *Of Preaching by the Publick Reading of other profitable Inſtructions; and concerning Books Apocryphal.*
21. *Of Preaching by Sermons, and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of Teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſaving knowledge of God's Truth.*
22. *What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to Reading alſo.*
23. *Of Prayer.*
24. *Of Publick Prayer.*
25. *Of the Form of Common Prayer.*
26. *Of them which like not to have any Set Form of Common Prayer,*
27. *Of them, who allowing a Set Form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.*

28. *The Form of our Liturgy too near the Papiſts, too far different from that of other Reformed Churches, as they pretend.*
29. *Attire belonging to the Service of God.*
30. *Of geſture in Praying, and of different places choſen to that purpoſe.*
31. *Eaſineſs of Praying after our Form.*
32. *The length of our Service.*
33. *Inſtead of ſuch Prayers as the Primitive Churches have uſed, and thoſe that be Reformed now uſe; we have (they ſay) divers ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, rather Wiſhes than Prayers.*
34. *Leſſons intermingled with our Prayers.*
35. *The number of our Prayers for Earthly Things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lord's Prayer.*
36. *The Peoples ſaying after the Miniſter.*
37. *Our manner of Reading the Pſalms, otherwiſe than the reſt of the Scripture.*
38. *Of Muſick with Pſalms.*
39. *Of Singing or Saying Pſalms, and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the People and the Miniſter anſwer one another by courſe.*
40. *Of* Magnificat, Benedictus *and* Nunc Dimittis.
41. *Of the Litany.*
42. *Of* Athanaſius's Creed, *and* Gloria Patri.
43. *Our want of particular Thankſgiving.*
44. *In ſome things the Matter of our Prayer, as they affirm, is unſound.*
45. *When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſs of Death, thou didſt open the Kingdom of Heaven unto all Believers.*
46. *Touching Prayer for deliverance from Sudden Death.*
47. *Prayer for thoſe things which we for our unworthineſs, dare not ask; God, for the worthineſs of his Son, would vouchſafe to grant.*
48. *Prayer to be evermore delivered from all Adverſity.*
49. *Prayer that all Men may find Mercy, and of the Will of God, that all Men might be ſaved.*
50. *Of the Name, the Author, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, That God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt.*
51. *That God is in Chriſt by the Perſonal Incarnation of the Son, who is very God.*
52. *The Miſinterpretations which Hereſie hath made of the manner, how God and Man are united in one Chriſt.*
53. *That by the union of the one with the other Nature in Chriſt, there groweth neither gain nor loſs of Eſſential Properties to either.*
54. *What Chriſt hath obtained according to the Fleſh, by the union of his Fleſh with Deity.*
55. *Of the Perſonal preſence of Chriſt every where, and in what ſenſe it may be granted, he is every where preſent according to the Fleſh.*
56. *The union or mutual Participation, which is between Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt, in this preſent World.*
57. *The neceſſity of Sacraments unto the Participation of Chriſt.*
58. *The Subſtance of Baptiſm, the Rites or Solemnities thereunto belonging; and that the Subſtanee thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſm may give place to neceſſity.*
59. *The Ground in Scripture, whereupon a neceſſity of outward Baptiſm hath been built.*
60. *What kind of neceſſity in outward Baptiſm hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Chriſt; and what the true neceſſity thereof indeed is.*
61. *What things in Baptiſm have been diſpenſed with by the Fathers, reſpecting neceſſity.*
62. *Whether Baptiſm by Women, be true Baptiſm, good, and effectual to them that receive it.*
63. *Of Interrogatories in Baptiſm, touching Faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian Life.*
64. *Interrogatories propoſed unto Infants in Baptiſm, and anſwered, as in their names, by God-fathers.*
65. *Of the Croſs in Baptiſm.*
66. *Of Confirmation after Baptiſm.*
67. *Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.*
68. *Of faults noted in the Form of Adminiſtring that holy Sacrament.*
69. *Of Feſtival days, and the natural cauſes of their convenient Inſtitution.*
70. *The manner of celebrating Feſtival days.*
71. *Exceptions againſt our keeping of other Feſtival days, beſides the Sabbath.*
72. *Of Days appointed, as well for ordinary as for extraordinary Faſts in the Church of God.*
73. *The Celebration of Matrimony.*
74. *The Churching of Women.*
75. *The Rites of Burial.*
76. *Of the Nature of that Miniſtry, which ſerveth for performance of Divine Duties in the Church of God, and how happineſs, not eternal only, but alſo Temporal, doth depend upon it.*
77. *Of Power given unto Men, to execute that heavenly Office, of the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt in Ordination; and whether conveniently the Power of Order may be ſought or ſued for.*
78. *Of Degrees, whereby the Power of Order is diſtinguiſhed, and concerning the Attire of Miniſters.*
79. *Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for Perpetuity of Religion; which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certain and ſufficient Maintenance, muſt needs by Alienation of Church-Livings be made fruſtrate.*
80. *Of Ordination lawful without Title, and without any Popular Election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due Information what their quality is that enter into holy Orders.*
81. *Of the Learning that ſhould be in Miniſters, their Reſidence, and the number of their Livings.*

FEW there are of ſo weak capacity, but publick Evils they eaſily eſpy; fewer ſo patient, as not to complain, when the grievous inconveniences thereof work ſenſible ſmart. Howbeit to ſee, wherein the harm which they feel conſiſteth, the Seeds from which it ſprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the Study whereof is ſo full of toyl, and the practice ſo beſet with difficulties; that wary and reſpective Men had rather ſeek quietly their own, and wiſh that the World may go well, ſo it be not long of them, than with pain and hazard, make themſelves Adviſers for the common good. We which thought it at the very firſt a ſign of cold Affection towards the Church of God, to prefer private Eaſe before the Labour of appeaſing publick Diſturbance, muſt now of neceſſity refer Events to the gracious Providence of Almighty God, and in diſcharge of our Duty towards him, proceed with the plain and unpartial defence of a Common Cauſe. Wherein our endeavour is not ſo much to overthrow them with whom we contend, as to yield them juſt and reaſonable Cauſes of thoſe things, which for want of due conſideration heretofore, they miſconceived, accuſing Laws for Mens over-ſights, imputing evils grown thro' perſonal defects, unto that which is not evil, framing unto ſome Sores unwholſome Plaiſters, and applying otherſome where no Sore is. To make therefore our beginning that, which to both parts is moſt acceptable, *We agree*, That pure and unſtained Religion ought to be the higheſt of all Cares appertaining to publick Regiment; as well in regard of that (*a*) aid and protection, which they, who faithfully ſerve God, confeſs they receive at his merciful hands; as alſo for the force which Religion hath to qualify all ſorts of Men, and to make them in publick Affairs the more ſerviceable: Governors, the apter to rule with Conſcience; Inferiors, for Conſcience ſake, the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of ſound conſequence, that all Duties are by ſo much the better performed, by how much the Men are more Religious, from whoſe Abilities the ſame proceed. For if (*b*) the courſe of Politick Affairs, cannot in any good ſort go forward without fit Inſtruments, and that which fitteth them, be their Virtues: Let Polity acknowledge it ſelf indebted to Religion, Godlineſs being the (*c*) chiefeſt top and well-ſpring of all true Virtues, even as God is of all good things. So natural is the Union of Religion with Juſtice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how ſhould they be unfeignedly juſt, whom Religion doth not cauſe to be ſuch; or they Religious, which are not found ſuch by the proof of their juſt Actions? If they, which employ their Labour and Travel about the publick Adminiſtration of Juſtice, follow it only as a Trade, with unquenchable and unconſcionable thirſt of Gain, being not in Heart perſwaded that (*d*) Juſtice is God's own Work, and themſelves his Agents in this buſineſs; the Sentence of Right, God's own Verdict, and themſelves his Prieſts to deliver it; Formalities of Juſtice do but ſerve to ſmother right, and that which was neceſſarily ordained for the common good, is through ſhameful abuſe made the cauſe of common miſery. The ſame Piety, which maketh them that are in Authority, deſirous to pleaſe and reſemble God by Juſtice, inflameth every way, Men of Action, with Zeal to do good (as far as their place will permit) unto all. For that they know, is moſt Noble and Divine. Whereby, if no natural nor caſual inability croſs their deſires, they always delighting to inure themſelves with Actions moſt beneficial to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience, the more wiſdom; becauſe Conſcience, and the fear of ſwerving from that which is right, maketh them diligent obſervers of Circumſtances, the looſe regard whereof is the Nurſe of Vulgar Folly, no leſs than *Solomon*'s attention thereunto, was of natural furtherances, the moſt effectual to make him eminent above others. For he gave good heed, and pierced every thing to the very ground, and by that means became the Author of many Parables. Concerning Fortitude, ſith Evils great and unexpected (the true touchſtone of conſtant minds) do cauſe oftentimes even them to think upon Divine Power with fearfulleſt ſuſpicions, which have been otherwiſe the moſt ſecure deſpiſers thereof; how ſhould we look for any conſtant reſolution of mind, in ſuch caſes, ſaving only where unfeigned affection to God-ward, hath bred the moſt aſſured confidence to be aſſiſted by his hand? For proof whereof, let but the Acts of the ancient *Jews* be indifferently weighed, from whoſe magnanimity, in cauſes of moſt extreme hazard, thoſe ſtrange and unwonted reſolutions have grown; which for all circumſtances, no People under the Roof of Heaven did ever hitherto match. And that which did always animate them, was their meer Religion. Without which, if ſo be it were poſſible, that all other Ornaments of Mind might be had in their full perfection, nevertheleſs, the mind that ſhould poſſeſs them, divorced from Piety, could be but a ſpectacle of commiſeration; even as that Body is, which adorned with ſundry other admirable Beauties, wanteth Eye-ſight, the chiefeſt Grace that Nature hath in that kind to beſtow. They which commend ſo much the felicity of that innocent World, wherein it is ſaid, that Men of their own accord did embrace fidelity and honeſty, not for fear of the Magiſtrate, or becauſe revenge was before their Eyes, if at any time they ſhould do otherwiſe, but that which held the People in awe was the ſhame of ill-doing, the love of equity, and right it ſelf, a bar againſt all Oppreſſions, which greatneſs of Power cauſeth: They which deſcribe unto us any ſuch eſtate of happineſs amongſt Men, though they ſpeak not

of

True Religion is the Root of all true Virtues, and the ſtay of all well-ordered Commonwealths.

(*a*) Pſal. 144. 2. C. Th. lib. 15. tit. 2. *Gaudere & gloriari ex fide ſemper volumus, ſcientes magis religionibus quam officiis & labore corporis, vel ſudore noſtram rempublicam contineri.*

(*b*) Ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατὸν πρᾶξαι ἄνευ τοῦ ποιόν τινα εἶναι, λέγω δὲ οἷον σπουδαῖον. Τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐστι τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. *Ariſt. Magn. Moral. lib.* 1. *cap.* 1.

(c) Ἀρχὴ δ' ἀρίστη πάντων τῶν ὄντων Θεός, ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσέβεια. *Philo de Dec. Præcept.*

(*d*) 2 Chro. 19. 6.

Ἀγαπητὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑνὶ μόνῳ, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θειότερον ἔθνει καὶ πόλεσιν. *Ariſt. Ethic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 2.

Eccleſ. 12. 10.

Wiſd. 17. 13.

of Religion, do notwithſtanding declare that which is in truth her only working. For if Religion did poſſeſs ſincerely and ſufficiently the hearts of all Men, there would need no other reſtraint from evil. This doth not only give life and perfection to all endeavours, wherewith it concurreth; but what event ſoever enſues, it breedeth, if not joy and gladneſs always, yet always patience, ſatisfaction, and reaſonable contentment of mind. Whereupon it hath been ſet down as an Axiom of good Experience, that all things religiouſly taken in hand, are proſperouſly ended; becauſe, whether Men in the end have that which Religion did allow them to deſire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to ſuffer, they are in neither event unfortunate. But leſt any Man ſhould here conceive, that it greatly ſkilleth not of what ſort our Religion be, in as much as Heathens, Turks, and Infidels, impute to Religion a great part of the ſame effects, which our ſelves aſcribe hereunto, they having ours in the ſame deteſtation that we theirs: It ſhall be requiſite to obſerve well, how far forth there may be agreement in the effects of different Religions. Firſt, by the bitter ſtrife which riſeth oftentimes from ſmall differences in this behalf, and is by ſo much always greater, as the matter is of more importance; we ſee a general agreement in the ſecret opinion of Men, that every Man ought to embrace the Religion which is true; and to ſhun, as hurtful, whatſoever diſſenteth from it, but that moſt, which doth fartheſt diſſent. The generality of which perſwaſion argueth, That God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a ſpur to our induſtry, in ſearching and maintaining that Religion, from which as to ſwerve in the leaſt points, is error; ſo the capital Enemies thereof, God hateth as his deadly Foes, Aliens, and without Repentance, children of endleſs Perdition. Such therefore, touching Man's immortal State after this Life, are not likely to reap benefit by their Religion, but to look for the clean contrary, in regard of ſo important contrariety between it and the true Religion. Nevertheleſs, in as much as the errors of the moſt ſeduced this way have been mixed with ſome truths, we are not to marvel, that although the one did turn to their endleſs woe and confuſion, yet the other had many notable effects, as touching the Affairs of this preſent Life. There were in theſe Quarters of the World, Sixteen hundred years ago, certain ſpeculative Men, whoſe Authority diſpoſed the whole Religion of thoſe Times. By their means it became a received opinion, that the Souls of Men departing this Life, do flit out of one Body into ſome other. Which opinion, though falſe, yet entwined with a true, that the Souls of Men do never periſh, abated the fear of death in them which were ſo reſolved, and gave them Courage unto all Adventures. The *Romans* had a vain Superſtitious Cuſtom, in moſt of their Enterpriſes, to conjecture before hand of the Event, by certain tokens which they noted in Birds, or in the Intrails of Beaſts, or by other the like frivolous Divinations. From whence notwithſtanding as oft as they could receive any ſign, which they took to be favourable, it gave them ſuch hope, as if their Gods had made them more than half a promiſe of proſperous Succeſs. Which many times was the greateſt cauſe that they did prevail, eſpecially being Men of their own Natural Inclination, hopeful and ſtrongly conceited, whatſoever they took in hand. But could their fond Superſtition have furthered ſo great attempts, without the mixture of a true perſwaſion, concerning the unreſiſtable force of Divine Power? Upon the wilful violation of Oaths, execrable Blaſphemies, and like contempts, offered by Deriders of Religion, even unto falſe Gods, fearful tokens of Divine Revenge have been known to follow. Which occurrents the devouter ſort did take for manifeſt Arguments, that the Gods whom they worſhipped, were of Power to reward ſuch as ſought unto them, and would plague thoſe that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the *Wiſe Man* rightly noteth concerning ſuch) it was not the power of them by whom they ſware, but the vengeance of them that ſinned, which puniſhed the offences of the ungodly. It was their hurt untruly to attribute ſo great power unto falſe Gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to Perjury Vengeance is due, was not without good effect, as touching the courſe of their Lives, who feared the wilful violation of Oaths in that reſpect. And whereas we read ſo many of them ſo much commended, ſome for their mild and merciful diſpoſition, ſome for their virtuous ſeverity, ſome for integrity of Life, all theſe were the fruits of true and infallible Principles delivered unto us in the Word of God, as the Axioms of our Religion, which being imprinted by the God of Nature in their Hearts alſo, and taking better Root in ſome than in moſt others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidſt the heaps of manifold repugnant Errors, which Errors of corrupt Religion, had alſo their ſuitable effects in the Lives of the ſelf-ſame Parties. Without all Controverſy, the purer and perfecter our Religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them, who ſteadfaſtly and ſincerely embrace it, in others not. They that love the Religion which they profeſs, may have failed in choice, but yet they are ſure to reap what benefit the ſame is able to afford; whereas the beſt and ſoundeſt profeſſed by them that bear it not the like affection, yieldeth them, retaining it in that ſort, no benefit. *David* was a Man after God's own Heart, ſo termed, becauſe his affection was hearty towards God. Beholding the like diſpoſition in them which lived under him, it was his Prayer to Almighty God, *O keep this for ever in the purpoſe, and thoughts of the heart of this people.* But when, after that *David* had ended his days in peace, they who ſucceeded him in place, for the moſt part followed him not in quality, when their Kings (ſome few excepted) to better their worldly eſtate (as they thought) left their own, and their Peoples Ghoſtly Condition uncared for, by woful Experience they both did learn, That

Pſal. 1. 3.

Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν ϗ ἔμφρονα πάσας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας ἐνσχημόνως φέρειν, ϗ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιϛα πράττειν. *Ariſt. Ethic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10.

Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. lib. 6.

Wiſd. 14. 13.

1 Chro. 29. 17

to forſake the true God of Heaven, is to fall into all ſuch evils upon the face of the Earth, as Men either deſtitute of Grace Divine, may commit, or unprotected from above, endure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appear, that the ſafety of all Eſtates dependeth upon Religion; that Religion unfeignedly loved, perfecteth Mens Abilities unto all kinds of virtuous Services in the Common-wealth; that Men deſire in general is to hold no Religion, but the true; and that whatſoever good effects do grow out of their Religion, who embrace inſtead of the true, a falſe, the Roots thereof are certain ſparks of the Light of Truth, intermingled with the darkneſs of Error; becauſe no Religion can wholly and only conſiſt of untruths, we have Reaſon to think, That all true Virtues are to honour true Religion as their Parent, and all well ordered Common-weals to love her as their chiefeſt ſtay.

2. They of whom God is altogether unapprehended, are but few in number, and for groſsneſs of wit ſuch, that they hardly and ſcarcely ſeem to hold the place of Human Being. Theſe we ſhould judge to be of all others moſt miſerable, but that a wretcheder ſort there are, on whom whereas nature hath beſtowed riper capacity, their evil diſpoſition ſeriouſly goeth about therewith to apprehend God, as being not God. Whereby it cometh to paſs, that of theſe two ſorts of Men, both godleſs; the one having utterly no knowledge of God, the other ſtudy how to perſwade themſelves that there is no ſuch thing to be known. The Fountain and Well-ſpring of which Impiety, is a reſolved purpoſe of mind, to reap in this World what ſenſual profit or pleaſure ſoever the World yieldeth, and not to be barred from any whatſoever means available thereunto. And that this is the very radical cauſe of their Atheiſm, no Man (I think) will doubt, which conſidereth what pains they take to deſtroy thoſe principal Spurs and Motives unto all Virtue, the Creation of the World, the Providence of God, the Reſurrection of the Dead, the Joys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the endleſs pains of the wicked, yea, above all things, the Authority of the Scripture, becauſe on theſe Points it evermore beateth, and the Souls immortality, which granted, draweth eaſily after it the reſt, as a voluntary train. Is it not wonderful, that baſe deſires ſhould ſo extinguiſh in Men the ſenſe of their own excellency, as to make them willing that their Souls ſhould be like to the Souls of Beaſts, mortal and corruptible with their Bodies; till ſome admirable or unuſual accident happen (as it hath in ſome) to work the beginning of a better alteration in their minds; diſputation about the knowledge of God with ſuch kind of Perſons commonly prevaileth little. For how ſhould the brightneſs of Wiſdom ſhine, where the windows of the Soul are of very ſet purpoſe cloſed? True Religion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof galleth and troubleth their minds. Being therefore loth, that enquiry into ſuch Matters ſhould breed a perſwaſion in the end contrary unto that they embrace, it is their endeavour to baniſh, as much as in them lyeth, quite and clean from their cogitation, whatſoever may ſound that way. But it cometh many times to paſs (which is their torment) that the thing they ſhun doth follow them; truth, as it were, even obtruding it ſelf into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be ſo ignorant as they would be. Whereupon, inaſmuch as the nature of Man is unwilling to continue doing that wherein it ſhall always condemn it ſelf, they continuing ſtill obſtinate, to follow the courſe which they have begun, are driven to deviſe all the ſhifts that wit can invent for the ſmothering of this light, all that may but with any the leaſt ſhew of poſſibility ſtay their minds from thinking that true, which they heartily wiſh were falſe, but cannot think it ſo, without ſome ſcruple and fear of the contrary. Now becauſe that judicious learning, for which we commend moſt worthily the ancient Sages of the World, doth not in this caſe ſerve the turn, theſe Trencher-mates (for ſuch the moſt of them be) frame to themſelves a way more pleaſant, a new method they have of turning things that are ſerious into mockery, an Art of Contradiction by way of ſcorn, a learning wherewith we were long ſithence forewarned, that the miſerable times whereinto we are fallen ſhould abound. This they ſtudy, this they practice, this they grace with a wanton ſuperfluity of wit, too much inſulting over the patience of more virtuouſly diſpoſed minds. For towards theſe ſo forlorn Creatures we are (it muſt be confeſt) too patient. In zeal to the glory of God, *Babylon* hath exceeded *Sion*. We want that decree of *Nebuchodonoſor*, the fury of this wicked brood hath the reins too much at liberty, their tongues walk at large, the ſpit-venom of their poiſoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others, what their untamed luſt ſuggeſteth the ſame their licentious mouths do every where ſet abroach. With our contentions their irreligious humour alſo is much ſtrengthned. Nothing pleaſeth them better, than theſe manifold oppoſitions about the Matter of Religion, as well for that they have thereby the more opportunity to learn on one ſide how another may be oppugned, and ſo to weaken the credit of all unto themſelves; as alſo becauſe by this hot purſuit of lower Controverſies amongſt Men profeſſing Religion, and agreeing in the principal foundations thereof, they conceive hope that about the higher principles themſelves time will cauſe altercation to grow. For which purpoſe, when they ſee occaſion, they ſtick not ſometime in other Mens Perſons, yea, ſometime without any vizard at all, directly to try, what the moſt Religious are able to ſay in defence of the higheſt points, whereupon all Religion dependeth. Now for the moſt part it ſo falleth out, touching things which generally are received, that although in themſelves they be moſt certain; yet becauſe Men preſume them granted of all, we are hardlieſt able to bring ſuch proof of their certainty as may ſatisfy gainſayers, when ſuddenly, and beſides expectation they require the ſame at our hands, Which impreparation and unreadineſs when they find in us, they turn it to the ſoothing up

The moſt extream oppoſite to true Religion, is affected Atheiſm.

Wiſd. 2. 21. Such things they imagine, and go aſtray, becauſe their own wickedneſs hath blinded them. Ἐςὶ γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἀρχῆς. *Ariſt. Eth. lib. 6. cap. 5.*

Suſan. verſ. 9. They turned away their mind, and caſt down their eyes, that they might not ſee Heaven, nor remember juſt judgments.

Hæc eſt ſumma delicti, nolle agnoſcere quem ignorare non poſſis. Cypr. de Idol. Vanit.

2 Per. 3. 3.
Jude verſ. 18.

Dan. 3. 29.

of themſelves in that curſed fanſy, whereby they would fain believe that the hearty devotion of ſuch as indeed fear God, is nothing elſe but a kind of harmleſs error, bred and confirmed in them by the ſlights of wiſer Men. For a politick uſe of Religion they ſee there is, and by it they would alſo gather that Religion it ſelf is a meer politick device, forged purpoſely to ſerve for that uſe. Men fearing God, are thereby a great deal more effectually, than by Poſitive Laws, reſtrained from doing evil; in as much as thoſe Laws have no farther Power than over our outward Actions only, whereas unto Mens inward cogitations, unto the privy Intents and Motions of their Hearts, Religion ſerveth for a bridle. What more ſavage, wild and cruel than Man, if he ſee himſelf able either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to over-bear the Laws whereunto he ſhould be ſubject? Wherefore in ſo great boldneſs to offend, it behoveth that the World ſhould be held in awe, not by a vain ſurmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of ſomewhat, which no Man may think himſelf able to withſtand. This is the politick uſe of Religion. In which reſpect, there are of theſe wiſe Malignants, ſome who have vouchſafed it their marvellous favourable countenance and ſpeech, very gravely affirming, That Religion honoured, addeth greatneſs: and contemned, bringeth ruin unto Commonweals: That Princes and States which will continue, are above all things to uphold the reverend regard of Religion, and to provide for the ſame, by all means, in the making of their Laws. But when they ſhould define what means are beſt for that purpoſe, behold, they extol the wiſdom of Paganiſm, they give it out as a myſtical Precept of great importance, that Princes, and ſuch as are under them in moſt Authority or credit with the People, ſhould take all occaſions of rare events, and from what cauſe ſoever the ſame do proceed, yet wreſt them to the ſtrengthning of their Religion, and not make it nice for ſo good a purpoſe to uſe, if need be, plain forgeries. Thus while they ſtudy to bring to paſs, that Religion may ſeem but a Matter made, they loſe themſelves in the very maze of their own Diſcourſes, as if Reaſon did even purpoſely forſake them, who of purpoſe forſake God, the Author thereof: For ſurely, a ſtrange kind of madneſs it is, that thoſe Men, who tho' they be void of Piety, yet, becauſe they have wit, cannot chuſe but know, that treachery, guile, and deceit, are things which may for a while, but do not uſe long to go uneſpied, ſhould teach, that the greateſt honour to a State, is perpetuity; and grant, that Alterations in the Service of God, for that they impair the credit of Religion, are therefore perilous in Commonweals, which have no continuance longer than Religion hath all Reverence done unto it, and withal acknowledge (for ſo they do) that when people began to eſpie the falſhood of Oracles, whereupon all Gentiliſm was built, their hearts were utterly averted from it; and notwithſtanding Counſel Princes, in ſober earneſt, for the ſtrengthning of their States, to maintain Religion, and for the maintenance of Religion, not to make choice of that which is true, but to authoriſe that they make choice of, by thoſe falſe and fraudulent means, which in the end, muſt needs overthrow it. Such are the counſels of Men godleſs, when they would ſhew themſelves politick deviſers, able to create God in Man by art.

Vos ſcelera admiſſa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt; vos conſcios timetis, nos etiam conſcientiam ſolam, ſine qua eſſe non poſſumus. Minu. Fel. in Octav.

Summum præſidium regni eſt juſtitia ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos. Carda. de Sapien. lib. 3.

Of Superſtition, and the Root thereof, either miſguided Zeal, or ignorant Fear of Divine glory.

3. Wherefore to let go this execrable Crew, and to come to extremities on the contrary hand, two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they bear the greater or leſſer ſway in Man's Heart, frame accordingly to the ſtamp and character of his Religion, the one Zeal, the other Fear. Zeal, unleſs it be rightly guided, when it endeavoureth moſt buſily to pleaſe God, forceth upon him thoſe unſeaſonable Offices which pleaſe him not. For which cauſe, if they who this way ſwerve, be compared with ſuch ſincere, ſound and diſcreet, as *Abraham* was in Matter of Religion; the ſervice of the one, is like unto flattery; the other, like the faithful ſedulity of friendſhip. Zeal, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth it ſelf unto conflict with things, either in deed, or but imagined to be oppoſite unto Religion, uſeth the Razor many times with ſuch eagerneſs, that the very life of Religion it ſelf is thereby hazarded; through hatred of Tares, the Corn in the Field of God is plucked up. So that Zeal needeth both ways a ſober guide. Fear, on the other ſide, if it have not the light of true underſtanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewiſe Superſtition. It is therefore dangerous, that in things Divine, we ſhould work too much upon the ſpur, either of zeal or fear. Fear is a good Solicitor to Devotion. Howbeit, ſith fear in this kind doth grow from an apprehenſion of Deity endued with irreſiſtable Power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the unapteſt to admit any Conference with Reaſon; for which cauſe the Wiſe Man doth ſay of Fear, that it is a betrayer of the forces of Reaſonable Underſtanding; therefore, except Men know before-hand what manner of ſervice pleaſeth God, while they are fearful, they try all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who never think on God, but when they are in extremity of fear; and then becauſe, what to think, or what to do, they are uncertain, perplexity not ſuffering them to be idle, they think and do, as it were in a Phrenſie, they know not what. Superſtition neither knoweth the right kind, nor obſerveth the due meaſure of Actions belonging to the ſervice of God, but is always joyned with a wrong opinion touching things Divine. Superſtition is, when things are either abhorred or obſerved, with a zealous or fearful, but erroneous relation to God. By means whereof, the ſuperſtitious do ſometimes ſerve, though the true God, yet with needleſs offices, and defraud him of Duties neceſſary; ſometimes load others than him with ſuch honours as properly are his. The one, their overſight who miſs in the choice of that wherewith they are affected; the other, theirs who fail in the election of him towards whom they ſhew their devotion: This, the

2 Chron. 20. 7. *Abraham* thy friend.

Wiſd. 17. 11.

the crime of Idolatry; that, the fault of voluntary, either niceneſs or ſuperfluity in Religion. The Chriſtian World it ſelf being divided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the general view of both, that with Matter of Hereſy the Weſt hath been often and much troubled; but the Eaſt part never quiet, till the deluge of miſery, wherein now they are, overwhelmed them. The chiefeſt cauſe whereof doth ſeem to have lien in the reſtleſs wits of the *Grecians*, evermore proud of their own curious and ſubtile Inventions; which when at any time they had contrived; the great facility of their Language ſerved them readily to make all things fair and plauſible to Men's underſtanding. Thoſe grand Heretical Impieties therefore, which moſt highly and immediately touched God, and the glorious Trinity, were all in a manner the Monſters of the Eaſt. The Weſt bred fewer a great deal, and thoſe commonly of a lower nature, ſuch as more nearly and directly concerned rather Men than God, the *Latines* being always to capital Hereſies leſs inclined yet unto groſs Superſtition more. Superſtition, ſuch as that of the Phariſees was, by whom Divine things indeed were leſs, becauſe other things were more divinely eſteemed of, than Reaſon would; the Superſtition that riſeth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly diſcerned, mingling it ſelf with the Rites, even of very Divine Service, done to the only true God, muſt be conſidered of, as a creeping and incroaching evil; an evil, the firſt beginnings whereof are commonly harmleſs, ſo that it proveth only then to be an evil, when ſome farther accident doth grow unto it, or it ſelf come unto farther growth. For in the Church of God, ſometimes it cometh to paſs, as in over-battle grounds, the fertile diſpoſition whereof is good; yet becauſe it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankneſs, things leſs profitable; whereby, that which principally it ſhould yield, being either prevented in place, or defrauded of nouriſhment, faileth. This (if ſo large a diſcourſe were neceſſary) might be exemplified even by heaps of Rites and Cuſtoms now Superſtitious in the greateſt part of the Chriſtian World; which in their firſt original beginnings, when the ſtrength of virtuous, devout, or charitable affection bloomed them, no Man could juſtly have condemned as evil.

Mark. 7. 8.

Of the Redreſs of Superſtition in God's Church, and concerning the queſtion of this Book.

4. But howſoever Superſtition doth grow; that wherein unſounder times have done amiſs, the better Ages enſuing muſt rectify as they may. I now come therefore to thoſe Accuſations brought againſt us by Pretenders of Reformation; the firſt in the rank whereof is ſuch, That if ſo be the Church of *England* did at this day therewith as juſtly deſerve to be touched, as they in this cauſe have imagined it doth; rather would I exhort all ſorts to ſeek pardon, even with tears, at the hands of God, than meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end, that Men might think favourably of them. For as the caſe of this World, eſpecially now, doth ſtand, what other ſtay or ſuccour have we to lean unto, ſaving the teſtimony of our Conſcience, and the comfort we take in this, that we ſerve the living God (as near as our Wits can reach unto the knowledge thereof) even according to his own Will, and do therefore truſt, that his Mercy ſhall be our Safeguard againſt thoſe enraged Powers abroad, which principally in that reſpect are become our Enemies? But, ſith no Man can do ill with a good Conſcience, the conſolation which we herein ſeem to find, is but a meer deceitful pleaſing of our ſelves in Error, which at the length muſt needs turn to our greater grief, if that which we do to pleaſe God moſt, be for the manifold defects thereof offenſive unto him. For ſo it is judged, our Prayers, our Sacraments, our Faſts, our Times and Places of Publick Meeting together for the worſhip and ſervice of God; our Marriages, our Burials, our Functions, Elections and Ordinations Eccleſiaſtical, almoſt whatſoever we do in the exerciſe of our Religion according to Laws for that purpoſe eſtabliſhed, all things are ſome way or other thought faulty, all things ſtained with Superſtition. Now, although it may be the wiſer ſort of Men are not greatly moved hereat, conſidering how ſubject the very beſt things have been always unto cavil, when Wits poſſeſſed either with diſdain or diſlike thereof, have ſet them up as their mark to ſhoot at; ſafe notwithſtanding it were not, therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that eſpecially in regard of them, who deſiring to ſerve God as they ought, but being not ſo skilful as in every point to unwinde themſelves where the ſnares of gloſing ſpeech do lye to intangle them, are in mind not a little troubled, when they hear ſo bitter invectives againſt that which this Church hath taught them to reverence as holy, to approve as lawful, and to obſerve as behoveful, for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Duty. It ſeemeth therefore, at leaſt for their ſakes, very meet, that ſuch as blame us in this behalf, be directly anſwered, and they which follow us, informed plainly in the Reaſons of that we do. On both ſides, the end intended between us, is to have Laws and Ordinances, ſuch as may rightly ſerve to aboliſh Superſtition, and to eſtabliſh the ſervice of God with all things thereunto appertaining, in ſome perfect form. There is an inward Reaſonable, and there is a Solemn outward Serviceable Worſhip, belonging unto God. Of the former kind are all manner of virtuous Duties, that each Man in reaſon and conſcience to God-ward oweth. Solemn and Serviceable Worſhip we name for Diſtinction ſake, whatſoever belongeth to the Church or Publick Society of God by way of External Adoration. It is the later of theſe two, whereupon our preſent queſtion groweth. Again, this later being ordered, partly, as touching Principal Matters, by none but Precepts Divine only; partly, and as concerning things of inferior regard, by Ordinances as well Human as Divine, about the ſubſtance of Religion, wherein God's only Law muſt be kept, there is here no Controverſy: the Crime now intended againſt us, is,

Rom. 12. 1.
Luke 1. 23.

that our Laws have not ordered thoſe inferior things as behoveth, and that our Cuſtoms are either Superſtitious, or otherwiſe amiſs, whether we reſpect the exerciſe of Publick Duties in Religion, or the Functions of Perſons authoriſed thereunto.

Four general Propoſitions demanding that which may reaſonably be granted concerning matters of Outward form in the exerciſe of true Religion. And fifthly, of a Rule not ſafe nor reaſonable in theſe caſes.

5. It is with Teachers of Mathematical Sciences uſual, for us in this preſent queſtion neceſſary, to lay down firſt certain Reaſonable Demands, which in moſt Particulars following are to ſerve as Principles whereby to work, and therefore muſt be before-hand conſidered. The Men whom we labour to inform in the Truth, perceive that ſo to proceed is requiſite. For to this end they alſo propoſe, touching Cuſtoms and Rites indifferent, their general Axioms, ſome of them ſubject unto juſt Exceptions, and, as we think, more meet by them to be farther conſidered, than aſſented unto by us. As that, *In outward things belonging to the Service of God, Reformed Churches ought by all means to ſhun conformity with the Church of* Rome; that, *The firſt Reformed ſhould be a Pattern whereunto all that come after, ought to conform themſelves*; that, *Sound Religion may not uſe the things which being not commanded of God, have been either deviſed or abuſed unto Superſtition.* Theſe and the reſt of the ſame conſort we have in the Book going before examined. Other Canons they alledge, and Rules not unworthy of approbation; as, *That in all ſuch things the glory of God, and the Edification or ghoſtly good of his People muſt be ſought*; *that nothing ſhould be undecently or unorderly done.* But foraſmuch as all the Difficulty is, in diſcerning what things do glorifie God, and edifie his Church, what not; when we ſhould think them decent and fit, when otherwiſe; becauſe theſe Rules being too general, come not near enough unto the matter which we have in hand; and the former Principles being nearer the purpoſe, are too far from Truth; we muſt propoſe unto all men certain Petitions incident and very material in Cauſes of this nature, ſuch as no man of moderate Judgment hath cauſe to think unjuſt or unreaſonable.

The Firſt Propoſition, touching Judgment, what things are convenient in the outward publick ordering of Church Affairs.

6. The firſt thing therefore which is of force to cauſe Approbation with good conſcience towards ſuch Cuſtoms or Rites, as publickly are eſtabliſhed, is, when there ariſeth from the due conſideration of thoſe Cuſtoms and Rites in themſelves apparent reaſon, although not always to prove them better than any other that might poſſibly be deviſed, (for who did ever require this in Man's Ordinances?) yet competent to ſhew their conveniency and fitneſs, in regard of the uſe for which they ſhould ſerve. Now touching the nature of religious Services, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be moſt clear, that whereas the greatneſs and dignity of all manner of Actions is meaſured by the worthineſs of the Subject from which they proceed, and of the Object whereabout they are converſant, we muſt of neceſſity in both reſpects acknowledge, that this preſent World affordeth not any thing comparable unto the publick Duties of Religion. For if the beſt things have the perfecteſt and beſt operations, it will follow, that ſeeing Man is the worthieſt Creature upon earth; and every Society of Men more worthy than any Man; and of Societies that moſt excellent which we call the Church; there can be in this World no work performed equal to the exerciſe of true Religion, the proper operation of the Church of God. Again, foraſmuch as Religion worketh upon him, who in Majeſty and Power is infinite, as we ought we account not of it, unleſs we eſteem it even according to that very height of Excellency which our hearts conceive, when Divine ſublimity it ſelf is rightly conſidered. In the powers and faculties of our Souls God requireth the uttermoſt, which our unfeigned affection towards him is able to yield: So that if we affect him not far above and before all things, our Religion hath not that inward perfection which it ſhould have, neither do we indeed worſhip him as our God. That which inwardly each man ſhould be, the Church outwardly ought to teſtifie. And therefore the Duties of our Religion which are ſeen, muſt be ſuch as that affection which is unſeen ought to be. Signs muſt reſemble the Things they ſignifie. If Religion bear the greateſt ſway in our Hearts, our outward religious Duties muſt ſhew it as far as the Church hath outward Ability. Duties of Religion, performed by whole Societies of Men, ought to have in them, according to our power, a ſenſible Excellency, correſpondent to the Majeſty of Him whom we worſhip. Yea, then are the publick Duties of Religion beſt ordered, when the Militant Church doth reſemble by ſenſible means, as it may in ſuch caſes, that hidden Dignity and Glory wherewith the Church Triumphant in Heaven is beautified. Howbeit, even as the very heat of the Sun it ſelf, which is the life of the whole World, was to the people of God in the Deſert a grievous annoyance, for eaſe whereof his extraordinary Providence ordained a Cloudy Pillar to over-ſhadow them: So things of general uſe and benefit (for in this world, What is ſo perfect, that no Inconvenience doth ever follow it?) may by ſome accident be incommodious to a few. In which caſe, for ſuch private Evils, remedies there are of like condition, though publick Ordinances, wherein the Common good is reſpected, be not ſtirred. Let our firſt Demand be therefore, That in the external Form of Religion, ſuch things as are apparently, or can be ſufficiently proved effectual and generally fit to ſet forward Godlineſs, either as betokening the greatneſs of God, or as beſeeming the Dignity of Religion, or as concurring with Celeſtial Impreſſions in the minds of men, may be reverently thought of; ſome few, rare, caſual, and tolerable, or otherwiſe curable Inconveniences notwithſtanding.

John 4. 24. Wiſd. 6. 10. 1 Chron. 29. 17.

2 Chron. 2. 5.

Ἐκκλησία ἐστὶν ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. Germa. περὶ τῶν ἱερουργουμένων. *Delectatio Domini in Eccleſia eſt; Eccleſia vero eſt imago Cœleſtium.* Ambroſ. de interpel. Dav. *Facit in terris opera cœlorum*, Sidon, Apol. Epiſt. lib. 6.

The Second Propoſition.

7. Neither may we in this caſe lightly eſteem what hath been allowed as fit in the Judgment of Antiquity, and by the long continued practiſe of the whole Church; from

which unneceſſarily to ſwerve, Experience never as yet hath found it ſafe. For Wiſdoms ſake we reverence them no leſs that are young, or not much leſs, than if they were ſtricken in years. And therefore of ſuch it is rightly ſaid, That the ripeneſs of Underſtanding is *gray hair,* and their Virtues *old Age.* But becauſe Wiſdom and Youth are ſeldom joyned in one, and the ordinary courſe of the World is more according to *Job's* Obſervation, who giveth Men advice to ſeek Wiſdom *amongſt the Ancient, and in the length of Days* Underſtanding; therefore if the Compariſon do ſtand between Man and Man, which ſhall hearken unto other, ſith the Aged for the moſt part are beſt experienced, leaſt ſubject to raſh and unadviſed Paſſions; it hath been ever judged reaſonable, That their Sentence in matter of Counſel ſhould be better truſted, and more relyed upon than other Mens. The goodneſs of God having furniſhed Men with two chief Inſtruments, both neceſſary for this life, Hands to execute, and a Mind to deviſe great things; the one is not profitable longer than the vigour of Youth doth ſtrengthen it; nor the other greatly, till Age and Experience have brought it to Perfection. In whom therefore Time hath not perfected Knowledge, ſuch muſt be contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this Cauſe none is more attentively heard, than they whoſe Speeches are, as *David's* were, *I have been Young, and now am Old,* much I have ſeen and obſerved in the World. Sharp and ſubtile diſcourſes of Wit procure many times very great applauſe; but being laid in the Balance with that which the habit of ſound Experience plainly delivereth, they are over-weighed. God may endue Men extraordinarily with Underſtanding as it pleaſeth him: But let no Man preſuming thereupon neglect the Inſtructions, or deſpiſe the Ordinances of his Elders, ſith he, whoſe gift Wiſdom is, hath ſaid, *Ask thy Father, and he will ſhew thee; thine Ancients, and they ſhall tell thee.* It is therefore the Voice both of God and Nature, not of Learning only, that, eſpecially in matters of Action and Policy, *The ſentences and judgments of Men experienced, aged and wiſe, yea though they ſpeak without any proof or demonſtration, are no leſs to be hearkned unto, than as being Demonſtrations in themſelves, becauſe ſuch Men's long Obſervation is as an Eye, wherewith they preſently and plainly behold thoſe Principles which ſway over all Actions.* Whereby we are taught both the Cauſe wherefore Wiſe Men's Judgments ſhould be credited, and the Mean how to uſe their Judgments to the increaſe of our own Wiſdom. That which ſheweth them to be Wiſe, is, the gathering of Principles out of their own particular Experiments. And the framing of our particular Experiments according to the Rule of their Principles, ſhall make us ſuch as they are. If therefore, even at the firſt, ſo great account ſhould be made of Wiſe Men's Counſels touching things that are Publickly done; as time ſhall add thereunto continuance and approbation of ſucceeding Ages, their Credit and Authority muſt needs be greater. They which do nothing but that which Men of Account did before them, are, although they do amiſs, yet the leſs (*a*) faulty, becauſe they are not the Authors of harm. And doing well, their Actions are freed from prejudice and novelty. To the beſt and wiſeſt, while they live, the World is continually a froward Oppoſite, a curious Obſerver of their Defects and Imperfections; their Virtues, it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cauſe many times that which moſt deſerveth approbation, would hardly be able to find favour, if they which propoſe it, were not content to profeſs themſelves therein Scholars and Followers of the Ancients. For the World will not endure to hear that we are wiſer than any have been which went before. In which conſideration there is cauſe why we ſhould be ſlow and unwilling to change, without very urgent neceſſity, the ancient Ordinances, Rites and long approved Cuſtoms of our venerable Predeceſſors. The love of things Ancient doth argue (*b*) ſtaidneſs; but levity and want of Experience maketh apt unto Innovations. That which Wiſdom did firſt begin, and hath been with Good Men long continued, challengeth allowance of them that ſucceed, although it plead for it ſelf nothing. That which is new, if it promiſe not much, doth fear Condemnation before Tryal; till Tryal, no Man doth acquit or truſt it, what good ſoever it pretend and promiſe. So that in this kind, there are few things known to be good, till ſuch time as they grow to be Ancient. The vain pretence of thoſe glorious Names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reaſon ought to have been ſo much alledged, hath wrought ſuch a prejudice againſt them in the minds of the Common ſort, as if they had utterly no force at all; whereas (eſpecially for theſe Obſervances which concern our preſent Queſtion) Antiquity, Cuſtom and Conſent in the Church of God, making with that which Law doth eſtabliſh, are themſelves moſt ſufficient reaſons to uphold the ſame, unleſs ſome notable publick inconvenience inforce the contrary. For a (*c*) ſmall thing in the eye of Law is as nothing. We are therefore bold to make our ſecond Petition this, That in things, the fitneſs whereof is not of it ſelf apparent, nor eaſie to be made ſufficiently manifeſt unto all, yet the Judgment of Antiquity concurring with that which is received, may induce them to think it not unfit, who are not able to alledge any known weighty Inconvenience which it hath, or to take any ſtrong Exception againſt it.

8. All things cannot be of ancient continuance, which are expedient and needful for the ordering of Spiritual Affairs: but the Church being a Body which dieth not, hath always power, as occaſion requireth, no leſs to ordain that which never was, than to ratifie what hath been before. To preſcribe the Order of doing in all things, is a peculiar Prerogative which *Wiſdom* hath, as a Queen or Soveraign Commandreſs over other Virtues.

Wiſdom 4. 9.

Job. 10. 12.

Deut. 32. 7.

Ariſt. Eth. 6. *cap.* 11.

(*a*) Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ ποδῶν φθόνος οὐδεὶς φύεται, *Philo.* Πᾶσα δυσμένεια τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ συναποτίθεται, *Syneſ.* Τὸ ἐκ ποδῶν οὔτ᾽ ἀντιπίπτει καὶ τετίμηται ἀφθόνως, *Greg. Naz.* ἐν Στιχ.

(*b*) ὅσοι δι᾽ εὐστάθειαν τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σεμνὸν τοῦ καινοπρεποῦς προετίμησαν καὶ ἀπαραποίητον τῶν πατέρων διεφύλαξαν τὴν παράδοσιν κατά τε χώραν καὶ πόλιν ταύτῃ κέχρηνται τῇ φωνῇ. *Baſil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap.* 7.

(*c*) Ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τοῦ εὖ παρεκβαίνων οὐ ψέγεται *Ariſt. Etbic.* 2. *c.* 9. *Modici nulla fere ratio haberi ſolet.* Tiraquel, de Jud. in reb. exig. cap. 10.

The third propoſition.

This

Ἡ μὲν Φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους αὐτοῖς τιθεῖσα. *Philo. Pag.* 3.

T.C. l. 3. *p.* 171.

This in every ſeveral Man's Actions of Common Life appertaineth unto *Moral*; in Publick and Politick ſecular Affairs unto *Civil* Wiſdom. In like manner, to deviſe any certain Form for the outward Adminiſtration of Publick Duties in the Service of God, or Things belonging thereunto, and to find out the moſt convenient for that uſe, is a point of Wiſdom *Eccleſiaſtical*. It is not for a Man, which doth know, or ſhould know what Order is, and what Peaceable Government requireth, to ask, *Why we ſhould hang our Judgment upon the Churches Sleeve,* and, *why in Matters of Order, more than in Matters of Doctrine.* The Church hath Authority to Eſtabliſh That for an Order at one time, which at another time it may Aboliſh, and in both do well: But, That which in Doctrine the Church doth now deliver rightly as a Truth, no Man will ſay that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly avouch the contrary. Laws touching Matter of Order are changeable, by the Power of the Church; Articles concerning Doctrine, not ſo. We read often in the Writings of Catholick and Holy Men touching Matters of Doctrine, *This we believe, This we hold, This the Prophets and Evangeliſts have declared, This the Apoſtles have delivered, This Martyrs have ſealed with their Blood, and confeſſed in the midſt of Torments, to This We cleave, as to the Anchor of Our Souls; againſt This, though an Angel from Heaven ſhould Preach unto us, we would not believe.* But, did we ever in any of Them read touching Matters of meer Comelineſs, Order and Decency, neither commanded nor Prohibited by any Prophet, any Evangeliſt, any Apoſtle, *Although the Church wherein we live do ordain them to be kept, although they be never ſo generally obſerved, though all the Churches in the World ſhould Command them, though Angels from Heaven ſhould require our Subjection thereunto,* I would hold him accurſed that *doth obey*? Be it in Matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainly deliver, to that the Firſt place both of Credit and Obedience is due; The Next whereunto is, whatſoever any Man can neceſſarily conclude by Force of Reaſon; After theſe, the Voice of the Church ſucceedeth. That which the Church by her Eccleſiaſtical Authority ſhall probably think and define to be True or Good, muſt in congruity of Reaſon over-rule all other Inferior Judgments whatſoever. To them which ask, Why we thus hang our Judgment on the Churches Sleeve, I anſwer with *Solomon*, Becauſe (*a*) *Two are better than One. Yea Simply* (ſaith (*b*) *Baſil*) *and Univerſally, whether it be in Works of Nature, or of Voluntary Choice and Counſel, I ſee not any thing done as it ſhould be, if it be wrought by an Agent ſingling it ſelf from Conſorts.* The Jews have a Sentence of good advice, (*c*) *Take not upon Thee to be a Judge alone, there is no ſole Judge but One only; Say not to Others, Receive my Sentence, when their Authority is above thine.* The bare conſent of the whole Church ſhould it ſelf in Theſe things ſtop their Mouths, who living under it, dare preſume to bark againſt it. *There is* (ſaith (*d*) *Caſſianus*) *no Place of Audience left for them, by whom Obedience is not yielded to that which all have agreed upon.* Might we not think it more than wonderful, that Nature ſhould in all Communities appoint a Predominant Judgment to ſway and over-rule in ſo many things; or that God himſelf ſhould allow ſo much Authority and Power unto every Poor Family, for the ordering of All which are in it; and the City of the Living God, which is his Church, be able neither to Command, nor yet to Forbid any thing, which the Meaneſt ſhall in that reſpect, and for her ſole Authorities ſake be bound to obey? We cannot hide or diſſemble that Evil, the grievous inconvenience whereof we feel. Our diſlike of them, by whom too much heretofore hath been attributed unto the Church, is grown to an Error on the contrary hand; ſo that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which removal of one Extremity with another, the World ſeeking to procure a Remedy, hath purchaſed a meer Exchange of the Evil which before was felt. Suppoſe we, that the Sacred Word of God can at their hands receive due honour, by whoſe Incitement the Holy Ordinances of the Church endure every where open contempt? No, it is not poſſible they ſhould obſerve as they ought the One, who from the Other withdraw unneceſſarily their Own, or their Brethrens Obedience. Surely the Church of God in this Buſineſs is neither of Capacity, I truſt, ſo weak: nor ſo unſtrengthened, I know, with Authority from Above; but that her Laws may exact Obedience at the hands of her own Children, and enjoyn Gain-ſayers ſilence, giving them roundly to underſtand, That where our Duty is Submiſſion, weak Oppoſitions betoken Pride. We therefore crave, Thirdly, to have it granted, That where neither the Evidence of any Law Divine, nor the Strength of any Invincible Argument otherwiſe found out by the Light of Reaſon, nor any Notable Publick Inconvenience doth make againſt that which our own Laws Eccleſiaſtical have, although but newly inſtituted, for the Ordering of theſe Affairs, the very Authority of the Church it ſelf, at the leaſt in ſuch Caſes, may give ſo much Credit to her own Laws, as to make their Sentence touching Fitneſs and Conveniency, weightier than any bare or naked Conceit to the contrary; eſpecially in them, who can owe no leſs then Child-like obedience to her that hath more than Motherly Power.

(*a*) Ecclef. 4. 9.

(*b*) Baſil. Ep. 68. d. 8. c. *quæ contra. Turpis eſt omnis pars univerſo ſuo non congruens.*

(*c*) *R. Iſmael in Cap. Pat.*

(*d*) *Caſſian. de Incarn. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6.

The Fourth Propoſition.

9. There are ancient Ordinances, Laws (which on all ſides are allowed to be Juſt and Good, yea Divine and Apoſtolick Conſtitutions) which the Church, it may be, doth not always keep, nor always juſtly deſerve blame, in that reſpect. For in Evils that cannot be removed, without the manifeſt danger of Greater to ſucceed in their rooms; Wiſdom (of neceſſity) muſt give place to Neceſſity. All it can do in thoſe Caſes, is, to deviſe, how that, which muſt be endured, may be mitigated, and the Inconveniences thereof

of countervailed as near as may be; that when the Beſt things are not poſſible, the beſt may be made of Thoſe that are. Nature, than which there is nothing more conſtant, nothing more uniform in all her ways, doth notwithſtanding ſtay her Hand, yea, and change her courſe, when That, which God by Creation did command, he doth at any time by Neceſſity countermand. It hath therefore pleaſed himſelf ſometime to unlooſe the very Tongues even of Dumb Creatures, and to teach them to plead This in their Own Defence, leſt the Cruelty of Man ſhould perſiſt to afflict them for not keeping their wonted Courſe, when Some invincible Impediment hath hindred. If we leave Nature, and look into Art, the Work-man hath in his Heart a Purpoſe, he carrieth in mind the whole Form which his Work ſhould have; there wanteth not in him Skill and Deſire to bring his Labour to the beſt effect, only the Matter which he hath to work on is unframable. This Neceſſity excuſeth him; ſo that nothing is derogated from his Credit, although much of his Works perfection be found wanting. Touching Actions of Common Life, there is not any Defence more favourably heard than theirs, who alledge ſincerely for themſelves, That they did as Neceſſity conſtrained them. For when the Mind is rightly ordered and affected as it ſhould be, in caſe ſome external Impediment croſſing well-adviſed Deſires, ſhall potently draw Men to leave what they principally wiſh, and to take a Courſe which they would not, if their Choice were free; what Neceſſity forceth Men unto, the ſame in This Caſe it maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed ſimply in it ſelf evil, nothing abſolutely ſinful or wicked, nothing repugnant to that Immutable Law, whereby, whatſoever is Condemned as Evil, can never any way be made Good. The caſting away of Things profitable for the ſuſtenance of Man's Life, is an unthankful Abuſe of the Fruits of God's good Providence towards Mankind. Which Conſideration, for all that, did not hinder Saint *Paul* from throwing Corn into the Sea, when care of ſaving Mens Lives made it neceſſary, to loſe that which elſe had been better ſaved. Neither was this to do Evil, to the end that Good might come of it; For of Two ſuch Evils, being not both evitable, the choice of the Leſs is not Evil. And Evils muſt be in our Conſtructions judged inevitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to avoid them; Becauſe, where Counſel and Advice bear rule, of God's extraordinary Power, without extraordinary Warrant, we cannot preſume. In Civil Affairs, to declare what ſway Neceſſity hath ever been accuſtomed to bear, were labour infinite. The Laws of all States and Kingdoms in the World have ſcarcely of any thing more common uſe: Should then only the Church ſhew it ſelf inhuman and ſtern, abſolutely urging a rigorous obſervation of Spiritual Ordinances, without relaxation or exception, what Neceſſity ſoever happen? We know the contrary Practiſe to have been commended by him, upon the warrant of whoſe Judgment the Church, moſt of all delighted with merciful and moderate courſes, doth the oftner condeſcend unto like equity, permitting in caſes of Neceſſity that, which otherwiſe it diſalloweth and forbiddeth. Caſes of Neceſſity being ſometime but urgent, ſometime extream, the conſideration of Publick Utility is with very good advice judged at the leaſt equivalent with the eaſier kind of Neceſſity. Now that which cauſeth numbers to ſtorm againſt ſo neceſſary tolerations, which they ſhould rather let paſs with ſilence, conſidering that in Polity, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil, there are and will be always Evils, which no art of man can cure, breaches and leaks more than Man's wit hath hands to ſtop; that which maketh odious unto them many things, wherein notwithſtanding the truth is, that very juſt regard hath been had of the Publick good; that which in a great part of the weightieſt Cauſes belonging to this preſent Controverſy, hath inſnared the Judgments both of ſundry good, and of ſome well learned Men, is the manifeſt truth of certain general Principles, whereupon the Ordinances that ſerve for uſual practiſe in the Church of God are grounded. Which Principles Men knowing to be moſt ſound, and that the ordinary practiſe accordingly framed is good, whatſoever is over and beſides that ordinary, the ſame they judge repugnant to thoſe true Principles. The cauſe of which Error is Ignorance, what reſtraints and limitations all ſuch Principles have, in regard of ſo manifold varieties, as the matter whereunto they are applyable, doth commonly afford. Theſe varieties are not known but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all Principles, to diſcern how far forth they take effect, to ſee where and why they fail, to apprehend by what degrees and means they lead to the practiſe of things in ſhow, though not indeed repugnant and contrary one to another, requireth more ſharpneſs of Wit, more intricate circuitions of Diſcourſe, more induſtry and depth of Judgment, than common Ability doth yield. So that general Rules, till their limits be fully known, (eſpecially in matter of Publick and Eccleſiaſtical Affairs) are, by reaſon of the manifold ſecret Exceptions which lye hidden in them, no other to the eye of Mans underſtanding, than Cloudy miſts caſt before the eye of Common ſenſe. They that walk in darkneſs know not whither they go. And even as little is their certainty, whoſe opinions Generalities only do guide. With groſs and popular Capacities nothing doth more prevail, than unlimited Generalities, becauſe of their plainneſs at the firſt ſight; nothing leſs with Men of Exact Judgment, becauſe ſuch Rules are not ſafe to be truſted over-far. General Laws are like general Rules of Phyſick, according whereunto, as no Wiſe Man will deſire himſelf to be cured, if there be joyned with his Diſeaſe ſome ſpecial Accident, in regard whereof that whereby others in the ſame Infirmity, but without the like Accident, recover health, would be to him either hurtful, or at the leaſt unprofitable: So we muſt not, under a colourable commendation of holy Ordinances in the Church,

Numb. 22. 28.

Neceſſitas quicquid coegit defendit. Senec. Controv. lib. 9.

Acts 27. 38.

Luke 6. 4.

Cauſa neceſſitatis & utilitatis æquiparantur in jure. Ab Panor. ad c. ut ſuper nu. 15. de Reb. Eccleſ. non alien.

Ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις, οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι. περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. *Ariſt. Eth. l.* 1. *c.* 7.

Church, and of reaſonable cauſes whereupon they have been grounded for the Common Good, imagine that all Men's Caſes ought to have one meaſure. Not without ſingular wiſdom therefore it hath been provided, That as the ordinary courſe of Common Affairs is diſpoſed of by General Laws, ſo likewiſe Men's rarer incident Neceſſities and Utilities ſhould be with ſpecial Equity conſidered. From hence it is, that ſo many Priviledges, Immunities, Exceptions and Diſpenſations have been always with great Equity, and Reaſon granted, not to turn the edge of Juſtice, nor to make void at certain Times, and in certain Men, through meer voluntary grace or benevolence, that which continually and univerſally ſhould be of force (as ſome Men underſtand it) but in very truth to practice General Laws according to their right meaning. We ſee in Contracts, and other Dealings which daily paſs between Man and Man, that, to the utter undoing of ſome, many things by ſtrictneſs of Law may be done, which equity and honeſt meaning forbiddeth. Not that the Law is unjuſt, but unperfect; nor equity againſt, but above the Law; binding Mens Conſciences in things which Law cannot reach unto. Will any Man ſay, That the virtue of private Equity is oppoſite and repugnant to that Law, the ſilence whereof it ſupplieth in all ſuch private Dealing? No more is publick Equity againſt the Law of publick Affairs; albeit the one permit unto ſome, in ſpecial Conſiderations, that which the other, agreeably with general Rules of Juſtice, doth in general ſort forbid. For, ſith all good Laws are the Voices of right Reaſon, which is the Inſtrument wherewith God will have the World guided; and impoſſible it is, that Right ſhould withſtand Right; it muſt follow, that Principles and Rules of Juſtice, be they never ſo generally uttered, do no leſs effectually intend, than if they did plainly expreſs an Exception of all Particulars, wherein their literal Practiſe might any way prejudice Equity. And becauſe it is natural unto all Men to wiſh their own extraordinary benefit, when they think they have reaſonable inducements ſo to do; and no Man can be preſumed a competent Judge what Equity doth require in his own Caſe: the likelieſt Mean whereby the wit of Man can provide, that he which uſeth the benefit of any ſpecial benignity above the common courſe of others, may enjoy it with good Conſcience, and not againſt the true purpoſe of Laws, which in outward ſhew are contrary, muſt needs be to arm with Authority ſome fit both for Quality and Place to adminiſter that, which in every ſuch particular ſhall appear agreeable with Equity: wherein, as it cannot be denyed, but that ſometimes the practiſe of ſuch Juriſdiction may ſwerve through error even in the very beſt, and for other reſpects, where leſs Integrity is; ſo the watchfulleſt Obſervers of Inconveniences that way growing, and the readieſt to urge them in diſgrace of authorized Proceedings, do very well know, that the diſpoſition of theſe things reſteth not now in the hands of Popes, who live in no Worldly awe or ſubjection, but is committed to them, whom Law may at all times bridle, and Superior Power controul; yea to them alſo in ſuch ſort, that Law it ſelf hath ſet down, to what Perſons, in what Cauſes, with what Circumſtances, almoſt every faculty or favour ſhall be granted, leaving in a manner nothing unto them, more than only to deliver what is already given by Law. Which maketh it by many degrees leſs reaſonable, that under pretence of Inconveniences ſo eaſily ſtopped, if any did grow, and ſo well prevented, that none may, Men ſhould be altogether barred of the liberty that Law with equity and reaſon granteth. Theſe things therefore conſidered, we laſtly require, That it may not ſeem hard, if in Caſes of Neceſſity, or for common utilities ſake, certain profitable Ordinances ſometimes be releaſed, rather than all Men, always, ſtrictly bound to the general rigour thereof.

The Rule of Mens private ſpirits not ſafe in theſe Caſes to be followed.

10. Now where the Word of God leaveth the Church to make choice of her own Ordinances, if againſt thoſe things which have been received with great reaſon, or againſt that which the Ancient practice of the Church hath continued time out of mind, or againſt ſuch Ordinances as the Power and Authority of that Church under which we live hath it ſelf deviſed for the Publick Good, or againſt the diſcretion of the Church in mitigating ſometimes with favourable Equity, that rigour which otherwiſe the literal generality of Eccleſiaſtical Laws hath judged to be more convenient and meet; if againſt all this it ſhould be free for Men to reprove, to diſgrace, to reject at their own liberty what they ſee done and practiſed according to Order ſet down; if in ſo great variety of ways, as the wit of Man is eaſily able to find out towards any purpoſe, and in ſo great liking as all Men eſpecially have unto thoſe Inventions, whereby ſome one ſhall ſeem to have been more inlightned from above than many thouſands, the Church did give every Man licence to follow what himſelf imagineth that *God's Spirit doth reveal* unto him, or what he ſuppoſeth that God is likely to have revealed to ſome ſpecial Perſon, whoſe Virtues deſerve to be highly eſteemed. What other effect could hereupon enſue, but the utter confuſion of his Church, under pretence of being taught, led and guided by his Spirit? the gifts and graces whereof do ſo naturally all tend unto Common peace, that where ſuch ſingularity is, they, whoſe Hearts it poſſeſſeth, ought to ſuſpect it the more, inaſmuch as if it did come of God, and ſhould for that cauſe prevail with others, the ſame God which revealeth it to them, would alſo give them power of confirming it unto others, either with miraculous operation, or with ſtrong and invincible remonſtrance of ſound Reaſon, ſuch as whereby it might appear that God would indeed have all Men's Judgments give place unto it; whereas now the error and unſufficience of their Arguments doth make it on the contrary ſide againſt them a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath not moved their hearts to think ſuch things, as he hath not enabled them to prove. And ſo from Rules of general Direction it

reſteth, that now we deſcend to a more diſtinct explication of Particulars, wherein thoſe Rules have their ſpecial efficacy.

11. Solemn Duties of Publick Service to be done unto God, muſt have their places ſet and prepared in ſuch ſort, as beſeemeth actions of that regard. *Adam*, even during the ſpace of his ſmall continuance in Paradiſe, had (*a*) where to preſent himſelf before the Lord. *Adam's* Sons had out of Paradiſe in like ſort (*b*) whither to bring their Sacrifices. The Patriarchs uſed (*c*) Altars, and (*d*) Mountains, and (*e*) Groves, to the ſelf-ſame purpoſe. In the vaſt Wilderneſs, when the People of God had themſelves no ſetled Habitation, yet a moveable (*f*) Tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like Charge was given them againſt the time they ſhould come to ſettle themſelves in the Land which had been promiſed unto their Fathers, (*g*) *Ye ſhall ſeek that Place which the Lord your God ſhall chuſe.* When God had choſen *Jeruſalem*, and in *Jeruſalem* Mount (*h*) *Moriah*, there to have his ſtanding Habitation made, it was in the chiefeſt of (*i*) *David's* deſires to have performed ſo good a work. His grief was no leſs, that he could not have the honour to build God a Temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite aſunder their own tongues with very wrath, that they have not as yet the Power to pull down the Temples which they never built, and to level them with the ground. It was no mean thing which he purpoſed. To perform a work ſo Majeſtical and Stately was no ſmall charge. Therefore he incited all Men unto bountiful Contribution, and procured towards it with all his Power, Gold, Silver, Braſs, Iron, Wood, Precious Stones in great abundance. Yea moreover, *Becauſe I have* (ſaith David) *a joy in the Houſe of my God, I have of my own Gold and Silver, beſides all that I have prepared for the Houſe of the Sanctuary, given to the Houſe of my God three thouſand Talents of Gold, even the Gold of Ophir, ſeven thouſand Talents of fined Silver.* After the overthrow of this firſt Houſe of God, a ſecond was inſtead thereof erected, but with ſo great odds, that they wept which had ſeen the former, and beheld how much this later came behind it, the beauty whereof notwithſtanding was ſuch, that even This was alſo the wonder of the whole World. Beſides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the Land, and even in *Jeruſalem*, by proceſs of time, no ſmall number of Synagogues for Men to reſort unto. Our Saviour himſelf, and after him the Apoſtles, frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Chriſt which was in *Jeruſalem*, and held that Profeſſion which had not the Publick allowance and countenance of Authority, could not ſo long uſe the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion but in private only. So that as Jews they had acceſs to the Temple and Synagogues, where God was ſerved after the Cuſtom of the Law, but for that which they did as Chriſtians, they were of neceſſity forced other-where to aſſemble themſelves. And as God gave increaſe to his Church, they ſought out both there and abroad for that purpoſe not the fitteſt, (for ſo the times would not ſuffer them to do,) but the ſafeſt places they could. In proceſs of time, ſome-whiles by ſufferance, ſome-whiles by ſpecial leave and favour, they began to erect to themſelves Oratories, not in any ſumptuous or ſtately manner; which neither was poſſible, by reaſon of the poor eſtate of the Church, and had been perilous in regard of the World's envy towards them. At length, when it pleaſed God to raiſe up Kings and Emperors favouring ſincerely the Chriſtian Truth, that which the Church before either could not, or durſt not do, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all Places erected, no coſt was ſpared, nothing judged too dear which that way ſhould be ſpent. The whole World did ſeem to exult, that it had occaſion of pouring out Gifts to ſo bleſſed a purpoſe. That chearful Devotion which *David* this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and wiſh that the ſame in the Jewiſh People might be perpetual, was then in Chriſtian People every where to be ſeen. Their Actions, till this day always accuſtomed to be ſpoken of with great honour, are now called openly into queſtion. They, and as many as have been followers of their Example in that thing; we eſpecially that worſhip God, either in Temples which their hands made, or which other Men ſithence have framed by the like Pattern, are in that reſpect charged no leſs than with the ſin of *Idolatry*. Our Churches in the foam of that good ſpirit, which directeth ſuch fiery Tongues, they term ſpitefully the Temples of *Baal*, idol-Synagogues, abominable Styes.

Places for the Publick ſervice of God.
(*a*) Gen. 3. 8.
(*b*) Gen. 4. 3.
(*c*) Gen. 13. 4.
(*d*) 22. 1.
(*e*) 21. 33.
(*f*) Exod. 26.
(*g*) Deut. 12. 5.
(*h*) 2 Chron. 3. 1.
(*i*) 2 Chron. 6. 7.
Pſal. 132. 5.
2 Chron. 25. 9
1 Chron. 29. 3.
Ezr. 3. 12.
Agge 2. 4.
Act. 1. 19. & 2. 1. & 2. 46.
1 Chron. 29. 17, 18.

12. Wherein the firſt thing which moveth them thus to caſt up their poyſons, are certain Solemnities uſual at the firſt erection of Churches. Now although the ſame ſhould be blame-worthy, yet this Age (thanks be to God) hath reaſonably well forborn to incur the danger of any ſuch blame. It cannot be laid unto many Mens charge at this day living, either that they have been ſo curious, as to trouble the Biſhops with placing the firſt Stone in the Churches they built; or ſo ſcrupulous, as after the erection of them, to make any great ado for their Dedication. In which kind notwithſtanding as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpoſe the ſtiff defence of any unneceſſary (*a*) Cuſtom heretofore received; ſo we know no reaſon wherefore Churches ſhould be the worſe, if at the firſt erecting of them, at the making of them publick, at the time when they are delivered, as it were, into God's own poſſeſſion, and when the uſe whereunto they ſhall ever ſerve is eſtabliſhed, Ceremonies fit to betoken ſuch intents, and to accompany ſuch Actions be uſual, as (*b*) in the pureſt times they have been. When (*c*) *Conſtantine* had

The ſolemnity of erecting Churches condemned by *Bar. p.* 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them ſcorned. *p.* 141.

(*a*) *Durand rational. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6. *&* *de conſecr. d.* 1. *c. tabernaculum. Greg. Mag. lib.* 10. *epiſt.* 12. *& lib.* 7. *epiſt.* 71. *& l.* 8. *epiſt.* 63. (*b*) Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι᾽ ἐγκαινίων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ἑκάστης τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περὶ τροπῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐπανιούσης, ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλά, *Greg. Nazian. Orat.* εἰς τὴν κυριακήν. (*c*) *Vide Euſeb. de vita Conſtant.* l. 1. c. 41, 42, 43, 44.

had finiſhed an Houſe for the Service of God at *Jeruſalem*, the Dedication he judged a matter not unworthy, about the ſolemn performance whereof, the greateſt part of the Biſhops in Chriſtendom ſhould meet together. Which thing they did at the Emperours motion, each moſt willingly ſetting forth that Action to their power, ſome with Orations, ſome with Sermons, ſome with the ſacrifice of Prayers unto God for the peace of the World, for the Churches ſafety, for the Emperour's and his Childrens good. (*a*) By *Athanaſius* the like is recorded concerning a Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in a work of the like devout magnificence. So that whether Emperours or Biſhops in thoſe days were Church-founders, the ſolemn Dedication of Churches they thought not to be a work in it ſelf either vain, or ſuperſtitious. Can we judge it a thing ſeemly for any Man to go about the building of an Houſe to the God of Heaven with no other appearance, than if his end were to rear up a Kitchen, or Parlor, for his own uſe? Or when a work of ſuch nature is finiſhed, remaineth there nothing but preſently to uſe it, and ſo an end? It behoveth that the place where God ſhall be ſerved by the whole Church, be a publick place, for the avoiding of Privy Conventicles, which, covered with pretence of Religion, may ſerve unto dangerous practices. Yea, though ſuch Aſſemblies be had indeed for Religions ſake; hurtful nevertheleſs they may eaſily prove, as well in regard of their fitneſs to ſerve the turn of Hereticks, and ſuch as privily will ſooneſt adventure to inſtill their poyſon into Men's minds; as alſo for the occaſion, which thereby is given to malicious perſons, both of ſuſpecting, and of traducing with more colourable ſhew thoſe Actions, which in themſelves being holy, ſhould be ſo ordered, that no Man might probably otherwiſe think of them. Which conſiderations have by ſo much the greater weight, for that of theſe inconveniences the Church heretofore had ſo plain experience, when Chriſtian Men were driven to uſe Secret Meetings, becauſe the liberty of Publick places was not granted them. There are which hold, that the preſence of a Chriſtian multitude, and the Duties of religion performed amongſt them, do make the place of their Aſſembly publick; even as the preſence of the King and his Retinue maketh any Man's Houſe a Court. But this I take to be an error, in as much as the only thing which maketh any Place publick, is the publick aſſignment thereof unto ſuch Duties. As for the Multitude there aſſembled, or the Duties which they perform, it doth not appear how either ſhould be of force to infuſe any ſuch Prerogative. Nor doth the ſolemn Dedication of Churches ſerve only to make them publick, but farther alſo to ſurrender up that right which otherwiſe their Founders might have in them, and to make God himſelf their Owner. For which cauſe, at the Erection and Conſecration as well of the (*b*) Tabernacle, as of the Temple, it pleaſed the Almighty to give a manifeſt ſign that he took poſſeſſion of both. Finally, (*c*) it notifieth in ſolemn manner the Holy and Religious uſe whereunto it is intended ſuch Houſes ſhall be put. (*d*) Theſe things the wiſdom of *Solomon* did not account ſuperfluous. He knew how eaſily that which was meant ſhould be holy and ſacred, might be drawn from the uſe whereunto it was firſt provided; he knew how bold Men are to take even from God himſelf; how hardly that Houſe would be kept from impious profanation, he knew; and right wiſely therefore endeavoured by ſuch Solemnities to leave in the minds of Men that (*e*) impreſſion, which might ſomewhat reſtrain their boldneſs, and nouriſh a reverend affection towards the Houſe of God. For which cauſe when the firſt Houſe was deſtroyed, and a new in the ſtead thereof erected by the Children of *Iſrael* after their return from captivity, they kept the (*f*) dedication even of this Houſe alſo with joy.

(*a*) *Athanaſius Apol. ad Conſtantium.*

(*b*) Exod. 40. 34. 1 Reg. 8. 11.

(*c*) Exod. 40. 9.

(*d*) 1 Reg. 8.

(*e*) Levit. 16. 2. The place named holy.

(*f*) Ezr. 6. 16.

The (*g*) Argument which our Saviour uſeth againſt Prophaners of the Temple, he taketh from the uſe whereunto it was with Solemnity conſecrated. And as the Prophet *Jeremy*, forbiddeth the carrying of (*h*) Burdens on the Sabbath, becauſe that was a Sanctified day: So becauſe the Temple was a Place ſanctified, our Lord would not ſuffer, no not the carriage of a (*i*) Veſſel through the Temple: Theſe two Commandments therefore are in the Law conjoyned, *Ye ſhall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary.* Out of thoſe the Apoſtles words, *Have ye not Houſes to eat and drink in?* (albeit Temples, ſuch as now, were not then erected for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion,) it hath been nevertheleſs not abſurdly conceived, that he teacheth what difference ſhould be made between Houſe and Houſe; that what is fit for the Dwelling Place of God, and what for Man's Habitation he ſheweth; requireth that Chriſtian Men at their Own home take Common food, and in the Houſe of the Lord none but that food which is heavenly; he inſtructeth them, that as in the one place they uſe to refreſh their Bodies, ſo they may in the other learn to ſeek the nouriſhment of their Souls; and as there they ſuſtain Temporal life, ſo here they would learn to make proviſion for Eternal. Chriſt could not ſuffer that the Temple ſhould ſerve for a place of Mart, nor the Apoſtle of Chriſt, that the Church ſhould be made an Inn. When therefore we ſanctify or hallow Churches, that which we do is only to teſtify that we make them Places of Publick Reſort, that we inveſt God himſelf with them, that we ſever them from Common Uſes. In which Action, other Solemnities than ſuch as are decent and fit for that purpoſe we approve none. Indeed we condemn not all as unmeet, the like whereunto have either been deviſed or uſed haply amongſt Idolaters. For why ſhould conformity with them in matter of Opinion be lawful, when they think that which is true, if in Action, when they do that which is meet, it be not lawful to be like unto them? Are we to forſake any true Opinion, becauſe Idolaters have maintained it? or to ſhun any requiſite action, only becauſe we have in the practice thereof been prevented by Idolaters? It is no impoſſible thing, but that ſometimes they may judge as rightly

(*g*) Matth. 21. 13. (*h*) Jer. 17. 24.

(*i*) Mark. 11. 16.

Levit. 26. 2.

1 Cor. 11. 22.

Pet. Cluniac.

rightly what is decent about ſuch external Affairs of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatſoever Idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatſoever they have either thought or done *idolatrouſly, be ſo far forth* abhorred. For of that which is good even in evil things, God is Author.

13. Touching the names of Angels and Saints, whereby the moſt of our Churches are called; as the cuſtom of ſo naming them is very antient, ſo neither was the cauſe thereof at the firſt, nor is the uſe and continuance with us at this preſent hurtful. That Churches were conſecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very General name it ſelf doth ſufficiently ſhew, in as much as by plain Grammatical conſtruction, *Church* doth ſignifie no other thing than *the Lord's Houſe*. And becauſe the multitude, as of Perſons, ſo of things particular, cauſeth variety of Proper names to be deviſed for Diſtinction ſake, Founders of Churches did herein that which beſt liked their own conceit at the preſent time; yet each intending, that as oft as thoſe Buildings came to be mentioned, the name ſhould put Men in mind of ſome memorable thing or perſon. Thus therefore it cometh to paſs, that all Churches have had their names, ſome as memorials of peace, ſome of wiſdom, ſome in memory of the Trinity it ſelf; ſome of Chriſt under ſundry Titles; of the Bleſſed Virgin not a few, many of one Apoſtle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all. In which reſpect their commendable purpoſe being not of every one underſtood, they have been in latter ages, conſtrued as though they had ſuperſtitiouſly meant, either that thoſe places which were denominated of Angels and Saints, ſhould ſerve for the worſhip of ſo glorious Creatures, or elſe thoſe glorified Creatures, for defence, protection, and patronage of ſuch places. A thing which the Ancients do utterly diſclaim. To them ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, we appoint no Churches, becauſe they are not to us as Gods. Again, *The Nations to their Gods erected Temples, we not Temples unto our Martyrs as unto Gods, but Memorials as unto dead Men, whoſe ſpirits with God are ſtill living.* Divers conſiderations there are, for which Chriſtian Churches might firſt take their names of Saints: as either becauſe by the Miniſtry of Saints it pleaſed God there to ſhew ſome rare effect of his power; or elſe in regard of death, which thoſe Saints having ſuffered for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, did thereby make the places where they dyed venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and virtuous Men to give ſuch occaſion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their Perſons might cauſe enquiry to be made, and meditation to be had of their virtues. Wherefore, ſeeing that we cannot juſtly account it Superſtition, to give unto Churches thoſe fore-rehearſed names, as memorials either of holy Perſons or Things; if it be plain that their Founders did with ſuch meaning name them, ſhall not we, in otherwiſe taking them, offer them injury? Or if it be obſcure or uncertain what they meant, yet this conſtruction being more favourable, Charity (I hope) conſtraineth no Man which ſtandeth doubtful of their minds, to lean to the hardeſt and worſt interpretation that their words can carry. Yea, although it were clear, that they all (for the error of ſome is manifeſt in this behalf) had therein a ſuperſtitious intent, Wherefore ſhould their fault prejudice us, who (as all men know) do uſe by way of meer Diſtinction the names which they of Superſtition gave? In the uſe of thoſe names whereby we diſtinguiſh both days and months, are we culpable of Superſtition, becauſe they were, who firſt invented them? The ſign of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſuperſtitiouſly given unto that Ship wherein the Apoſtle ſailed, polluteth not the Evangeliſts pen, who thereby doth but diſtinguiſh that Ship from others. If to *Daniel* there had been given no other name, but only *Beltiſhazzar*, given him in honour of the Babylonian Idol *Belti*, Should their Idolatry, which were the Authors of that Name, cleave unto every Man which had ſo termed him by way of perſonal difference only? Were it not to ſatisfie the minds of the ſimpler ſort of Men, theſe nice curioſities are not worthy the labour which we beſtow to anſwer them.

Of the names whereby we diſtinguiſh our Churches.

From Κυριακὴ *Kyrc*, and by adding letters of aſpiration, *Chyrch*.

Vid. Soc. l. 1. c. 16. Ev. lib. 4. c. 30. Hiſt. Trip. l. 4. c. 18.

V. Aug. l. 8. de civ. Dei c. 27. l. 22. c. 10. Epi. 49. ad Deo gra.

The Duty which Chriſtian Men Performed in keeping Feſtival dedications St. *Baſil* termeth λατρείαν τοῦ θεοῦ acknowledging the ſame to have been withal τιμὴν εἰς τοὺς μάρτυρας. *Baſil.* in Pſal. 114.

Acts 28. 11.

Dan. 4. 5. *Vide Scal. de emendat. temp. l. 6. p. 277.*

14. The like unto this is a fancy, which they have againſt the faſhion of our Churches, as being framed according to the pattern of the Jewiſh Temple. A fault no leſs grievous, if ſo be it were true, than if ſome King ſhould build his Manſion-houſe by the model of *Solomon's* Palace. So far forth as our Churches and their Temple have one end, What ſhould let, but that they may lawfully have one form? The Temple was for Sacrifice, and therefore had Rooms to that purpoſe, ſuch as ours have none. Our Churches are places provided, that the people might there aſſemble themſelves in due and decent manner, according to their ſeveral degrees and orders. Which thing being common unto us with Jews, we have in this reſpect our Churches divided by certain partitions, although not ſo many in number as theirs. They had their ſeveral for Heathen Nations, their ſeveral for the people of their own Nation, their ſeveral for Men, their ſeveral for Women, their ſeveral for their Prieſts, and for the High Prieſt alone their ſeveral. There being in ours for local diſtinction between the Clergy and the reſt (which yet we do not with any great ſtrictneſs or curioſity obſerve neither) but one partition, the cauſe whereof at the firſt (as it ſeemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy Myſteries, might there aſſemble themſelves, and no other creep in amongſt them; this is now made a matter ſo hainous, as if our Religion thereby were become even plain Judaiſm; and as though we retained a Moſt Holy Place, whereinto there might not any but the High Prieſt alone enter, according to the cuſtom of the Jews.

Of the faſhion of our Churches.

15. Some it highly diſpleaſeth, that ſo great expences this way are imployed: *The Mother of ſuch Magnificence* (They think) *is but only a proud ambitious deſire to be ſpoken*

The ſumptuouſneſs of Churches.

of far and wide. Suppoſe we that God himſelf delighteth to dwell ſumptuouſly? or taketh pleaſure in chargeable pomp? No; Then was the Lord moſt acceptably ſerved, when his Temples were Rooms borrowed within the houſes of poor Men. This was ſuitable unto the nakedneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, and the ſimplicity of his Goſpel. What thoughts or cogitations they had, which were Authors of thoſe things, the uſe and benefit whereof hath deſcended unto our ſelves, as we do not know, ſo we need not ſearch. It cometh (we grant) many times to paſs, that the works of Men being the ſame, their drifts and purpoſes therein are divers. The charge of *Herod* about the Temple of God was ambitious; yet *Solomon's* virtuous, *Conſtantines* holy. But howſoever their hearts are diſpoſed by whom any ſuch thing is done in the World, ſhall we think that it baneth the work which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the uſe and benefit thereof? Touching God himſelf, hath he any where revealed, that it is his delight to dwell beggerly? and that he taketh no pleaſure to be worſhipped, ſaving only in poor Cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his People as ever, when the ſtatelieſt places and things in the whole World were ſought out to adorn his Temple. This is moſt ſuitable, decent, and fit for the greatneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, for the ſublimity of his Goſpel, except we think of Chriſt and his Goſpel as (*a*) the Officers of *Julian* did. As therefore the Son of *Syrach* giveth verdict concerning thoſe things, which God hath wrought, (*b*) *A Man need not ſay, This is worſe than that, this more acceptable to God, that leſs; for in their ſeaſon they are all worthy praiſe*: the like we may alſo conclude, as touching theſe two ſo contrary ways of providing, in meaner or in coſtlier ſort, for the honour of Almighty God, *A Man need not ſay, This is worſe than that, this more acceptable to God, that leſs; for with him they are in their ſeaſon both allowable*; the one, when the ſtate of the Church is poor; the other, when God hath enriched it with plenty. When they, which had ſeen the beauty of the firſt Temple built by *Solomon* in the days of his great proſperity and peace, beheld how far it excelled the ſecond, which had not builders of like ability, the tears of their grieved eyes the Prophets (*c*) endeavoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the Houſe of God were by ſo much the more perfect, by how much the glory thereof is leſs, they ſhould have done better to rejoyce than weep, their Prophets better to reprove than comfort. It being objected againſt the Church in the times of univerſal perſecution, that her Service done to God was not ſolemnly performed in Temples fit for the honour of Divine Majeſty, their moſt convenient anſwer was, that (*d*) *The beſt Temples which we can dedicate to God, are our ſanctified Souls and Bodies.* Whereby it plainly appeareth, how the Fathers, when they were upbraided with that defect, comforted themſelves with the meditation of God's moſt gracious and merciful nature, who did not therefore the leſs accept of their hearty affection and zeal, rather than took any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in ſuch their want of external Ornaments, which when they wanted, the cauſe was their only lack of ability; ability ſerving, they wanted them not. Before the Emperor *Conſtantines* time, under *Severus*, *Gordian*, *Philip* and *Galienus*, the ſtate of Chriſtian Affairs being tolerable, the former Buildings which were but of mean and ſmall eſtate contented them not; ſpacious and ample Churches they erected throughout every City. No Envy was able to be their hindrance, no practice of Satan or fraud of Men available againſt their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feel the aid of the arm of God extended over them for their ſafety. Theſe Churches *Diocleſian* cauſed by ſolemn Edict to be afterwards overthrown. *Maximinus* with like authoriry giving leave to erect them, the hearts of all Men were even rapt with Divine Joy, to ſee thoſe places, which tyrannous Impiety had laid waſte, recovered, as it were, out of mortal calamity, Churches *reared up to an height immeaſurable, and adorned with far more beauty in their reſtauration than their Founders before had given them.* Whereby we ſee, how moſt Chriſtian minds ſtood then affected, we ſee how joyful they were to behold the ſumptuous ſtatelineſs of Houſes built unto God's glory. If we ſhould, over and beſides this, alledge the care which was had, that all things about the Tabernacle of *Moſes* might be as beautiful, gorgeous and rich, as Art could make them; or what travel and coſt was beſtowed, that the goodlineſs of the Temple might be a Spectacle of admiration to all the World; this, they will ſay, was figurative, and ſerved by God's appointment but for a time, to ſhadow out the true everlaſting glory of a more Divine Sanctuary; whereinto Chriſt being long ſithence entred, it ſeemeth that all thoſe curious exornations ſhould rather ceaſe. Which thing we alſo our ſelves would grant, if the uſe thereof had been meerly and only myſtical. But, ſith the prophet *David* doth mention a natural conveniency which ſuch kind of bounteous Expences have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a teſtimony of our chearful affection, which thinketh nothing too dear to be beſtowed about the furniture of his Service, as alſo becauſe it ſerveth to the World for a witneſs of his Almightineſs, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefeſt of outward things, as being of all things Himſelf incomparably the greateſt. Beſides, were it not alſo ſtrange, if God ſhould have made ſuch ſtore of glorious Creatures on Earth, and leave them all to be conſumed in ſecular vanity, allowing none but the baſer ſort to be imployed in his own ſervice? To ſet forth the Majeſty of Kings, his Vicegerents in this

Ἔργον τὸ μέγα, ϗ καλὸν τίμιον· τȣ͂ γὰρ τοιȣ́τȣ ἡ θεωρία θαυμαςή. *Ariſt. Eth. l.* 4. c. 2. τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ ϗ νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες. *Philo Jud.* (*a*) *Fœlix, theſauri imperialis quæſtor, conſpicatus ſacrorum vaſorum pretia; En inquit qualibus vaſis miniſtratur Mariæ filio!* Theodoret. hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 12. (*b*) Eccleſ. 39. 34.

(c) *Agge* 2. 5, 10.

(d) *Minut. Fel. in Octav.*

Euſeb. l. 8. *c.* 1.

Euſeb. l. 8. *c.* 8.

Euſeb. l. 10. *c.* 2.

1 Chron. 28. 14.

2 Chron. 2. 5.

Math. 6. 29.

this World, the moſt gorgeous and rare treaſures which the world hath, are procured. We think, belike, that he will accept what the meaneſt of them would diſdain. If there be great care to build and beautify theſe corruptible Sanctuaries, little or none, that the living Temples of the Holy Ghoſt, the dearly redeemed Souls of the people of God may be edified; huge expences upon Timber and Stone, but towards the relief of the poor, ſmall devotion; Coſt this way infinite, and in the mean while Charity cold: we have in ſuch caſe juſt occaſion to make complaint as St. *Jerom* did, *The walls of the Church there are enough contented to build, and to underſet it with goodly Pillars, the Marbles are poliſhed, the Roofs ſhine with Gold, the Altar hath Precious Stones to adorn it; and of Chriſt's Miniſters no choice at all.* The ſame *Jerom*, both in that place and elſewhere, debaſeth with like intent the glory of ſuch Magnificence (a thing whereunto Mens affections in thoſe times needed no ſpur) thereby to extoll the neceſſity, ſometimes of Charity and Alms, ſometimes of other the moſt principal Duties belonging unto Chriſtian Men; which Duties were neither ſo highly eſteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in queſtion, the directeſt Sentence we can give of them both, as unto me it ſeemeth, is this; *God who requireth the one as neceſſary, accepteth the other alſo as being an honourable work.*

Malac. 1. 8.

Ad Nepotian. de vita Cleric.

Ad Demetr. Epiſt. 12 ad Gaudentium.

16. Our opinion concerning the force and virtue which ſuch Places have, is, I truſt, without any blemiſh or ſtain of Hereſy. Churches receive, as every thing elſe, their chief perfection from the end whereunto they ſerve. Which end being the publick worſhip of God, they are, in this conſideration, Houſes of greater Dignity, than any provided for meaner purpoſes. For which cauſe they ſeem after a ſort even to mourn, as being injured and defrauded of their right, when places, not ſanctified as they are, prevent them *unneceſſarily* in that preheminence and honour. Whereby alſo it doth come to paſs, that the Service of God hath not then in it ſelf *ſuch perfection of grace and comlineſs*, as when the dignity of place which it wiſheth for doth concur. Again, albeit the true worſhip of God be to God in it ſelf acceptable, who reſpecteth not ſo much in what place, as with what affection he is ſerved; and therefore *Moſes* in the midſt of the Sea, *Job* on the Dunghill, *Ezechias* in Bed, *Jeremy* in Mire, *Jonas* in the Whale, *Daniel* in the Den, the Children in the Furnace, the Thief on the Croſs, *Peter* and *Paul* in Priſon, calling unto God, were heard, as St. *Baſil* noteth: manifeſt notwithſtanding it is, that the very majeſty and holineſs of the place where God is worſhipped, hath *in regard of us* great virtue, force and efficacy, for that it ſerveth as a ſenſible help to ſtir up devotion, and *in that reſpect*, no doubt, *bettereth* even our holieſt and beſt actions in this kind. As therefore we every where exhort all Men to worſhip God; even ſo, for performance of this Service by the people of God aſſembled, we think not any place *ſo good* as the Church, neither any exhortation ſo fit as that of *David*, *O worſhip the Lord in the beauty of holineſs.*

What Holineſs and Virtue we aſcribe to the Church, more than other places.

Exhort. ad bapt. & pœnitent.

Pſal. 96. 9.

17. For of our Churches thus it becometh us to eſteem, howſoever others rapt with the pang of a furious zeal, do pour out againſt them devout blaſphemies, crying, (*a*) *Down with them, down with them, even to the very ground; For to Idolatry they have been abuſed. And the places where Idols have been worſhipped, are by* (*b*) *the Law of God devote to utter deſtruction. For execution of which Law, the* (*c*) *Kings that were godly, as* Aſa, Jehoſaphat, Ezechia, Joſiah, *deſtroyed all the High Places, Altars and Groves, which had been erected in* Juda *and* Iſrael. *He that ſaid, Thou ſhalt have no other gods before my face, hath likewiſe ſaid, Thou ſhalt utterly deface and deſtroy all theſe Synagogues and places where ſuch Idols have been worſhipped. This Law containeth the Temporal puniſhment which God hath ſet down, and willeth that Men execute, for the breach of the other Law. They which ſpare them therefore, do but reſerve, as the Hypocrite* Saul *did, execrable things, to worſhip God withal.* The truth is, that as no Man ſerveth God, and loveth him not; ſo neither can any Man ſincerely love God, and not extreamly abhor that ſin, which is the higheſt degree of Treaſon againſt the Supream Guide and Monarch of the whole World, with whoſe Divine Authority and Power it inveſteth others. By means whereof the ſtate of Idolaters is two ways miſerable. Firſt, In that which they worſhip, (*d*) they find no ſuccour; and ſecondly, At his hands whom they ought to ſerve, there is no other thing to be looked for, but the effects of moſt juſt diſpleaſure, the (*e*) withdrawing of Grace, (*f*) dereliction in this world, and in the world to come (*g*) confuſion. (*h*) *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when Infidels admiring their virtues went about to ſacrifice unto them, rent their Garments in token of horror, and, as frighted perſons, ran crying through the preſs of the people, *O men, wherefore do ye theſe things?* They knew the force of that dreadful (*i*) Curſe whereunto Idolatry maketh ſubject. Nor is there cauſe why the guilty ſuſtaining the ſame, ſhould grudge or complain of Injuſtice. For, whatſoever Evil befalleth in that reſpect, (*k*) themſelves have made themſelves worthy to ſuffer it. As for thoſe things either *whereon*, or elſe *wherewith* Superſtition worketh, polluted they are by ſuch *abuſe*, and deprived of that Dignity which their Nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieve, and, as it were, even loath it ſelf, whenſoever iniquity cauſeth it to ſerve unto vile purpoſes. Idolatry therefore maketh, whatſoever it toucheth, the worſe. Howbeit ſith Creatures which have no underſtanding can ſhew no will; and where no will is, there is no ſin; and only that which ſinneth, is ſubject to *puniſhment*; Which way ſhould any ſuch Creature be *puniſhable* by the Law of God? There may be cauſe ſometime to *aboliſh* or to *extinguiſh* them; but ſurely, never by way of puniſhment *to the things themſelves*. Yea farther, howſoever the Law of *Moſes* did puniſh Idolaters,

Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.

(*a*) Pſal. 137. 7.

(*b*) Deut. 12. 2.

(*c*) 2 Chron. 17. 6. 2 Chron. 29. 2 Chron. 3.

(*d*) Iſa. 8. 21. 45. 20. Hoſ. 14. 4. Iſa. 41. 24.

(*e* Pſal. 115. 8 81. 13. Rom. 1. 24.

(*f*) Judic. 6. 13.

(*g*) Apoc. 21. 8. Iſa. 2. 21.

(*h*) Act. 14. 14.

(*i*) Deut. 28. 20.

(*k*) Jer. 2. 17.

we find not that God hath appointed for us any definite or *certain temporal judgment*, which the Chriſtian Magiſtrate *is of neceſſity for ever* bound to execute upon *Offenders* in that kind, much leſs upon *things* that way abuſed as mere *inſtruments*. For what God did command touching *Canaan*, the ſame concerneth not us any otherwiſe than only as a fearful pattern of his juſt diſpleaſure and wrath againſt ſinful Nations. It teacheth us, how *God thought good* to plague and afflict them; it doth not appoint in what form and manner *we ought* to puniſh the ſin of *Idolatry in all others*. Unleſs they will ſay, that becauſe the Iſraelites were commanded to make no Covenant with the people of that Land, therefore Leagues and Truces made between Superſtitious Perſons, and ſuch as ſerve God aright, are unlawful altogether; or, becauſe God commanded the Iſraelites to ſmite the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, and to root them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound Deut. 12. 2. to put all others to the edge of the ſword. Now whereas *Commandment* was alſo given to deſtroy *all places* where the *Canaanites* had ſerved their Gods, and not to convert any one of them to the honour of the true God: *this Precept had reference unto a ſpecial intent and purpoſe*, which was, that there ſhould be *but one holy Place* in the whole Land, whereunto the People might bring ſuch Offerings, Gifts and Sacrifices, as their *Levitical Law* did require. By which Law, ſevere charge was given them in that reſpect, not to convert *thoſe places* to the worſhip of the living God, where Nations before them had Deut. 12. 4, 5. ſerved Idols, *But to ſeek the place which the* **Lord** *their* **God** *ſhould chuſe out of all their Tribes*. Beſides, it is reaſon we ſhould likewiſe conſider how great a difference there is between their proceedings, who erect a new Common-wealth, which is to have neither People nor Law, neither Regiment nor Religion the ſame that was; and theirs, who only reform a decayed eſtate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath ſwerved. In this caſe we are to retain as much, in the other as little of former things as we may. Sith therefore Examples have not *generally* the force of Laws which all Men ought to keep, but of Counſels only and Perſwaſions not amiſs to be followed by them whoſe Caſe is the like; ſurely where Caſes are ſo unlike as theirs and ours, I ſee not how that which they did, ſhould induce, much leſs any way enforce us to the ſame Practice, eſpecially conſidering that *Groves* and *Hill-altars* were, while they did remain, both dangerous in regard of the ſecret acceſs, which People, ſuperſtitiouſly given, might have always thereunto with eaſe; neither could they remaining ſerve with any fitneſs unto better purpoſe: whereas our Temples (their former abuſe being by order of Law removed) are not only free from ſuch peril, but withal ſo conveniently framed for the People of God to ſerve and honour him therein; that no Man beholding them, can chuſe but think it exceeding great pity they ſhould be ever any otherwiſe employed. Yea, but the Cattle of *Amalek* (you will ſay) were *fit* for ſacrifice; and this was the very conceit which ſometime deceived *Saul*. It was ſo. Nor do I any thing doubt, but that *Saul* upon this conceit might even lawfully have offered to God thoſe reſerved ſpoils, had not the Lord *in that particular caſe* given *ſpecial charge* to the contrary. And therefore notwithſtanding the commandment of *Iſrael* to deſtroy Canaanites, Idolaters may be converted and live: So the Temples which have ſerved Idolatry as Inſtruments, may be ſanctified again and continue, albeit to *Iſrael* commandment have been given that *they* ſhould deſtroy all Idolatrous places *in their Land*; and to the good Kings of *Iſrael* commendation for fulfilling, to the evil for diſobeying the ſame Commandment, ſometimes puniſhment, always ſharp and ſevere reproof hath even from the Lord himſelf befallen. Thus much it may ſuffice to have written in defence of thoſe Chriſtian Oratories, the overthrow and ruin whereof is deſired, not now by Infidels, Pagans or Turks, but by a ſpecial refined Sect of Chriſtian Believers; pretending themſelves exceedingly grieved at our Solemnities in erecting Churches, at the Names which we ſuffer them to hold, at their form and faſhion, at the ſtatelineſs of them and coſtlineſs, at the opinion which we have of them, and at the manifold ſtuperſtitious abuſes whereunto they have been put.

Of publick teaching, or preaching, and the firſt kind thereof, Catechiſing.

18. Places of publick reſort being thus provided for, our repair thither is eſpecially for mutual conference, and as it were commerce to be had between God and us. Becauſe therefore want (*a*) of the knowledge of God is the cauſe of all iniquity amongſt Men, as contrariwiſe, the ground of all our happineſs, and the ſeed of whatſoever perfect virtue groweth from us, is a right opinion touching things divine, this kind of knowledge we may juſtly ſet down for the firſt and chiefeſt thing which God imparteth unto his People, and our duty of receiving this at his merciful hands, for the firſt of thoſe religious Offices wherewith we publickly honour him on earth. For the inſtruction therefore of all ſorts of Men to eternal life, it is neceſſary, that the ſacred and ſaving truth of God be openly publiſhed unto them. Which open publication of *heavenly myſteries*, is by an excellency termed *preaching*. For otherwiſe there is not any thing *publickly notified*, but we may in that reſpect, rightly and properly ſay it is *preached*. So that when the School of God Luc. 8. 39. 12. 3. doth uſe it as *a word of Art*, we are accordingly to underſtand it with reſtraint to ſuch ſpecial matter as that School is accuſtomed to publiſh. We find not in the World any people that have lived altogether without Religion. And yet this Duty of Religion, which provideth that publickly all ſorts of Men may be inſtructed in the fear of God, is to the

---

(*a*) *Contraria fortia in quibus homines ſibi invicem opponantur ſecundum exercitia & deſideria & opiniones omnia proveniunt ex ignorantia: ſicut cæcus ex privatione ſui viſus vagatur ubique & læditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam & odium. Hoc promiſit ſancta Theologia dicens, Habitabit agnus cum lupo. Et aſſignat rationem, repleta eſt terra ſapientia Domini.* Moſes Ægypt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. 3. cap. 12.

Church of God, and hath been always ſo peculiar, that none of the Heathens, how curious ſoever in ſeaching out all kinds of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could ever once ſo much as endeavour to reſemble *herein* the Churches care for the endleſs good of her Children. Ways of teaching there have been ſundry always uſual in God's Church. For the firſt introduction of youth, to the knowledge of God, the Jews even till this day have their Catechiſms. With Religion it fareth as with other Sciences, the firſt delivery of the Elements thereof muſt, for like conſideration, (*a*) be framed according to the weak and ſlender capacity of young Beginners: unto which manner of teaching Principles in Chriſtianity, the Apoſtle in the ſixth to the *Hebrews* is himſelf underſtood to allude. For this cauſe therefore, as the Decalogue of *Moſes* declareth ſummarily thoſe things which we ought to do; the Prayer of our Lord, whatſoever we ſhould requeſt or deſire: ſo either by the Apoſtles, or at the leaſt-wiſe out of their Writings, we have the ſubſtance of (*b*) Chriſtian Belief compendiouſly drawn into few and ſhort Articles, to the end that the weakneſs of no Mans wit might either hinder *altogether* the knowledge, or excuſe the utter ignorance of needful things. Such as were trained up in theſe Rudiments, and were ſo made fit to be afterward by Baptiſm received into the Church, the Fathers uſually in their Writings do term (*c*) *Hearers*; as having no farther communion or fellowſhip with the Church, than only this, that they were admitted to hear the Principles of Chriſtian Faith made plain unto them. Catechizing may be in Schools, it may be in private Families; But when we make it a kind of Preaching, we mean always the publick performance thereof in the open hearing of Men, becauſe things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are publiſhed.

Vide Tertul. de præſcr. adverſ. hær.

The Jews Catech. called *Lekach* Tob.

(*a*) *Incipientibus breviùs ac ſimpliciùs tradi præcepta magis convenit. Aut enim difficultate inſtitutionis tam numeroſæ atque perplexæ deterreri ſolent, aut eo tempore quo præcipuè alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda ſunt, aſperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur.* Fab. procem. l. 1. *Incipientibus nobis exponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur poſſe tradi commodiſſimè, ſi primo levi ac ſimplici via, poſt deinde diligentiſſima atque exactiſſima Interpretatione ſingula tradantur. Alioqui ſi ſtatim ab initio rudem adhuc & infirmum animum ſtudiſi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraverimus, duorum alterum, aut deſertorem ſtudiorum afficiemus, aut cum magno labore ejus, ſæpe etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque juvenes avertit) ſeriùs ad id perducemus, ad quod leviore via ductus ſine magno labore & ſine ulla diffidentia maturius perduci potuiſſet.* Inſtitut. Imper. l. 1. tit. 1.

(*b*) *Vide Ruff. in Symb.*

(*c*) Tert. de pœnitent. *An alius eſt tinctus Chriſtus? Alius audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præſumere oportet.* Cyprian. Epiſt. 17. l. 3. *Audientibus vigilantia veſtra non deſit.* Rupert. de divin offic. lib. 4. cap. 18. *Audiens quiſque regulam fidei, Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.*

19. *Moſes* and the Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles, were in their times all Preachers of God's Truth; ſome by Word, ſome by Writing, ſome by both. This they did partly as faithful *Witneſſes*, making meer *relation* what God himſelf had *revealed* unto them; and partly as careful *Expounders*, Teachers, Perſwaders thereof. The Church in like caſe *Preacheth* ſtill, firſt publiſhing by way of *Teſtimony* or relation, the truth which from them ſhe hath received, even in ſuch ſort as it was received, *written in the ſacred volumes of Scripture*: Secondly, by way of *explication*, diſcovering the myſteries which lye hid therein. The Church as a Witneſs, preacheth his meer revealed Truth, by reading *publickly* the Sacred Scripture. So that a ſecond kind of preaching is the reading of holy Writ. For thus we may the boldlier ſpeak, being ſtrengthned (*d*) with the examples of ſo reverend a Prelate as ſaith, that *Moſes* from the time of ancient Generations and Ages long ſince paſt, had amongſt the Cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, *in that* he was read every Sabbath-day. For ſo of neceſſity it muſt be meant, in as much as we know, that the Jews have always had their weekly Readings of the *Law of Moſes*; but that they always had in like manner their weekly *Sermons upon ſome part of the Law of Moſes*, we no where find. Howbeit ſtill we muſt here remember, that the Church, by her publick reading of the Book of God, preacheth only *as a Witneſs*. Now the principal thing required in a Witneſs, is Fidelity. Wherefore as we cannot excuſe that Church, which either through corrupt tranſlations of Scripture, delivereth, inſtead of divine Speeches, any thing repugnant unto that which God ſpeaketh; or, through falſified additions, propoſeth that to the people of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture: So the blame, which in both theſe reſpects hath been laid upon the Church of *England*, is ſurely altogether without cauſe. Touching Tranſlations of Holy Scripture, albeit we may not diſallow of their painful travels herein, who ſtrictly have tyed themſelves to the very Original letter; yet the judgment of the Church, as we ſee by the practice of all Nations, *Greeks*, *Latines*, *Perſians*, *Syrians*, *Æthiopians*, *Arabians*, hath been ever, That the fitteſt for publick Audience are ſuch, as following a middle courſe between the rigour of literal Tranſlators, and the liberty of Paraphraſts, do with greateſt ſhortneſs and plainneſs deliver the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt. Which being a labour of ſo great difficulty, the exact performance thereof we may rather wiſh than look for. So that, except between the *words of tranſlation* and the *mind of Scripture* it ſelf, there be *Contradiction*, every little difference ſhould not ſeem an intolerable blemiſh neceſſarily to be ſpunged out. Whereas therefore the Prophet *David* in a certain Pſalm doth ſay concerning *Moſes* and *Aaron*, that they were obedient to the word of God, and in the ſelf-ſame place our allowed Tranſlation ſaith, they *were not* obedient, we are for this cauſe challenged as manifeſt Gainſayers of Scripture, even in that which we read for Scripture unto the people. But for as much as words are reſemblances of that which the mind of the Speaker conceiveth, and Conceits are Images repreſenting that which is ſpoken of; it followeth that they who will judge of words, ſhould have recourſe to the things themſelves from whence they riſe. In ſetting down that Miracle, at the ſight whereof *Peter* fell down aſtoniſhed before the feet of Jeſus, and cryed, *Depart, Lord, I am a Sinner*, the Evangeliſt St. *Luke* ſaith, the ſtore of the Fiſh which they took was ſuch, that the

Of Preaching, by reading publickly the books of holy Scripture; and concerning ſuppoſed untruths in thoſe tranſlations of ſcripture which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choice which we make in reading.

(*d*) Acts. 15. 21.

Pſal. 105. 28.

Luke 5. 6, 7.

Net they took it in *brake*, and the Ships which they loaded therewith ſunk; St. *John* recording the like Miracle, ſaith, That albeit the Fiſhes in number were ſo many, yet the Net with ſo great a weight was *not broken*. Suppoſe they had written both of one Miracle. Although there be in their Words a manifeſt ſhew of Jar; yet none, if we look upon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both have ſpoken even of one Miracle, the very ſame which they ſpake of divers, the one intending thereby to ſignify that the greatneſs of the burden exceeded the natural ability of the inſtruments which they had to bear it; the other, that the weakneſs thereof was ſupported by a ſupernatural and miraculous addition of ſtrength. The Nets, as touching themſelves, *brake*, but through the power of God they *held*. Are not the words of the Prophet *Micheas* touching *Bethleem, Thou Bethleem the leaſt*? and doth not the very Evangeliſt tranſlate theſe words, *Thou Bethleem not the leaſt*? the one regarding the quantity of the Place, the other the dignity. *Micheas* attributeth unto it ſmallneſs, in reſpect of circuit; *Matthew* greatneſs, in regard of honour and eſtimation, by being the native Soil of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt. Sith therefore Speeches, which gainſay one another, muſt of neceſſity be applied both unto one and the ſelf-ſame Subject; Sith they muſt alſo the one affirm, the other deny the ſelf-ſame thing: what neceſſity of contradiction can there be between the Letter of the Prophet *David*, and our authoriſed tranſlation thereof, if he underſtanding *Moſes* and *Aaron* do ſay, *They were not diſobedient*; we applying our ſpeech to *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians*, do ſay of them, *They were not obedient*? Or (which the matter it ſelf will eaſily enough likewiſe ſuffer) if the *Ægyptians* being meant by both, it be ſaid that *they* in regard of their offer to let go the People, when they ſaw the fearful Darkneſs, *diſobeyed not* the Word of the Lord; and yet that they *did not obey* his Word, in as much as the Sheep and Cattle at the ſelf-ſame time they with-held. Of both Tranſlations, the better I willingly acknowledge that which cometh nearer to the very letter of the Original verity: yet ſo, that the other may likewiſe ſafely enough be read, without any peril at all of gain-ſaying, as much as the leaſt jot or ſyllable of God's moſt ſacred and precious Truth. Which Truth, as in this we do not violate, ſo neither is the ſame gain-ſaid or croſt, no not in thoſe very Preambles placed before certain readings, wherein the ſteps of the Latin Service-Book have been ſomewhat too nearly followed. As when we ſay, Chriſt ſpake (*a*) *to his Diſciples*, That which the Goſpel declareth he ſpake (*b*) *unto the Phariſees*. For doth the Goſpel affirm, he ſpake to the Phariſees *only*? doth it mean that they, and beſides them, no Man elſe was at that time ſpoken unto by our Saviour Chriſt? If not, then is there in this diverſity no contrariety. I ſuppoſe it ſomewhat probable, that St. *John* and St. *Matthew*, which have recorded thoſe Sermons, heard them, and being Hearers, did think themſelves as well reſpected as the *Phariſees* in that which their Lord and Maſter taught, concerning the Paſtoral care he had over his own Flock, and his offer of Grace made to the whole World; which things are the matter whereof he treateth in thoſe Sermons. Wherefore as yet there is nothing found, wherein we read for the Word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant unto his Word. Furthermore, ſomewhat they are diſpleaſed, in that we follow not the method of Reading, which (*c*) in their judgment is moſt commendable, the method uſed in ſome foreign Churches, where Scriptures are read *before* the time of Divine-Service, and without either *choice* or *ſtint appointed* by any *determinate* Order. Nevertheleſs, till ſuch time as they ſhall vouchſafe us ſome juſt and ſufficient reaſon to the contrary, we muſt by their patience, if not allowance, retain the (*d*) ancient received Cuſtom which we now obſerve. For with us the reading of the Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church-Liturgy, a ſpecial Portion of the Service which we do to God, and not an exerciſe to ſpend the time when one doth wait for anothers coming, till the aſſembly of them which ſhall afterwards worſhip him be compleat. Wherefore, as the form of our Publick Service is not voluntary, ſo neither are the parts thereof left uncertain, but they are all ſet down in ſuch order, and with ſuch choice, as hath in the wiſdom of the Church ſeemed beſt to concur, as well with the ſpecial occaſions, as with the general purpoſe which we have to glorify God.

John 21. 11.

Mich. 5. 2. Matth. 2. 6.

Exod. 10. 24.

(*a*) The Goſpel on the ſecond Sunday after Eaſter, and on the twentieth after Trinity.

(*b*) Joh. 10. 11. Matth. 22. 1.

(*c*) *T. C. l.* 2. *p.* 381. Although it be very convenient which is uſed in ſome Churches, where before Preaching-time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read: yet neither is this, nor any other Order of bare Publick reading in the Church neceſſarily had.

(*d*) Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 22. c. 8. *Facto ſilentio, Scripturarum ſunt lecta divina ſolennia.* That for ſeveral times ſeveral pieces of Scripture were read as parts of the Service of the Greek Church, the Fathers thereof in their ſundry Homilies and other Writings do all teſtifie. The like Order in the Syrian Churches is clear by the very inſcriptions of Chapters throughout their Tranſlation of the New-Teſtament. See the Edition at *Vienna*, *Paris* and *Antwerp*.

Of Preaching by the Publick reading of other profitable inſtructions; and concerning Books Apocryphal.

20. Other Publick readings there are of Books and Writings not Canonical, whereby the Church doth alſo preach, or openly make known, the Doctrine of virtuous converſation; whereupon, beſides thoſe things, in regard whereof we are thought to read the Scriptures of God amiſs, it is thought amiſs, that we read in our Churches any thing at all beſides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any ſuch profitable inſtruction, as the Church hath deviſed for the better underſtanding of Scripture, or for the eaſier training up of the People in holineſs and righteouſneſs of life, they (*e*) plead, that God in the Law would

---

(*e*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 196, Neither the Homilies nor the Apocrypha are at all to be read in the Church. Wherein, firſt, It is good to conſider the Order which the Lord kept with his People in times paſt, when he commanded, *Exod.* 30. 29. that no Veſſel nor no Inſtrument, either Beſome or Fleſh-hook, or Pan, ſhould once come into the Temple, but thoſe only which were ſanctified and ſet apart for that uſe. And in the Book of *Numbers* he will have no other Trumpets blown to call the People together, but thoſe only which were ſet apart for that purpoſe. *Numb.* 10. 2.

have *nothing* brought into the Temple, neither Beſomes, nor Fleſh-hooks, nor Trumpets, but thoſe only which were ſanctified; that for the expounding of darker places we *ought* to follow the Jews* Polity, who under *Antiochus*, where they had not the commodity of Sermons, appointed always at their Meeting ſomewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the Law, and ſo by the one made the other plainer to be underſtood; that before and after our Saviour's coming they neither read *Onkelos* nor *Jonathan's* Paraphraſe, though having both, but contented themſelves (*a*) with the reading only of Scriptures; that if in the Primitive Church there had been any thing read beſides the Monuments of the Prophets and Apoſtles, (*b*) *Juſtin Martyr* and *Origen*, who mention theſe, would have ſpoken of the other likewiſe; that (*c*) the moſt ancient and beſt Councils forbid any thing to be read in Churches, ſaving Canonical Scripture only; that when (*d*) other things were afterwards permitted, (*e*) fault was found with it, it ſucceeded but ill, the Bible it ſelf was thereby in time quite and clean thruſt out. Which Arguments, if they be only brought in token of the Authors good-will and meaning towards the cauſe which they would ſet forward, muſt accordingly be accepted of by them, who already are perſwaded the ſame way. But if their drift and purpoſe be to perſwade others, it would be demanded, by what Rule the legal *hallowing* of Beſomes and Fleſh-hooks muſt needs exclude all other readings in the Church ſave Scripture. Things ſanctified were thereby in ſuch ſort appropriated unto God, as that they might never afterwards again be made common. For which cauſe, the Lord, to ſign and mark them as his own, (*f*) appointed oyl of holy oyntment, the like whereunto it was not lawful to make for ordinary and daily uſes. Thus the (*g*) anoynting of *Aaron* and his Sons tyed them to the Office of the Prieſthood for ever; the anoynting, not of thoſe Silver Trumpets (which (*h*) *Moſes* as well for Secular as Sacred uſes was commanded to make, not to ſanctify) but the Unction of the (*i*) Tabernacle, the Table, the Laver, the Altar of God, with all the Inſtruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for ever holy unto him, in whoſe ſervice they were imployed. But what of this? Doth it thereupon follow, that all things now in the Church, from the greateſt *to the leaſt*, are unholy, which the Lord hath not himſelf preciſely inſtituted? for ſo (*k*) thoſe Rudiments, they ſay, do import. Then is there nothing holy, which the Church by her Authority hath appointed; and conſequently all poſitive Ordinances that ever were made by Eccleſiaſtical Power, touching Spiritual affairs, are prophane, they are unholy. I would not wiſh them to undertake a Work ſo deſperate as to prove that for the Peoples inſtruction no kind of Reading is good, but only that which the Jews deviſed under *Antiochus*, although even that be alſo miſtaken. For, according to (*l*) *Elias* the Levite (out of whom it doth ſeem borrowed) the thing which *Antiochus* forbad, was the Publick *reading* of the Law, and not *Sermons* upon the Law. Neither did the Jews read a Portion of the Prophets together with the Law, to ſerve for an Interpretation thereof, becauſe Sermons were not permitted them; but, *inſtead* of the Law, which they might not read *openly*, they read of the Prophets that, which in likeneſs of matter came neareſt to each Section of their Law. Whereupon, when afterwards the liberty of reading the Law (*m*) was reſtored, the ſelf-ſame Cuſtom (*n*) as touching the Prophets did continue ſtill. If neither the Jews have uſed publickly to read their Paraphraſts, nor (*o*) the Primitive Church for a long time any other Writings than Scripture, except the Cauſe of their not doing it, were ſome Law of God, or Reaſon forbidding them to do that which we do, why ſhould the later Ages of the Church be deprived of the Liberty the former had? Are we bound while the World ſtandeth, to put nothing in practiſe, but only that which was at the very firſt?

* *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 197. Beſides this, the Polity of the Church of God in times paſt is to be followed, *&c.*

(*a*) Acts 13. 15. Acts 15. 21.

(*b*) *Juſtin Apol.* 2. *Origen. Hom.* 1. *ſuper Exod. & in Judic.*

(*c*) *Concil. Laod. c.* 59.

(*d*) *Concil. Valenſ.* 2.

(*e*) *Concil. Colon. par.* 2.

(*f*) Exod. 30 25, 32.

(*g*) Exod. 40. 15.

(*h*) Numb. 10. 2.

(*i*) Exod. 27. 3. & 30. 26, 27, 28.

(*k*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 197. The Lord would by theſe Rudiments and Pædagogie teach, that he would have nothing brought into the Church but that which he had apointed.

(*l*) *Elias Theſb. in verbo Patar.*

(*m*) Acts 15. 21.

(*n*) Acts. 13. 15.

Concerning the Council of **Laodicea**, as it forbiddeth the reading of thoſe things which are not Canonical, ſo it maketh ſome things not Canonical, which are. Their Judgment in this we may not, and in that we need not follow. We have by thus many years experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbred with any notable inconvenience, hath grown by the Cuſtom which we now obſerve. As for the harm whereof judicious Men have complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read beſides the Scripture, but that ſo evil choice was made. With us there is never any time beſtowed in Divine Service, without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which we account a thing moſt neceſſary. We dare not admit any ſuch Form of Liturgy, as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little to be read in the Church. And therefore the thruſting of the Bible out of the Houſe of God, is rather there to be feared, where Men eſteem it a matter (*p*) ſo indifferent, whether the ſame be by ſolemn appointment read publickly, or not read, the bare Text excepted, which the Preacher haply chuſeth out to expound. But let us here conſider what the Practice of our Fathers before us hath been, and how far forth the ſame may be followed. We find, that in ancient times there was publickly read, firſt the (*q*) Scripture, as namely, ſomething out

The Apocalyps.

(*o*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 197. This Practice continued ſtill in the Churches of God after the Apoſtles times, as may appear by the ſecond Apology of *Juſtin Martyr. Idem, p.* 198. It was decreed in the Council of *Laodicea*, that nothing ſhould be read in the Church but the Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament. Afterwards, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs lives was permitted. But, beſides the evil ſucceſs thereof, that Uſe and Cuſtom was controlled, as may appear by the Council of *Colen*, albeit otherwiſe Popiſh. The bringing in of Homilies and Martyrs lives hath thruſt the Bible clean out of the Church, or into a Corner.

(*p*) *T.C. l.* 2. *p.* 381. It is untrue, that *ſimple reading* is neceſſary in the Church. A number of Churches which have no ſuch Order of *ſimple reading*, cannot be in this point charged with the breach of God's Commandment, which they might be, if *ſimple reading* were *neceſſary*. [By *ſimple reading* he meaneth the Cuſtom of bare Reading no more than the Preacher at the ſame time expoundeth unto the People.] (*q*) *Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem.* Tertul. Apol. p. 692.

of the Books of the (*a*) Prophets of God, which were of old; ſomething out of (*b*) the Apoſtles Writings; and laſtly out of the holy (*c*) Evangeliſts, ſome things which touched the Perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf. The cauſe of their reading firſt the Old Teſtament, then the New, and always ſomewhat out of both, is moſt likely to have been that which *Juſtin Martyr* and Saint *Auguſtine* obſerve in comparing the two Teſtaments. *The Apoſtles* (ſaith the one) *hath taught us as themſelves did learn, firſt the Precepts of the Law, and then the Goſpels. For what elſe is the Law, but the Goſpel foreſhewed? What other the Goſpel, than the Law fulfilled?* In like ſort the other, *What the Old Teſtament hath, the very ſame the New containeth; but that which lyeth there as under a ſhadow, is here brought forth into the open Sun. Things there prefigured, are here performed.* Again, *in the Old Teſtament there is a cloſe comprehenſion of the New; in the New, an open diſcovery of the Old.* To be ſhort, the method of their publick readings either purpoſely did tend, or at the leaſt-wiſe doth fitly ſerve, *That from ſmaller things the minds of the Hearers may go forward to the Knowledge of greater, and by degrees climb up from the loweſt to the higheſt things.* Now, beſides the Scripture, the Books which they called *Eccleſiaſtical*, were thought not unworthy ſometime to be brought into publick audience, and with that Name they intituled the Books which we term *Apocryphal.* Under the ſelf-ſame Name they alſo compriſed certain, no otherwiſe annexed unto the New, than the former unto the Old Teſtament, as a Book of *Hermes*, Epiſtles of *Clement*, and the like. According therefore to the Phraſe of Antiquity, theſe we may term *the New*, and the other *the Old Eccleſiaſtical* Books or Writings. For we being directed by a Sentence (I ſuppoſe) of Saint *Jerom*, who ſaith, That *All Writings not Canonical are Apocryphal*, uſe not now the Title *Apocryphal*, as the reſt of the Fathers ordinarily have done, whoſe Cuſtom is ſo to name for the moſt part only, ſuch as might not publickly be read or divulged. *Ruffinus* therefore having rehearſed the ſelf-ſame Books of Canonical Scripture, which with us are held to be alone Canonical, addeth immediately by way of caution, *We muſt know that other Books there are alſo, which our Forefathers have uſed to name not Canonical, but Eccleſiaſtical Books, as the Book of* Wiſdom, Eccleſiaſticus, Toby, Judith, *the* Macchabees, *in the Old Teſtament; in the New, the Book of* Hermes, *and ſuch others: All which Books and Writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alledged, as if their authority did bind us to build upon them our Faith. Other Writings they named Apocryphal, which they would not have read in Churches. Theſe things delivered unto us from the Fathers, we have in this place thought good to ſet down.* So far *Ruffinus.* He which conſidereth notwithſtanding what ſtore of falſe and forged Writings, dangerous unto Chriſtian Belief, and yet bearing (*d*) glorious Inſcriptions, began ſoon upon the Apoſtles times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had been indeed Apoſtolick, ſhall eaſily perceive what cauſe the Provincial Synod of (*e*) *Laodicea* might have *as then* to prevent, eſpecially the danger of Books made newly Eccleſiaſtical, and for fear of the fraud of Hereticks to provide, that ſuch Publick readings might be altogether taken out of Canonical Scripture. Which Ordinance, reſpecting but that abuſe which grew through the intermingling of Leſſons Humane with Sacred at ſuch time as the one both affected the Credit, and uſurped the Name of the other (as by the Canon of (*f*) a later Council providing remedy for the ſelf-ſame Evil, and yet allowing the old Eccleſiaſtical Books to be read, it doth more plainly and clearly appear) neither can be conſtrued, nor ſhould be urged utterly to prejudice our uſe of thoſe old Eccleſiaſtical Writings; much leſs of Homilies, which were a third kind of Readings uſual in former times, a moſt commendable Inſtitution, as well then (*g*) to ſupply the caſual, as now the neceſſary defect of Sermons.

In the heat of general Perſecution whereunto Chriſtian Belief was ſubject, upon the firſt promulgation thereof throughout the World, it much confirmed the courage and conſtancy of weaker minds, when publick relation was made unto them, after what manner God had been glorifyed through the Sufferings of Martyrs, famous amongſt them for Holineſs during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all Men's eyes, through miraculous Evidence of Grace divine aſſiſting them from above. For which cauſe the Virtues of ſome being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance above the reſt, this brought in (*h*) a fourth kind of Publick Reading, whereby the lives of ſuch Saints and Martyrs had, at the time of their yearly Memorials, ſolemn recognition in the Church of God. The fond imitation of which laudable Cuſtom being in later Ages reſumed, where there was neither the like cauſe to do as the Fathers before had done; nor any Care, Conſcience, or Wit, in ſuch as undertook to perform that Work, ſome brainleſs Men have by great labour and travel brought to paſs, that the Church is now aſhamed of nothing more than of Saints. If therefore Pope (*i*) *Gelaſius* did, ſo long ſithence, ſee thoſe defects of Judgment even then, for which the reading of the Acts of Martyrs ſhould be, and was at that time, forborn in the Church of *Rome*; we are not to marvel, that afterwards Legends being grown

---

(*a*) *Judaicarum Hiſtoriarum libri traditi ſunt ab Apoſtolis legendi in Eccleſiis.* Orig. in Jol. Hom. 15. *(b)* Πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἄγρους μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. Juſtin. Apol. 2. p. 162. *Factum eſt ut iſta die Dominica, Prophetica lectione jam lecta, ante altare adſtante, qui lectionem St. Pauli proferret, beatiſſimus Antiſtes Ambroſius*, &c. Sulpit. Sever. l. 3. de vita S. Mart. (*c*) Vide Concil. Vaſen. 2. habitum An. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. 2. p. 19. Item. Synod. Laod. c. 16. Cypr. l. 2. epiſt. 5. & l. 4. epiſt. 5. Amb. l. 1. Offic. c. 8 & epiſt. 75. & lib. de Helia atque jejunio, cap. 20.

Juſt. quæſt. 101.

Auguſt. quæſt. 33. *in Num.*

Walf. Strab. de rebus Eccleſiaſt. cap. 22.

Hieron. in prolog. Galat.

Ruffinus in Symbol. Apoſt. apud Cypr.

(d) Vide Gelaſ. decret. tom. Concil. 2. *p.* 462.

(*e*) *Circa An. Dom.* 366.

(f) Concil. Carthag. 3. c. 47. *Præter Scripturas Canonicas nihil in Eccleſiis legatur ſub nomine Divinarum Scripturarum. circa An. Dom.* 401.

(g) Concil. *Vaſen.* 2. *habitum An. Dom.* 444. Tom. Concil. 2. p. 19. *Si Presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per ſeipſum non potuerit prædicare; Sanctorum Patrum Homiliæ à Diaconis recitentur.*

(*h*) *Concil. Carthag.* 3. *Can.* 13. *& Greg. Turon. de gloria mart. ca.* 86. *& Hadria. epiſt. ad Carol. Magn.*

(i) Gelaſ. circa An. Dom. 492. *to. Concil.* 2. *pag.* 461.

in a manner to be nothing elſe but heaps of frivolous and ſcandalous vanities, they have been even with diſdain thrown out, the (*a*) very Neſts which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only Scripture, and to make confuſedly all the reſidue of one ſuit, as if they who aboliſh Legends could not without incongruity retain in the Church either Homilies, or thoſe old Eccleſiaſtical Books: Which Books in caſe my ſelf did think, as ſome others do, ſafer and better to be left publickly unread; nevertheleſs as in other things of like nature, even ſo in this (*b*) my private Judgment I ſhould be loath to oppoſe againſt the force of their Reverend Authority, who rather conſidering the Divine excellency of ſome things in all, and of all things in certain of thoſe *Apocrypha* which we publickly read, have thought it better to let them ſtand as a liſt or marginal border unto the Old Teſtament, and, though with Divine, yet as Humane compoſitions, to grant at the leaſt unto certain of them publick audience in the Houſe of God. For in as much as the due eſtimation of heavenly Truth dependeth wholly upon the known and approved authority of thoſe famous Oracles of God, it greatly behoveth the Church to have always moſt eſpecial care, leſt through confuſed mixture at any time Humane uſurp the room and title of Divine Writings. Wherefore albeit for the Peoples more plain inſtruction (as the ancient uſe hath been) we read in our Churches certain Books, beſides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture we read them not. All Men know our profeſſed opinion touching the difference whereby we ſever them from the ſcripture. And if any where it be ſuſpected that ſome one or other will haply miſtake a thing ſo manifeſt in every Man's eye, there is no let, but that as often as thoſe Books are read, and need ſo requireth, the ſtyle of their difference may expreſly be mentioned, to bar even all poſſibility of Error. It being then known, that we hold not the *Apocrypha* for ſacred (as we do the holy Scripture) but for humane compoſitions, the ſubject whereof are ſundry divine matters; let there be reaſon ſhewed, why to read any part of them publickly, it ſhould be unlawful or hurtful unto the Church of God. I hear it ſaid, that *many things* in them are very *frivolous*, and unworthy of publick audience; yea, many contrary, *plainly contrary, to the holy Scripture*. Which hitherto is neither ſufficiently proved by him who ſaith it, and, if the proofs thereof were ſtrong, yet the very allegation it ſelf is weak. Let us therefore ſuppoſe (for I will not demand to what purpoſe it is, that againſt our Cuſtom of reading Books not Canonical, they bring exceptions of matter in thoſe Books which we never uſe to read) ſuppoſe (I ſay) that what faults ſoever they have obſerved throughout the paſſages of all thoſe Books, the ſame in every reſpect were ſuch as neither could be conſtrued, nor ought to be cenſured otherwiſe, than even as themſelves pretend: Yet as Men, through too much haſte, oftentimes forget the Errand whereabout they ſhould go; ſo here it appeareth, that an eager deſire to rake together whatſoever might prejudice or any way hinder the credit of Apocryphal Books, hath cauſed the Collectors Pen ſo to run as it were on Wheels, that the mind which ſhould guide it, had no leaſure to think, whether that which might haply ſerve to withhold from giving them the Authority which belongeth unto Sacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon, would as effectually ſerve to ſhut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from granting unto them that publick uſe, wherein they are only held as profitable for inſtruction. Is it not acknowledged, that thoſe Books are *Holy*, that they are *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Sacred*, that to term them *Divine*, as being for their excellency next unto them which are properly ſo termed, is no way to honour them above deſert; yea, even that the whole Church of Chriſt, as well *at the firſt* as *ſithence* hath moſt worthily approved their fitneſs for the publick information of Life and Manners: Is not thus much, I ſay, acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithſtanding receive not the ſame for *any part of Canonical Scripture*, by them who deny not but that they are *Faulty*, by them who are ready enough to give inſtances, wherein they ſeem to contain matter *ſcarce agreeable with holy Scripture*? So little doth ſuch their ſuppoſed Faultineſs in moderate Men's Judgments inforce the removal of them out of the Houſe of God, that ſtill they are judged to retain worthily thoſe very Titles of Commendation; than which, there cannot greater be given to Writings, the Authors whereof are Men. As in truth, if the Scripture it ſelf, aſcribing to the Perſons of Men Righteouſneſs, in regard of their manifold virtues, may not rightly be conſtrued, as though it did thereby clear them, and make them quite free from all faults, no reaſon we ſhould judge it abſurd to commend their Writings as Reverend, Holy and Sound, wherein there are ſo many ſingular Perfections, only for that the exquiſite Wits of ſome few peradventure are able diſperſedly here and there to find now a word and then a ſentence, which may be more probably ſuſpected than eaſily cleared of Error by us which have but conjectural knowledge of their meaning. Againſt immodeſt Invectives therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with (*c*) *outragious Lies*, we doubt not but their more allowable cenſure will prevail, who without ſo paſſionate terms of diſgrace, do note a difference great enough between Apocryphal and other Writings, a difference ſuch as (*d*) *Joſephus* and *Epiphanius* obſerve: the one declaring, that amongſt the Jews, Books written after the days of *Artaxerxes*, were not of equal credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Jews ſithence that time had not the like exact ſucceſſion of Prophets; the (*e*) other acknowledging that they are profitable, although denying them to be Divine, in ſuch conſtruction and ſenſe as the Scripture it ſelf is ſo termed. With what intent they were firſt publiſhed, thoſe words of the Nephew of Jeſus do plainly enough ſignifie, *After that my Grand-*

(*a*) *Concil. Colon. celebrat. An. Dom.* 1536. *par.* 2. *Cap.* 6. *Melch. Can. locor. theol. lib.* 11. *Viv. de trad. diſc. lib.* 5.

(*b*) *In errorum barathrum faciliter ruunt qui conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus anteponunt, c. un. de Relig. do in Extra,*

Hieron. præf. ad libros Salom. Aug. de præd. Sanct. l. 1. *c.* 14. *Præfat. gloſſ. ord. & Lyr. ad prol. Hieron. in Tob.*

T. C. l. 2. *p.* 400, 401.

Harm. Confeſ. ſect. 1. *Bel. con. art.* 6. *Lubert, de princip. Chriſt. dogm. l.* 1. *c.* 5.

(*c*) The libel of Metaphyſ. Schoolp. art. 34.

(*d*) *Joſeph. cont. App. lib.* 1.

(*e*) *Epiph. in Ancyrot.*

Χρήσιμοι μέν εἰσι ϗ ὠφέλιμοι, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ἀριθμὸν ῥητῶν οὐκ ἀναφέρονται.

Grandfather Jeſus *had given himſelf to the reading of the* Law *and the Prophets, and other Books of our Fathers, and had gotten therein ſufficient judgment, he purpoſed alſo to write ſomething pertaining to* Learning *and Wiſdom, to the intent, that they which were deſirous to learn, and would give themſelves to theſe things, might profit much more in living according to the* Law. Their end in writing, and ours in reading them, is the ſame. The Books of *Judith, Toby, Baruch, Wiſdom* and *Eccleſiaſticus* we read, as ſerving moſt unto that end. The reſt we leave unto Men in private. Neither can it be reaſonably thought, becauſe upon certain ſolemn occaſions, ſome Leſſons are choſen out of thoſe Books, and of Scripture it ſelf ſome Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby do offer diſgrace to the Word of God, or lift up the Writings of Men above it. For in ſuch choice we do not think, but that *Fitneſs* of Speech may be more reſpected than *Worthineſs.* If in that which we uſe to read, there happen by the way any Clauſe, Sentence, or Speech that ſoundeth towards Error; ſhould the mixture of a little droſs conſtrain the Church to deprive her ſelf of ſo much Gold, rather than learn how by Art and Judgment to make ſeparation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly, from the counſel that St. *Jerom* giveth *Læta,* of taking heed how ſhe read the *Apocrypha,* as alſo by the help of other learned Men's Judgments delivered in like caſe, we may take direction. But ſurely, the Arguments that ſhould bind us not to read them, or any part of them publickly at all, muſt be ſtronger than as yet we have heard any.

Præfat. ad lib. Eccleſ.

Of Preaching by Sermons; and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of Teaching, whereby Men are brought to the ſaving knowledge of God's Truth.

21. We marvel the leſs that our reading of Books not Canonical is ſo much impugned, when ſo little is attributed unto the reading of Canonical Scripture it ſelf; that now it hath grown to be a queſtion, whether the *Word of God* be any *ordinary* mean to ſave the Souls of Men, in that it is either privately ſtudied, or publickly read, and ſo made known; or elſe only as the ſame is *preached,* that is to ſay, *explained by lively voice,* and *applyed* to the Peoples uſe, as the *Speaker in his Wiſdom thinketh meet.* For this alone is it which they uſe to call *Preaching.* The publick reading of the *Apocrypha* they condemn altogether, as a thing effectual unto Evil; the *bare* reading *in like ſort* of whatſoever, yea even of Scriptures themſelves, they miſlike, as a thing *uneffectual* to do *that good,* which we are perſwaded may grow by it. Our deſire is in this preſent Controverſy, as in the reſt, not to be carried up and down with the waves of uncertain Arguments, but rather poſitively to lead on the minds of the ſimpler ſort by plain and eaſie degrees, till the very nature of the thing it ſelf do make manifeſt what is Truth. Firſt therefore, becauſe whatſoever is ſpoken concerning the efficacy or neceſſity of *God's Word,* the ſame they tye and reſtrain only unto *Sermons,* howbeit not Sermons read neither (for ſuch they alſo abhor in the Church) but Sermons without Book, Sermons which ſpend their life in their birth, and may have publick audience but once: For this cauſe, to avoid ambiguities, wherewith they often intangle themſelves, not marking what doth agree to the Word of God in it ſelf, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the Word of God is his Heavenly Truth, touching matters of eternal life revealed and uttered unto Men, unto Prophets and Apoſtles by immediate Divine Inſpiration, from them to us by their Books and Writings. We therefore have no *Word of God* but the Scripture. Apoſtolick Sermons were, unto ſuch as heard them, his Word, even as properly as to us their Writings are. Howbeit not ſo our own Sermons, the expoſitions which our diſcourſe of Wit doth gather and miniſter out of the Word of God. For which cauſe, in this preſent queſtion we are, when we name the *Word of God,* always to mean the *Scripture only.* The end of the Word of God is *to ſave,* and therefore we term it the *Word of life.* The way for all Men to be ſaved, is by the knowledge of that Truth which the Word hath taught. And ſith Eternal life is a thing of it ſelf communicable unto all, it behooved that the Word of God, the neceſſary mean thereunto, be ſo likewiſe. Wherefore the Word of Life hath been always a Treaſure, though precious, yet eaſie, as well to attain, as to find; leſt any Man deſirous of life ſhould periſh through the difficulty of the way. To this end the Word of God no otherwiſe ſerveth, than only in the nature of a Doctrinal Inſtrument. It ſaveth, becauſe it maketh *wiſe to Salvation.* Wherefore the ignorant it ſaveth not; they which live by the Word, muſt know it. And being it ſelf the Inſtrument which God hath purpoſely framed, thereby to work the knowledge of ſalvation in the hearts of Men, what cauſe is there wherefore it ſhould not of it ſelf be acknowledged a moſt apt and a likely mean, to leave an *apprehenſion* of things Divine in our underſtanding, and in the mind an *aſſent* thereunto? For touching the one, ſith God, who knoweth and diſcloſeth beſt the rich treaſures of his own Wiſdom, hath, by delivering his Word, made choice of the Scriptures, as the moſt effectual means, whereby thoſe treaſures might be imparted unto the World, it followeth, That to Man's underſtanding the Scripture muſt needs be even of it ſelf intended as a full and perfect diſcovery, ſufficient to imprint in us the lively Character of all things neceſſarily required for the attainment of Eternal Life. And concerning our aſſent to the Myſteries of Heavenly truth, ſeeing that the Word of God, for the Authors ſake, hath credit with all that confeſs it (as we all do) to be his Word, every Propoſition of holy Scripture, every Sentence being to us a Principle; if the Principles of all kinds of Knowledge elſe have that virtue in themſelves, whereby they are able to procure our Aſſent unto ſuch Concluſions, as the induſtry of right Diſcourſe doth gather from them; we have no reaſon to think the Principles of that Truth, which tendeth unto Man's ever-

2 Tim. 3. 15.

everlaſting happineſs, leſs forcible than any other, when we know, that, of all other, they are for their certainty the moſt infallible. But as every thing of price, ſo this doth require travel. We bring not the knowledge of God with us into the World. And the leſs our own opportunity or ability is that way, the more we need the help of other Men's Judgments, to be our direction herein. Nor doth any Man ever believe, into whom the Doctrine of Belief is not inſtilled by inſtruction, ſome way received at the firſt from others. Wherein whatſoever fit means there are to notify the Myſteries of the Word of God, whether Publickly (which we call *Preaching*) or in Private, howſoever, the Word by *every ſuch mean* even *ordinarily* doth ſave, and not only by being delivered unto Men in Sermons. *Sermons* are not *the only Preaching* which doth ſave Souls. For, concerning the uſe and ſenſe of this word *Preaching*, which they ſhut up in ſo cloſe a Priſon, although more than enough have already been ſpoken, to redeem the liberty thereof; yet becauſe they inſiſt ſo much, and ſo proudly inſult thereon, we muſt a little inure their Ears with hearing, how others whom they more regard, are in this Caſe accuſtomed to uſe the ſelf-ſame language with us, whoſe manner of ſpeech they deride. (*a*) *Juſtin Martyr* doubteth not to tell the Grecians, That even in certain of their *Writings* the very Judgment to come is preached; nor the (*b*) Council of *Vaus* to inſinuate, that Presbyters, abſent through infirmity from their Churches, might be ſaid to preach by thoſe Deputies, who in their ſtead did but read *Homilies*; nor the (*c*) Council of *Toledo*, to call the uſual Publick reading of the *Goſpels* in the Church, Preaching; nor (*d*) others, long before theſe our days to write, that by him who but readeth a *Leſſon* in the Solemn Aſſembly as part of Divine Service, the very Office of Preaching is ſo far-forth executed. Such kind of ſpeeches were then familiar, thoſe Phraſes ſeemed not to them abſurd, they would have marvelled to hear the (*e*) Out-cries which we do, becauſe we think, that the Apoſtles *in writing*, and others *in reading* to the Church thoſe Books which the Apoſtles wrote, are neither untruly nor unfitly ſaid to *preach*. For although Men's *Tongues* and their *Pens* differ, yet to one and the *ſelf-ſame* general, if not particular *effect*, they may both ſerve. It is no good Argument, St. *Paul* could not *write with his Tongue*, therefore neither could he *preach with his Pen*. For Preaching is a general end whereunto Writing and Speaking do both ſerve. Men ſpeak not with the Inſtruments of Writing, neither write with the Inſtruments of Speech; and yet things *recorded* with the one, and *uttered* with the other, may be (*f*) *preached* well enough with both. By their Patience therefore be it ſpoken, the Apoſtles *preached* as well when they *wrote* as when they *ſpake* the Goſpel of Chriſt; and our uſual *Publick reading* of the Word of God for the Peoples inſtruction, *is Preaching*. Nor about words would we ever contend, were not their purpoſe in ſo reſtraining the ſame, injurious to God's moſt Sacred Word and Spirit. It is on both ſides confeſt, That the Word of God outwardly adminiſtred (his (*g*) Spirit inwardly concurring therewith) converteth, edifieth and ſaveth Souls. Now whereas the external Adminiſtration of his Word is as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaining the ſame when Sermons thereon be made; in the one, they deny, That the Finger of God hath *ordinarily* certain *principal operations*, which we moſt ſtedfaſtly hold and believe that it hath in both.

(*a*) *Parænet. ad Gent. p.* 17.

(*b*) *Concil. Vaſen.* 2. *c.* 2.

(*c*) *Concil. Tol.* 4. *c.* 11.

(*d*) *Rupert. de Divin. Offic. l.* 1. *c.* 12, 13. *Iſid. de Eccleſ. Offic. l.* 1. *c.* 10.

(*e*) The Libel of *Schoolp. art.* 11. *T. C. lib.* 2. *pag.* 388.

Saint *Paul's* Writing is no more Preaching, than his Pen or his Hand is his Tongue: ſeeing they cannot be the ſame, which cannot be made by the ſame Inſtruments.

(*f*) *Evangelizo manu & ſcriptione. Rainol. de Rom. Eccleſ. Idolola, præf. ad Co. Eſſex.*

(*g*) Joh. 5. 46. Mat. 16. 17. 2 Cor. 4. 6. 1 Cor. 12. 3. Acts 16. 14.

22. So worthy a part of Divine Service we ſhould greatly wrong, if we did not eſteem Preaching as the bleſſed Ordinance of God, Sermons as Keys to the Kingdom of Heaven, as Wings to the Soul, as Spurs to the good Affections of Man, unto the Sound and Healthy as Food, as Phyſick unto diſeaſed Minds. Wherefore how highly ſoever it may pleaſe them with words of Truth to extol Sermons, they ſhall not herein offend us. We ſeek not to derogate from any thing which they can juſtly eſteem, but our deſire is to uphold the juſt eſtimation of that, from which it ſeemeth unto us they derogate more than becometh them. That which offendeth us, is, firſt, the great diſgrace which they offer unto *our Cuſtom* of bare reading the Word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the *Principal* virtue whereof thereby manifeſting it ſelf, for the endleſs good of Men's Souls, even the Virtue which it hath to *convert*, to *edifie*, to *ſave* Souls; this they mightily ſtrive to obſcure: and, ſecondly, the ſhifts wherewith they maintain their opinion of Sermons, whereunto, while they labour to appropriate the *Saving* power of the Holy Ghoſt, they ſeparate from all *apparent* hope of life and ſalvation, thouſands whom the goodneſs of Almighty God doth not exclude. Touching therefore the uſe of Scripture even in that it is openly read, and the ineſtimable good which the Church of God, by that very mean, hath reaped; there was, we may very well think, ſome cauſe which moved the Apoſtle St. *Paul* to require, that thoſe things which any one Churches affairs gave particular occaſion to write, might, for the Inſtruction of all, be publiſhed, and that by *reading*. 1. When the very having of the Books of God was a matter of no ſmall charge and difficulty, in as much as they could not be had otherwiſe than only in written Copies, it was the neceſſity, not of Preaching things agreeable with the Word, but of Reading the Word it ſelf at large to the People, which cauſed Churches throughout the World to have publick care, that the ſacred Oracles of God being procured by Common charge, might with great ſedulity be kept both intire and ſincere. If then we admire the providence of God in the ſame continuance of Scripture, notwithſtanding the violent endeavours of Infidels to aboliſh, and the fraudulence of Hereticks always to deprave the ſame, ſhall we ſet light by that Cuſtom of reading, from whence ſo precious a benefit hath grown? 2. The Voice and Teſtimony of the Church acknowledging Scripture to be the Law of the Living God, is

What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to Reading alſo.

1 Theſ. 5. 27. Coloſ. 4. 16.

for the truth and certainty thereof no mean Evidence. For if with Reaſon we may preſume upon things which a few Men's depoſitions do teſtifie, ſuppoſe we that the minds of Men are not both at their firſt acceſs to the School of Chriſt exceedingly moved, yea and for ever afterwards alſo confirmed much, when they conſider the main conſent of all the Churches in the whole World witneſſing the Sacred Authority of Scriptures, ever ſithence the firſt publication thereof, even till this preſent day and hour? And that they all have always ſo teſtified, I ſee not how we ſhould poſſibly wiſh a proof more palpable, than this manifeſt received, and every where continued Cuſtom of Reading them publickly as the Scriptures. The Reading therefore of the Word of God, as the uſe hath ever been, in open Audience, is the plaineſt evidence we have of the Churches *aſſent* and *acknowledgment* that it is his Word. 3. A furthet commodity this Cuſtom hath, which is, to furniſh the very *ſimpleſt* and *rudeſt ſort* with ſuch infallible *Axioms* and *Precepts* of Sacred Truth, delivered even in the *very letter* of the Law of John 5. 39. Iſa. 8. 20. God, as may ſerve them for *Rules* whereby to judge the better *all other Doctrines* and Inſtructions which they hear. For which end and purpoſe I ſee not how the Scripture could be poſſibly made familiar unto all, unleſs far more ſhould be read in the Peoples hearing, than by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a manner the whole Book of God is by reading every year publiſhed, a ſmall part thereof, in compariſon of the whole, may hold very well the readieſt Interpreter of ſcripture occupied many years. 4. Beſides, wherefore ſhould any Man think, but that Reading it ſelf is one of the *ordinary* means, whereby it pleaſeth God of his gracious goodneſs to inſtill that Celeſtial Verity, which being *but ſo* received is nevertheleſs effectual to *ſave Souls*? Thus much therefore we aſcribe to the Reading of the Word of God as the manner is in our Churches. And becauſe it were odious, if they on their part ſhould altogether deſpiſe the ſame, they yield that (a) T.C.l.2.p. 376, 377, 395. Reading may *ſet forward*, but not begin the work of Salvation; That (a) Faith may be (b) Pag. 378. *nouriſhed* therewith, but not bred; That (b) herein Men's attention to the Scriptures, and their ſpeculation of the Creatures of God have like efficacy, both being of power to (c) Pag. 383. *augment*, but neither to effect Belief without Sermons; That if (c) any *believe* by Reading alone we are to account it a miracle, an *extraordinary* work of God. Wherein that which they grant, we gladly accept at their hands, and wiſh that patiently they would examine how 2 Chro. 34.18. little cauſe they have to deny that which as yet they grant not. The Scripture witneſſeth, that when the Book of the Law of God had been ſometime miſſing, and was after found, the King, which heard it but only read, tare his Cloaths, and with tears confeſ- 2 Chro. 34.21. ſed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord upon us, becauſe our Fathers have not kept his Word, to do after all things which are written in this Book.* This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of Sermons at that time there is no mention) true Repentance may be wrought in the hearts of ſuch as fear God, and yet incur his diſpleaſure, the deſerved effect whereof is Eternal Death. So that their Repentance (although it be not their firſt entrance) is notwithſtanding the firſt ſtep of their re-entrance into Life, and may be in them wrought by the Word only read unto them. Beſides, it ſeemeth that God would have no Man ſtand in doubt, but that the reading of ſcripture is effectual, as well to *lay even the firſt foundation*, as to add degrees of farther perfection in the fear of God; And Deut. 31. 13. therefore the Law ſaith, *Thou ſhalt* read *this Law before all* Iſrael, *that Men, Women, and* Children *may hear, yea, even that their Children, which as yet* have not known *it, may hear it, and by hearing it ſo read, may* learn to fear *the Lord.* Our Lord and Saviour was Luke 16. 29. himſelf of opinion, That they which would not be drawn to amendment of Life by the Teſtimony which *Moſes* and the Prophets have given, concerning the miſeries that follow Sinners after death, were not likely to be perſwaded by other means, although God from the very Dead ſhould have raiſed them up Preachers. Many hear the Books of God, and believe them not. Howbeit, their unbelief in that caſe we may not impute unto any weakneſs or inſufficiency in the mean which is uſed toward them, but to the wilful bent of their obſtinate hearts againſt it. With minds obdurate nothing prevaileth. As well they that preach, as they that read unto ſuch, ſhall ſtill have cauſe to complain with the Prophets which were of old, *Who will give credit unto our Teaching!* But with whom ordinary means will prevail, ſurely the power of the Word of God, even without the help of Interpreters *in God's Church*, worketh mightily, not unto their confirmation alone which are converted, but alſo to their converſion which are not. It ſhall not boot them who derogate from reading, to excuſe it, when they ſee no other remedy, as if their intent were only to deny, that *Aliens* and Strangers from the Family of God are won, or that Belief doth uſe to be wrought at the firſt in *them*, without Sermons. For they know it is our Cuſtom of ſimple Reading, *not for converſion of Infidels* eſtranged from the Houſe of God, but for *inſtruction of Men baptized*, bred and brought up *in the boſom* of the Church, which they deſpiſe as a thing uneffectual to ſave *ſuch* Souls. In *ſuch* they imagine that God hath no ordinary mean to work Faith without Sermons. The reaſon, why no Man can attain Belief by the bare contemplation of Heaven and Earth, is, for that they neither are ſufficient to give us as much as the leaſt ſpark of Light concerning the very principal Myſteries of our Faith; and whatſoever we may learn by them, the ſame we can only attain to know, according to the manner of natural Sciences, which meer diſcourſe of Wit and Reaſon findeth out; whereas the things which we properly believe, be only ſuch, as are received upon the credit of Divine Teſtimony. Seeing therefore, that he which conſidereth the Creatures of God, findeth therein both theſe defects, and neither the one nor the other in Scriptures, becauſe he that readeth unto us the Scriptures, delivereth all the Myſteries of Faith, and not any thing amongſt them all more than the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: It followeth in thoſe two reſpects, that our conſideration of Creatures, and attention unto Scriptures are not in themſelves, and without Sermons, things of like diſability to *breed* or *beget* Faith. Small cauſe alſo there is, why any Man ſhould greatly wonder as at an extraordinary work, if, without Sermons, Reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by ſome ſpecial inſtance, what one Article of Chriſtian Faith, or what Duty required neceſſarily unto all Men's Salvation there is, which the very reading of the Word of God is not *apt* to notifie. Effects are miraculous and ſtrange, when they grow by unlikely means. But, did we ever hear it accounted for a Wonder, that he which doth read, ſhould believe and live according to the will of Almighty God? (a) Reading doth convey to the Mind that Truth without addition or diminution, which Scripture hath derived from the Holy Ghoſt. And the end of all Scripture is the ſame which St. *John* propoſeth in the writing of that moſt Divine Goſpel, namely *Faith*, and through Faith *Salvation*. Yea, all Scripture is to this effect (b) *in it ſelf* available, as they which wrote it were perſwaded; unleſs we ſuppoſe, that the Evangeliſts, or others, in ſpeaking of their own intent to inſtruct and to ſave by writing, had a ſecret Conceit which they never opened to any, a Conceit that no Man in the World ſhould ever be that way the better for any Sentence by them written, till ſuch time as the ſame might chance to be preached upon, or alledged at the leaſt in a Sermon. Otherwiſe, if he which writeth, doth that which is forcible in it ſelf, how ſhould he which readeth, be thought to do that which in it ſelf is of no force to work Belief, and to ſave Believers? Now, although we have very juſt cauſe to ſtand in ſome jealouſie and fear, leſt by thus overvaluing their Sermons, they make the price and eſtimation of Scripture, otherwiſe notified, to fall: nevertheleſs, ſo impatient they are, that being but requeſted to let us know, what cauſes they leave for Men's incouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to ſave every one which believeth; that which we move for our better learning and inſtruction's ſake, turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietneſs with it; they anſwer fumingly, that they are *aſhamed to defile their Pens with making anſwer to ſuch idle queſtions*: yet in this their mood they caſt forth ſomewhat, wherewith under pain of greater diſpleaſure we muſt reſt contented. They tell us, the profit of Reading is ſingular, in that it ſerveth for a Preparative unto Sermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nouriſhment of Faith, which Sermons have once ingendred; it is ſome ſtay to his mind which readeth the Scripture, when he findeth the ſame things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiveth how God doth concur in opinion with the Preacher; beſides, it keepeth Sermons in memory, and doth in that reſpect, although not feed the Soul of Man, yet help the retentive force of that Stomach of the mind, which receiveth ghoſtly food at the Preachers hands. But the principal cauſe of *writing* the Goſpel was, *that it might be preached* upon or interpreted by publick Miniſters, apt and authorized thereunto. Is it credible that a ſuperſtitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning Sermons, ſhould in ſuch ſort both darken their Eyes, and yet ſharpen their Wits withal, that the only true and weighty cauſe why Scripture was written, the cauſe which in Scripture is ſo often mentioned, the cauſe which all Men have ever till this preſent day acknowledged, this they ſhould clean exclude, as being no cauſe at all, and load us with ſo great ſtore of Strange concealed cauſes, which did never ſee light till now? In which number the reſt muſt needs be of moment, when the very chiefeſt cauſe of committing the Sacred Word of God unto Books, is ſurmiſed to have been, leſt the Preacher ſhould want a Text whereupon to ſcholie. Men of Learning hold it for a ſlip in Judgment, when offer is made to demonſtrate that as proper to one thing, which Reaſon findeth common unto more. Whereas therefore they take from all kinds of teachings, that which they attribute to Sermons, it had been their part to yield directly ſome ſtrong reaſon, why between *Sermons alone* and *Faith*, there ſhould be *ordinarily* that coherence which cauſes have with their uſual effects, why a Chriſtian Man's belief ſhould ſo naturally grow from Sermons, and not poſſibly from any other kind of teaching. In belief there being but theſe two operations, *Apprehenſion* and *Aſſent*. Do only Sermons cauſe Belief, in that no other way is able to explain the myſteries of God, that the mind may rightly apprehend or conceive them as behoveth? We all know, that many things are believed, although they be intricate, obſcure and dark, although they exceed the reach and capacity of our Wits, yea although in this World they be no way poſſible to be underſtood. Many things believed are likewiſe ſo plain, that every Common Perſon may therein be unto himſelf a ſufficient Expounder. Finally, to explain even thoſe things which need and admit explication, many other uſual ways there are beſides Sermons. Therefore Sermons are not the only ordinary means whereby we *firſt* come to *apprehend* the Myſteries of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending the Goſpel of Chriſt we yield thereunto our unfeigned aſſent, as to a thing infallibly true: They which rightly conſider after what ſort the heart of Man hereunto is framed, muſt of neceſſity acknowledge, that who ſo aſſenteth to the words of

(a) Exod. 24.7.

John. 20. 31.

(b) Prov. 1. 2, 3, 4. Rom. 1. 16. 2. Tim. 3. 15.

T. C. l. 2. p. 375.

Eternal life, doth it in regard of his *Authority* whoſe words they are. This is in Man's converſion unto God τὸ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the firſt ſtep whereat his race towards Heaven beginneth. Unleſs therefore, clean contrary to our own experience, we ſhall think it a miracle if any Man acknowledge the Divine authority of the Scripture, till ſome Sermon have perſwaded him thereunto, and that otherwiſe neither converſation in the boſom of the Church, nor Religious Education, nor the reading of Learned Men's Books, nor Information received by conference, nor whatſoever pain and diligence in hearing, ſtudying, meditating day and night on the Law, is ſo far bleſt of God, as to work this effect in any Man; how would they have us to grant, that Faith doth not come but only by *hearing Sermons*? Fain they would have us to believe the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* himſelf to be Author of this their Paradox, only becauſe he hath ſaid, that it pleaſeth God by the (*a*) *fooliſhneſs of Preaching* to ſave them which believe; and again, (*b*) *How ſhall they call on him in whom they have not believed? How ſhall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? How ſhall they hear without a Preacher? How ſhall Men preach except they be ſent*? To anſwer therefore both Allegations at once; The very Subſtance of what they contain is in few but this. Life and Salvation God will have *offered unto all*; his will is that *Gentiles* ſhould be ſaved as well as *Jews*. Salvation belongeth unto none but ſuch *as call upon the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. Which *Nations as yet unconverted* neither do, *nor poſſibly can do till they believe*. What they are to believe, impoſſible it is they ſhould know till they *hear it*. Their Hearing requireth *our Preaching* unto them. (*c*) *Tertullian*, to draw even *Painyms* themſelves unto Christian Belief, willeth *the Books* of the Old Teſtament to be *ſearched*, which were at that time in *Ptolemies* Library. And if Men did not liſt to travel ſo far, though it were for their endleſs good, he addeth that in *Rome* and other places the Jews had *Synagogues*, whereunto every one which would, might reſort; that this kind of Liberty they purchaſed by payment of a ſtanding Tribute; that there they did openly (*d*) *read* the Scriptures; and whoſoever *will hear*, (ſaith *Tertullian*) *he ſhall find God; whoſoever will ſtudy to know, ſhall be alſo fain to believe.* But ſith there is no likelihood that ever voluntarily they will ſeek Inſtruction at our hands, it remaineth that unleſs we will ſuffer them to periſh, Salvation it ſelf muſt ſeek them, it behoveth God to *ſend* them Preachers, as he did *his elect Apoſtles* throughout the World. There is a *Knowledge* which God hath always revealed unto them in the *works of Nature*. This they honour and eſteem highly as profound *Wiſdom*; howbeit this Wiſdom ſaveth them not. That which muſt ſave Believers, is, *the knowledge of the Croſs of Chriſt*, the *only Subject* of *all our Preaching*. And in their Eyes what ſeemeth this but *Folly*? It pleaſeth God by *the fooliſhneſs of Preaching* to ſave. Theſe Words declare how admirable force thoſe Myſteries have, which the World doth deride as Follies; they ſhew that the *Fooliſhneſs of the Croſs of Chriſt* is the *Wiſdom of True Believers*; they concern the *Object* of our Faith, *the * Matter preached of* and believed in by Chriſtian Men. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did account Fooliſhneſs; but that they did ever think it *a fond* or unlikely *way* to ſeek Men's Converſion by *Sermons* we have not heard. Manifeſt therefore it is, that the Apoſtle applying the name of *Fooliſhneſs* in ſuch ſort as they did, muſt needs, by the *Fooliſhneſs of Preaching*, mean the Doctrine of Chriſt, which we learn that we may be ſaved; but that Sermons are the only manner of teaching, whereby it pleaſeth our Lord to ſave, he could not mean. In like ſort, where the ſame Apoſtle proveth, that as well the *ſending of the Apoſtles*, as their preaching *to the Gentiles*, was neceſſary, dare we affirm it was ever his meaning, that unto their Salvation, who even from their tender Infancy never knew any other Faith or Religion than only Chriſtian, *no kind of Teaching* can be available, *ſaving that* which was ſo needful for the firſt univerſal Converſion of Gentiles hating Chriſtianity; neither the *ſending* of any ſort allowable in the one caſe, except only of ſuch as had been in the other alſo moſt fit and worthy Inſtruments? *Belief in all ſorts* doth come by hearkning, and *attending to the Word of Life*. Which Word ſometime propoſeth and preacheth it ſelf to the Hearer; ſometime they deliver it, whom privately Zeal and Piety moveth to be inſtructors of others by conference; ſometime of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the Publick, either reading thereof, or interpreting. All theſe tend unto one effect, neither doth that which St. *Paul* or other Apoſtles teach, concerning the neceſſity *of ſuch Teaching*, as theirs was, or of *ſending ſuch* as they were, for *that purpoſe unto the Gentiles*, prejudice the efficacy of *any other way* of Publick inſtruction, or inforce the utter diſability of any other Men's Vocation thought requiſite in this Church for the ſaving of Souls, where means more effectual are wanting. Their only proper and direct proof of the thing in queſtion had been to ſhew, in what ſort, and how far Man's Salvation doth neceſſarily depend upon the knowledge of the Word of God; what Conditions, Properties and Qualities there are, whereby Sermons are diſtinguiſhed from other kinds of adminiſtring the Word unto that purpoſe; and what ſpecial Property or Quality that is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectual to ſave Souls, and leaveth all other Doctrinal means beſides deſtitute of vital efficacy. Theſe pertinent Inſtructions, whereby they might ſatisfie us, and obtain the Cauſe it ſelf for which they contend, theſe things which only would ſerve they leave, and (which needeth not) ſometime they trouble themſelves with fretting at the Ignorance of ſuch as withſtand them in their

Opinion;

T.C.*l*.2.*p*. 375.

(*a*) 1 Cor. 1. 21.

(*b*) Rom. 10. 14.

(*c*) *Apologet. c.* 18. *in fine.*

(*d*) This they did in a tongue which to all learned Men amongſt the Heathens, and to a great part of the Simpleſt was familiarly known: as appeareth by a ſupplication offered unto the Emperour *Juſtinian*, wherein the Jews make requeſt that it might be lawful for them to read the Greek Tranſlations of the 70 Interpreters in their Synagogues, as their Cuſtom before had been. *Authent.* 146. *Col.* 10. *incipit. Æquum ſanc.*

* The Apoſtle uſeth the word κήρυγμα and not κήρυξις.

Opinion; ſometime they (*a*) fall upon their poor Brethren which can but read, and againſt *them* they are bitterly eloquent. If we alledge what the Scriptures themſelves do uſually ſpeak for the ſaving force of the Word of God, not with reſtraint to any one certain kind of delivery, but howſoever the ſame ſhall chance to be made known, yet by one trick or other they always (*b*) reſtrain it unto Sermons. Our Lord and Saviour hath ſaid, (*c*) *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life.* But they tell us, he ſpake to the Jews, which Jews before *had heard his Sermons*; and that peradventure it was his mind they ſhould ſearch, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by *attending*, whenſoever the Scriptures ſhould happen to be *alledged in Sermons.* Furthermore, having *received* Apoſtolical Doctrine, (*d*) the Apoſtle St. *Paul* hath taught us to eſteem the ſame as the Supream Rule, whereby all other Doctrines muſt for ever be examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apoſtle doth here ſpeak of *that he had Preached, he flatly maketh* (as they ſtrangely affirm) *his Preachings* or Sermons *the Rule* whereby to examine all. And then, I beſeech you, what Rule have we whereby to judge or examine any? For, if Sermons muſt be our Rule, becauſe the Apoſtles Sermons were ſo to their Hearers; then, ſith we are not as they were, Hearers of the Apoſtles Sermons, it reſteth that either the Sermons which we hear ſhould be our Rule, or (that being abſurd) there will (which yet hath greater abſurdity) no Rule at all be remaining for Tryal, what Doctrines now are corrupt, what conſonant with heavenly Truth. Again, let the ſame Apoſtle acknowledge *all Scripture* profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, to inſtruct in Righteouſneſs; ſtill notwithſtanding we err, if hereby we preſume to gather, that Scripture read will avail unto any one of all theſe uſes; they teach us the meaning of the words to be, that ſo much the Scripture can do, if the Miniſter that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwiſe not. Finally, they never hear Sentence which mentioneth *the Word* or *Scripture*, but forthwith their Gloſſes upon it are, the Word *preached*, the Scripture explained or *delivered* unto us in *Sermons*. Sermons they evermore underſtand to be that Word of God, which alone hath vital Operation; the dangerous ſequel of which Conſtruction I wiſh they did more attentively weigh. For, ſith Speech is the very Image, whereby the mind and ſoul of the Speaker conveyeth it ſelf into the boſom of him which heareth, we cannot chuſe but ſee great reaſon, wherefore the Word that proceedeth from God, who is Himſelf very Truth and Life, ſhould be (as the Apoſtle to the *Hebrews* noteth) lively and mighty in operation, ſharper than any two-edged Sword. Now, if in this and the like Places we did conceive that our own Sermons are that ſtrong and forcible Word, ſhould we not hereby impart even the moſt peculiar glory of the Word of God unto that which is not his Word? For, touching our Sermons, that which giveth them their very being, is the wit of Man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taſte too much of that over-corrupt Fountain from which they come. In our ſpeech of moſt holy things, our moſt frail Affections many times are bewrayed. Wherefore when we read or recite the Scripture, we then deliver to the People *properly* the Word of God. As for our Sermons, be they never ſo ſound and perfect, his Word they are not, as the Sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguouſly termed his Word, becauſe his Word is commonly the Subject whereof they treat, and muſt be the Rule whereby they are framed. Notwithſtanding, by theſe and the like ſhifts they derive unto Sermons alone, whatſoever is generally ſpoken concerning the Word. Again, what ſeemeth to have been uttered concerning Sermons, and their efficacy or neceſſity, *in regard of Divine Matter*, and muſt conſequently be verified in ſundry other kinds of Teaching, if *the Matter* be the ſame in all; their uſe is to faſten every ſuch Speech unto that one only manner of teaching, which is by Sermons, that ſtill Sermons may be all in all. (*e*) Thus, becauſe *Solomon* declareth that the People decay or *periſh* for want of Knowledge, where (*f*) no *Prophecying* at all is, they gather, that the hope of Life and Salvation is cut off, where Preachers are not, which *prophecy by Sermons*, how many ſoever they be in number that read daily the Word of God, and deliver, though in other ſort, the ſelf-ſame matter which Sermons do. The People which have no way to come to the knowledge of God, no prophecying, no teaching, periſh. But that they ſhould of neceſſity periſh, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more than the words of *Solomon* import. (*g*) Another uſual point of their Art in this preſent queſtion, is to make very large and plentiful Diſcourſes, how Chriſt is by Sermons (*h*) lifted up *higher*, and *more* (*i*) apparent to the eye of Faith, how the (*k*) ſavour of the Word is *more* ſweet being brayed, and *more* able to nouriſh being divided by Preaching, than by only reading propoſed; how Sermons are the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and do open the Scriptures, which being but read, remain *in compariſon* ſtill claſped; how God (*l*) giveth *richer* increaſe of grace to the Ground that is planted and watered by Preaching, than by bare and ſimple Reading. Out of which premiſes declaring how attainment unto life is *eaſier* where Sermons are, they conclude an (*m*) *impoſſibility* thereof where Sermons are not. *Alcidamas* the Sophiſter hath many arguments, to prove that voluntary and extemporal far excelleth premeditated ſpeech. The like whereunto, and in part the ſame, are brought by them, who commend Sermons, as having (which all Men, I think, will acknowledge) ſundry (*n*) peculiar and proper virtues, ſuch as no other way of Teaching beſides hath. Aptneſs to follow particular occaſions preſently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voice and geſture, to prevail mightily in the ſudden affections of Men, this Sermons may challenge. Wherein not-

(*a*) *T.C. l.* 2. *p.* 373.
This tail of Readers.
The Biſhops more than beggerly Preſents.
Thoſe Raſcal Miniſters.
(*b*) *T.C. l.* 2. *p.* 37.
(*c*) Joh. 5. 39.
(*d*) Gal. 1. 9.
2 Tim. 3. 16.
Heb. 4. 12.
(*e*) *T.C. l.* 2. *p.* 381.
(*f*) Prov. 29. 18.
(*g*) *T.C. l.* 2. *p.* 379.
(*h*) 2 Cor. 2. 16.
(*i*) 2 Tim. 2. 15.
(*k*) Matth. 16. 19.
(*l*) 1 Cor. 3. 6.
(*m*) *T.C. l.* 2. *p.* 380.
No Salvation to be looked for, where no Preaching is.
(*n*) *T.C. l.* 2. *p.* 395.

withſtanding ſo eminent properties whereof Leſſons are haply deſtitute, yet Leſſons being free from ſome inconveniences, whereunto Sermons are more ſubject, they may in this reſpect no leſs take, than in other they muſt give the hand, which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not ſome way excelled, even by that which it doth excell. Sermons therefore and Leſſons may each excell other in ſome reſpects, without any prejudice unto either, as touching that vital force which they both have in the work of our Salvation. To which effect when we have endeavoured as much as in us doth lie, to find out the ſtrongeſt cauſes, wherefore they ſhould imagine that Reading is it ſelf ſo unavailable; the moſt we can learn at their hands, is, that Sermons are *the Ordinance of God*, the Scriptures *dark*, and the labour of Reading *eaſie*. Firſt, therefore, as we know that God doth aid with his grace, and by his ſpecial providence evermore bleſs with happy ſucceſs thoſe things which himſelf appointeth; ſo his Church, we perſwade our ſelves, he hath not in ſuch ſort given over to a reprobate ſence, that whatſoever it deviſeth for the good of the Souls of Men, the ſame he doth ſtill accurſe and make fruſtrate. Or if he always did defeat the Ordinances of his Church, is not reading the Ordinance of God? Wherefore then ſhould we think that the force of his ſecret grace is accuſtomed to bleſs the labour of dividing his Word, according unto each Man's private diſcretion in publick Sermons, and to withdraw it-ſelf from concurring with the publick delivery thereof by ſuch ſelected portions of Scriptures, as the whole Church hath ſolemnly appointed to be read for the Peoples good, either by ordinary courſe or otherwiſe, according to the exigence of ſpecial occaſions? Reading (ſaith (*a*) *Iſidore*) is to the Hearers no ſmall edifying. To them whoſe (*b*) delight and meditation is in the Law ſeeing that happineſs and bliſs belongeth, it is not in us to deny them the benefit of heavenly Grace. And I hope we may preſume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, even for that very Word which is read to be both preſently their (*c*) joy, and afterwards their ſtudy that hear it. (*d*) St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of devout Men, noteth, how they daily frequented the Church, how attentive ear they gave unto the Leſſons and Chapters read, how careful they were to remember the ſame and to muſe thereupon by themſelves. (*e*) St. *Cyprian* obſerveth, that Reading was not without effect in the hearts of Men. Their joy and alacrity was to him an argument, that there is in this Ordinance a bleſſing, ſuch as ordinarily doth accompany the adminiſtration of the Word of Life. It were much if there ſhould be ſuch a difference between the hearing of Sermons preached, and of Leſſons read in the Church, that he which preſenteth himſelf at the one, and maketh his Prayer with the Prophet (*f*) *David, Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy Statutes, direct me in the path of thy commandments,* might have the ground of uſual experience whereupon to build his hope of prevailing with God, and obtaining the Grace he ſeeketh; they contrariwiſe not ſo, who crave the like aſſiſtance of his Spirit, when they give ear to the reading of the other. In this therefore Preaching and Reading are equal, that both are approved as his Ordinances, both aſſiſted with his Grace. And if his Grace do aſſiſt them both to the nouriſhment of faith already bred, we cannot, without ſome very manifeſt cauſe yielded, imagine that in breeding or begetting faith, his grace doth cleave to the one, and utterly forſake the other. Touching *hardneſs*, which is the ſecond pretended impediment, as againſt Homilies, being plain and popular inſtructions, it is no bar, ſo neither doth it infringe the efficacy, no not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of reading, how ſmall ſoever they would have it, muſt of neceſſity be granted ſufficient to notifie that which is plain or eaſie to be underſtood. And of things neceſſary to all Men's ſalvation, we have been hitherto accuſtomed to hold (eſpecially ſithence the publiſhing of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby the ſimpleſt having now a Key unto Knowledge, which the Eunuch in the *Acts* did want, our Children may of themſelves by reading underſtand that, which he without an Interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plain and eaſie to be underſtood. As for thoſe things which at the firſt are obſcure and dark, when memory hath laid them up for a time, Judgment afterwards growing explaineth them. Scripture therefore is not *ſo hard*, but that the *only reading* thereof may give life unto willing Hearers. The *eaſie* performance of which holy labour, is in like ſort a very cold Objection, to prejudice the virtue thereof. For what though an *Infidel*; yea, though a *Child* may be able to read? there is no doubt, but the meaneſt and worſt amongſt the People under the Law, had been as able as the Prieſts themſelves were to offer Sacrifice. Did this make Sacrifice of no effect unto that purpoſe for which it was inſtituted? In Religion ſome duties are not commended ſo much by the hardneſs of their execution, as by the worthineſs and dignity of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodneſs of God in nature, when we conſider how he hath provided that things moſt needful to preſerve this life, ſhould be moſt prompt and eaſie for all living Creatures to come by. Is it not as evident a ſign of his wonderful providence over us, when that food of Eternal life, upon the *utter want* whereof our endleſs death and deſtruction neceſſarily enſueth, is prepared and always ſet in ſuch a readineſs, that thoſe very means, than which nothing is more eaſie, may ſuffice to procure the ſame? Surely, if we periſh, it is not the lack of Scribes and learned Expounders that can be our juſt excuſe. The Word which ſaveth our Souls is near us, we need for knowledge but to (*g*) read and live. The Man which readeth the Word of God, the Word it ſelf doth pronounce bleſſed, if he alſo obſerve the ſame. Now all theſe things being well conſidered, it ſhall be no intricate matter for any Man to

judge

T.C.*l*.2.*p*.396.

Deut. 31. 13.

(*a*) De Eccleſ. Offic. *l*. 1. c.10.

(*b*) Pſal. 1. 2.

(*c*) Pſal. 119. 16.

(*d*) *Aug. in Pſal.* 66.

(*e*) Cyprian. l. 2. Epiſt. 5. *Lector perſonat verba ſublimia, Evangelium Chriſti legit, à fratribus conſpicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur.*

(*f*) Pſal. 119. 33, 35.

T. C. *l*. 2. *p*. 383, 384, 392.

Acts 8. 31.

(*g*) Apoc. 1. 3.

judge with indifferency on which part the good of the Church is moſt conveniently ſought; whether on ours, whoſe opinion is ſuch as hath been ſhewed, or elſe on (*b*) theirs, who leaving no ordinary way of Salvation for them unto whom the Word of God is but only read, do ſeldom name them but with great diſdain and contempt who execute that Service in the Church of Chriſt. By means whereof it hath come to paſs, that Churches, which cannot enjoy the benefit of uſual Preaching, are judged, as it were, even forſaken of God, forlorn, and without either hope or comfort; Contrariwiſe, thoſe places which every day for the moſt part are at Sermons as the flowing ſea, do both by their emptineſs at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens ſhew, to the voice of the living God, this way ſounding in the ears of Men, a great deal leſs reverence than were meet. But if no other evil were known to grow thereby, who can chuſe but think them cruel which doth hear them ſo boldly teach, that * if God (as to him there is nothing impoſſible) do haply ſave any ſuch as continue where they have all other means of Inſtruction, but are not taught by continual preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more than the fitneſs of ſo poor Inſtruments can give any Man cauſe to hope for; that Sacraments are not effectual to Salvation, except Men be inſtructed by *Preaching before* they be made Partakers of them; yea, that both Sacraments and Prayers alſo, where Sermons are not, *do not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further condemnation*; What Man's heart doth not riſe at the mention of theſe things? It is true, that the weakneſs of our Wits and the dulneſs of our affections do make us for the moſt part, even as our Lord's own Diſciples were for a certain time, hard and ſlow to believe what is written. For help whereof expoſitions and exhortations are needful, and that in the moſt effectual manner. The principal Churches throughout the Land, and no ſmall part of the reſt, being in this reſpect by the goodneſs of God ſo abundantly provided for, they which want the like furtherance unto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be deſired that they alſo did abound, are yet, we hope, not left in ſo extream deſtitution, that juſtly any Men ſhould think the ordinary means of Eternal life taken from them, becauſe their teaching is in publick for the moſt part but by Reading. For which cauſe amongſt whom there are not thoſe helps that others have to ſet them forward in the way of Life, ſuch to diſ-hearten with fearful Sentences, as though their Salvation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our underſtanding ſo conſonant with Chriſtian Charity. We hold it ſafer a great deal, and better to give them (*a*) incouragement; to put them in mind, that it is not the deepneſs of their Knowledge, but the (*b*) ſingleneſs of their Belief which God accepteth: That they which (*c*) hunger and thirſt after Righteouſneſs, ſhall be ſatisfied; That no (*d*) imbecillity of Means can prejudice the truth of the promiſe of God herein; That the weaker their helps are, the more their need is to ſharpen the edge of their own (*e*) induſtry; And that (*f*) painfulneſs by feeble means ſhall be able to gain that, which in the plenty of more forcible Inſtruments is through ſloth and negligence loſt. As for the Men, with whom we have thus far taken pains to confer, about the force of the Word of God, either read by it ſelf or opened in Sermons; their ſpeeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth ſuch, as might give us very juſt cauſe to think, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howſoever they have been driven to deviſe ſome odd kind of blind uſes, whereunto they may anſwer that reading doth ſerve, yet the reading of the Word of God in publick more than their Preachers bare Text, who will not judge that they deem needleſs? when if we chance at any time to term it *neceſſary*, as being a thing which God himſelf did inſtitute amongſt the Jews for purpoſes that touch as well us as them; a thing which the Apoſtles commend under the Old, and ordain under the New Teſtament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath ever ſithence the firſt beginning reaped ſingular Commodity; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit, they only are the Men that ever we heard of, by whom this hath been croſſed and gain-ſaid; they only the Men which have given their peremptory Sentence to the contrary: *It is untrue, that ſimple Reading is neceſſary in the Church.* And why untrue? Becauſe, *although it be very convenient which is uſed in ſome Churches, where before Preaching-time the Church aſſembled hath the Scriptures read in ſuch Order, that the whole Canon thereof is oftentimes in one year run through: yet a number of Churches which have no ſuch order of ſimple Reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of God's commandment, which they might be, if ſimple Reading were neceſſary.* A poor, a cold and an hungry cavil! Shall we therefore to pleaſe them change the Word *Neceſſary*, and ſay, that it hath been a commendable Order, a Cuſtom very expedient, or an Ordinance *moſt* profitable (whereby they know right well that we mean exceedingly behoveful) to read the Word of God at large in the Church, whether it be, as our manner is, or as theirs is, whom they prefer before us? It is not this that will content or ſatisfie their minds. They have againſt it a marvellous deep and profound Axiom, that, *Two things to one and the ſame end cannot but very improperly be ſaid moſt profitable.* And therefore if Preaching be *moſt profitable* to Man's Salvation, then is not Reading; if Reading be, then Preaching is not. Are they reſolved then at the leaſtwiſe, if Preaching be the only ordinary mean whereby it pleaſeth God to ſave our Souls, what kind of Preaching it is which doth ſave? Underſtand they, how or in what reſpect there is that force or virtue in Preaching? We have reaſon wherefore to make theſe Demands; for that, although their Pens run all upon *Preaching* and *Sermons*, yet when themſelves do practiſe that

(*b*) *T. C. l.* 2. *p.* 363. *p.* 373.

* Pag. 364, 375, 380, 383, 384.

Pag. 392.

Pag. 364.

(*a*) Ecclus. 51. 26, 27. Matth. 12. 20.

(*b*) 1 Tim. 1. 5. Rom. 14. 1. 1 Theſ. 3. 10.

(*c*) Matth. 5. 6.

(*d*) Phil 1. 6. 1 Pet. 5. 10 Matth. 3. 9.

(*e*) 1 Theſ. 4. 18. Heb. 10. 24. Jude verſ. 20. 1 Pet. 4. 10.

(*f*) Luke 11. 31.

T. C. l. 2. *p.* 381.

T. C. l. 2. *p.* 372.

T.C.*l*.2.*p*.385.

Complaint of the Commonalty.

Dr. *Somes*, Painter. p. 21.

T.C.*l*.2.*p*.385.

whereof they write, they change their Dialect, and thoſe words they ſhun, as if there were in them ſome ſecret ſting. It is not their phraſe to ſay they *Preach*, or to give to their own inſtructions and exhortations the name of Sermons; the pain they take themſelves in this kind is either *Opening*, or *Lecturing*, or *Reading*, or *Exerciſing*, but in no caſe *Preaching*. And in this preſent queſtion, they alſo warily proteſt that what they aſcribe to the virtue of Preaching, they ſtill mean it of *good Preaching*: Now one of them ſaith that a good Sermon muſt *expound* and *apply* a *large* portion of the Text of Scripture at one time. Another giveth us to underſtand, that ſound Preaching *is not to do as one did at* London, *who ſpent moſt of his time in Invectives againſt good Men, and told his Audience how the Magiſtrate ſhould have an eye to ſuch as troubled the Peace of the Church.* The beſt of them hold it for no good Preaching, *when a Man endeavoureth to make a gloriour ſhew of Eloquence and Learning, rather than to apply himſelf to the capacity of the ſimple.* But let them ſhape us out a good Preacher by what pattern ſoever pleaſeth them beſt, let them exclude and incloſe whom they will with their definitions, we are not deſirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they have of their own ways, ſo that when once we are agreed what Sermons ſhall currently paſs for good, we may at length underſtand from them, what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the Word of Life unto ſuch as hear. If ſubſtance of matter, evidence of things, ſtrength and validity of arguments and proofs, or if any other virtue elſe which Words and Sentences may contain; of all this, what is there in the beſt Sermons being uttered, which they loſe by being read? But they utterly deny that the reading either of Scriptures, or Homilies and Sermons can ever by the ordinary grace of God ſave any Soul. So that although we had all the Sermons word for word which *James*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and the reſt of the Apoſtles made, ſome one of which Sermons was of power to convert thouſands of the Hearers unto Chriſtian Faith; yea, although we had all the inſtructions, exhortations, conſolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and ſhould read them ten thouſand times over, to Faith and Salvation no Man could hereby hope to attain. Whereupon it muſt of neceſſity follow, that the vigour and vital efficacy of Sermons doth grow from certain Accidents, which are not in them, but in their Maker; his virtue, his geſture, his countenance, his zeal, the motion of his body, and the inflection of his voice, who firſt uttereth them as his own, is that which giveth them the form, the nature, the very eſſence of Inſtruments available to Eternal life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their final concluſion be, *Sermons we know are the only ordinary means to Salvation, but why or how we cannot tell?* Wherefore to end this tedious Controverſie, wherein the too great importunity of our over-eager Adverſaries hath conſtrained us much longer to dwell, than the barreneſs of ſo poor a Cauſe could have ſeemed at the firſt likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and paſſions are accuſtomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to give their Sentence, ſhall here ſit down to receive our Audit, and to caſt up the whole reckoning on both ſides; the ſum which Truth amounteth unto will appear to be but this, that as Medicines provided of Nature, and applied by Art for the benefit of bodily health, take effect ſometime under and ſometime above the natural proportion of their virtue, according as the mind and fancy of the Patient doth more or leſs concur with them: So, whether we barely read unto Men the Scriptures of God; or by Homilies concerning matter of Belief and Converſation ſeek to lay before them the duties which they owe unto God and Man; whether we deliver them books to read and conſider of in private at their own beſt leaſure, or call them to the hearing of Sermons publickly in the Houſe of God; albeit every of theſe and the like unto theſe means do truly and daily effect that in the hearts of Men for which they are each and all meant; yet the operation which they have in common, being moſt ſenſible and moſt generally noted in one kind above the reſt, that one hath in ſome Men's opinions drowned altogether the reſt, and Injuriouſly brought to paſs that they have been thought not *leſs effectual* than the other, but without the other *uneffectual* to ſave ſouls. Whereas the cauſe why Sermons only are obſerved to prevail ſo much while all means elſe ſeem to ſleep and do nothing, is in truth but that ſingular affection and attention which the people ſheweth every where towards the one, and their cold diſpoſition to the other; the reaſon hereof being partly the Art which our Adverſaries uſe for the credit of their Sermons, to bring Men out of conceit with all other Teaching beſides; partly, a cuſtom which Men have to let thoſe things careleſly paſs by their ears which they have oftentimes heard before, or know they may hear again whenever it pleaſeth themſelves; partly, the eſpecial advantages which Sermons naturally have to procure attention, both in that they come always new, and becauſe by the Hearer it is ſtill preſumed, that if they be let ſlip for the preſent, what good ſoever they contain, is loſt, and that without all hope of recovery. This is the true cauſe of odds between Sermons, and other kinds of wholeſom Inſtruction. As for the difference which hath been hitherto ſo much defended on the contrary ſide, making Sermons the only ordinary means unto Faith and Eternal Life, ſith this hath neither evidence of Truth, nor proof ſufficient to give it warrant, a cauſe of ſuch quality may with far better grace and conveniency aſk that pardon which common humanity doth eaſily grant, than claim in challenging manner that aſſent which is as unwilling when reaſon guideth it to be yielded where it is not, as with-held where it is apparently due. All which notwithſtanding, as we could greatly wiſh that the rigour of this their opinion were allayed and mitigated; ſo, becauſe we hold it the part of religious ingenuity to honour virtue in whomſoever, therefore it is our moſt hearty deſire, and ſhall always be our Prayer unto Almighty God, that in the ſelf-ſame fervent zeal wherewith they ſeem to affect the good of the Souls of Men, and to thirſt after nothing more than that all Men might by all means be directed in the way of life, both they and we may conſtantly perſiſt to the Worlds end. For in this we are not their Adverſaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours.

Of Prayer.

23. Between the Throne of God in Heaven, and his Church upon Earth here militant, if it be ſo that Angels have their continual intercourſe, where ſhould we find the ſame more verified than in thoſe two ghoſtly Exerciſes, the one *Doctrine*, and the other *Prayer*? For what is the Aſſembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving of Angels deſcended from above? What to pray, but the ſending of Angels upwards? His Heavenly Inſpirations, and our holy Deſires are as ſo many Angels of intercourſe and commerce between God and us. As Teaching bringeth us to know that God is our ſupream Truth, ſo Prayer teſtifieth that we acknowledge him our ſoveraign Good. Beſides, ſith on God, as the moſt High, all inferiour Cauſes in the World are dependant; and the higher any Cauſe is, the more it coveteth to impart virtue unto things beneath it, how ſhould any kind of ſervice we do or can do, find greater acceptance than Prayer, which ſheweth our concurrence with him, in deſiring that wherewith his very Nature doth moſt delight? Is not the name of Prayer uſual to ſignifie even all the Service that ever we do unto God? And that for no other cauſe, as I ſuppoſe, but to ſhew that there is in Religion no acceptable Duty, which devout Invocation of the name of God doth not either preſuppoſe or infer. Prayers are thoſe (*a*) Calves of Men's lips; thoſe moſt gracious and ſweet (*b*) odours; thoſe rich preſents and gifts, which being (*c*) carried up into Heaven, do beſt teſtifie our dutiful affection, and are, for the purchaſing of all favour at the hands of God, the moſt undoubted means we can uſe. On others what more eaſily, and yet what more fruitfully beſtowed than our Prayers? If we give Counſel, they are the ſimpler only that need it; if Alms, the poorer only are relieved; but by Prayer we do good to all. And whereas every other Duty beſides, is but to ſhew it ſelf as time and opportunity require, for this (*d*) all times are convenient: when we are not able to do any other thing for Men's behoof, when through maliciouſneſs or unkindneſs they vouchſafe not to accept any other good at our hands, Prayer is that which we always have in our power to beſtow, and they never in theirs to refuſe. Wherefore God forbid, ſaith *Samuel*, ſpeaking unto a moſt unthankful People, a People weary of the benefit of his moſt virtuous Government over them, God forbid that I ſhould ſin againſt the Lord, and ceaſe to pray for you. It is the firſt thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the laſt wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is ſmall which we have on Earth concerning things that are done in Heaven. Notwithſtanding, thus much we know even of Saints in Heaven, that they pray. And therefore Prayer being a work common to the Church as well Triumphant as Militant, a work common unto Men with Angels, what ſhould we think, but that ſo much of our Lives is celeſtial and divine as we ſpend in the exerciſe of Prayer? For which cauſe we ſee that the moſt comfortable Viſitations, which God hath ſent Men from above, have taken eſpecially the times of Prayer as their moſt natural opportunities.

(*a*) Oſe. 14. 3.
(*b*) Revel. 5. 8.
(*c*) Act. 10. 4.
(*d*) Rom. 1. 9. 1 Theſ. 5. 17. Luke 18. 1.
1 Sam. 12. 23.
Dan. 9. 20. Acts 10. 30.

Of Publick Prayer.

24. This holy and religious duty of Service towards God concerneth us one way in that we are Men, and another way in that we are joined as parts to that viſible Myſtical Body, which is his Church. As Men, we are at our own (*e*) choice, both for time, and place, and form, according to the exigence of our own occaſions in private: But the ſervice, which we do as Members of a Publick Body, is publick, and for that cauſe muſt needs be accounted by ſo much worthier than the other, as a whole ſociety of ſuch condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which conſideration, unto Chriſtian Aſſemblies there are (*f*) moſt ſpecial Promiſes made. * St. *Paul*, though likely to prevail with God as much as any one, did notwithſtanding think it much more, both for God's glory, and his own good, if Prayers might be made and thanks yielded in his behalf by a number of Men. The Prince and People of *Niniveh* aſſembling themſelves, as a main Army of Supplicants, it was not in the power of God to withſtand them. I ſpeak no otherwiſe concerning the force of Publick Prayer in the Church of God, than before me *Tertullian* hath done, *We come by Troops to the Place of Aſſembly, that being banded as it were together, we may be Supplicants enough to beſiege God with our Prayers. Theſe Forces are unto him acceptable.* When we publickly make our Prayers, it cannot be but that we do it with much more comfort than in private, for that the things we ask publickly are approved as needful and good in the Judgment of all, we hear them ſought for and deſired with common conſent. Again, thus much help and furtherance is more yielded, in that, if ſo be our zeal and devotion to God-ward be ſlack, the (*g*) alacrity and fervour of others ſerveth as a preſent ſpur. (*h*) *For even Prayer it ſelf* (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *when it hath not the conſort of many voices to ſtrengthen it, is not it ſelf.* Finally, the good which we do by Publick Prayer is more than in private can be done, for that beſides the benefit which is here is no leſs procured to our ſelves, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example; and conſequently, whereas ſecret neglect of our duty in this kind is but only our own hurt, one Man's contempt of the Common Prayer of the Church of God may be and oftentimes is moſt hurtful unto many. In which conſiderations

(*e*) Pſal. 55. 18. Dan. 9. 3. Acts 10. 9.
(*f*) Matth. 18. 20. * 2 Cor. 1. 11.
Jonah. 4. 11.
Apolog. 1. 39.
Ambroſ. l. de Pœn. *Multi minimi dum congregantur unanimes, ſunt magni; & multorum preces impoſſibile eſt contemni.*
(*g*) Pſal 122. 1.
(*h*) Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀνανδρεστέρα πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς. *Baſil. Epiſt.* 68.

derations the Prophet *David* ſo often vowed unto God the Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving in the Congregation ; ſo earneſtly exhorteth others to ſing Praiſes unto the Lord in his Courts, in his Sanctuary, before the memorial of his Holineſs ; and ſo much complaineth of his own uncomfortable exile, wherein although he ſuſtained many moſt grievous indignities, and indured the want of ſundry both pleaſures and honours before injoyed ; yet as if this one were his only grief, and the reſt not felt, his Speeches are all of the heavenly benefit of Publick Aſſemblies, and the happineſs of ſuch as had free acceſs thereunto.

Pſal. 26. 12. 34. 18. Pſal. 30. 4. & 96. 9.

Pſal. 27. 4. & 42. 4. & 84. 1.

Of the form of Common-Prayer.

25. A great part of the Cauſe, wherefore religious minds are ſo inflamed with the love of Publick Devotion, is that virtue, force and efficacy, which by experience they find that the very form and reverend ſolemnity of Common Prayer duly ordered hath, to help that imbecillity and weakneſs in us, by means whereof we are otherwiſe of our ſelves the leſs apt to perform unto God ſo heavenly a Service, with ſuch affection of Heart, and diſpoſition in the powers of our Souls as is requiſite. To this end therefore all things hereunto appertaining, have been ever thought convenient to be done with the moſt ſolemnity and Majeſty that the wiſeſt could deviſe. It is not with Publick as with Private Prayer. In this, (*a*) rather ſecreſy is commanded than outward ſhew, whereas that being the publick act of a whole Society, requireth accordingly more care to be had of external appearance. The very aſſembling of Men therefore unto this Service hath been ever ſolemn. And concerning the place of aſſembly, although it ſerve for other uſes as well as this, yet ſeeing that our Lord himſelf hath to this, as to the chief of all other, plainly ſanctified his own Temple, by entituling it *the Houſe of Prayer*, what pre-eminence of dignity ſoever hath been either by the Ordinance, or through the ſpecial favour and providence of God annexed unto his Sanctuary, the principal cauſe thereof muſt needs be in regard of *Common Prayer*. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the graveſt of the ancient Fathers ſeriouſly were perſwaded, and do oftentimes plainly teach, affirming that the Houſe of Prayer is a Court, beautified with the preſence of Celeſtial Powers ; that there we ſtand, we pray, we ſound forth Hymns unto God, having his Angels intermingled as our Aſſociates ; and that with reference hereunto the Apoſtle doth require ſo great care to be had of decency for the Angels ſake ; how can we come to the Houſe of Prayer, and not be moved with the very glory of the place it ſelf, ſo to frame our Affections Praying, as doth beſt beſeem them, whoſe Suits the Almighty doth there ſit to hear, and his Angels attend to further? When this was ingrafted in the minds of Men, there needed no penal Statutes to draw them unto publick Prayer. The warning ſound was no ſooner heard, but the Churches were preſently filled, the pavements covered with bodies proſtrate, and waſht with their tears of devout Joy. And as the place of publick Prayer is a Circumſtance in the outward form thereof, which hath moment to help Devotion ; ſo the Perſon much more with whom the People of God do join themſelves in this Action, as with him that ſtandeth and ſpeaketh in the preſence of God for them. The authority of his Place, the fervour of his Zeal, the piety and gravity of his whole Behaviour, muſt needs exceedingly both grace and ſet forward the ſervice he doth. The Authority of his Calling is a furtherance, becauſe if God have ſo far received him into favour, as to impoſe upon him by the hands of Men that Office of bleſſing the People in his Name, and making interceſſion to him in theirs ; which Office he hath ſanctified with his own moſt gracious (*b*) Promiſe, and ratified that promiſe by manifeſt actual performance thereof, when (*c*) others before in like place have done the ſame, is not his very Ordination a ſeal, as it were, to us, that the ſelf-ſame Divine love which hath choſen the inſtrument to work with, will by that inſtrument effect the thing whereto he ordained it, in bleſſing his People, and accepting the Prayers which his Servant offereth up unto God for them ? It was in this reſpect a comfortable Title which the Antients uſed to give unto God's Miniſters, terming them uſually (*d*) *God's moſt beloved*, which were ordained to procure by their prayers his love and favour towards all. Again, if there be not zeal and fervency in him which propoſeth for the reſt thoſe ſuits and ſupplications, which they by their joyful Acclamations muſt ratifie ; if he praiſe not God with all his might ; if he pour not out his Soul in Prayer ; if he take not their Cauſes to heart, and ſpeak not as *Moſes*, *Daniel* and *Ezra* did for their People ; how ſhould there be but in them frozen coldneſs, when his affections ſeem benummed from whom theirs ſhould take fire ? Virtue and godlineſs of life are required at the hands of the Miniſter of God, not only in that he is to teach and inſtruct the People, who for the moſt part are rather led away by the ill example, than directed aright by the wholeſom inſtruction of them, whoſe Life ſwerveth from the rule of their own Doctrine ; but alſo much more in regard of this other part of his Function ; whether we reſpect the weakneſs of the People apt to loath and abhor the Sanctuary, when they which perform the ſervice thereof are ſuch as the Sons of *Heli* were ; or elſe conſider the (*e*) inclination of God himſelf, who requireth the lifting up of pure hands in Prayers, and hath given the World plainly to underſtand, that the Wicked, although they cry, ſhall not be heard. They are not fit Supplicants to ſeek his mercy on the behalf of others, whoſe own un-repented ſins provoke his juſt indignation. (*f*) Let thy Prieſts therefore, O Lord, be evermore cloathed with Righteouſneſs, that thy Saints may thereby with more devotion rejoice and ſing. But of all helps for due performance of this Service, the greateſt is that very ſet and ſtanding order it ſelf, which, framed with com-

mon

(*a*) Matth. 6. 5, 6.

Matth. 21. 13.

Chryſ. Hom 15. *ad Hebræ.* & 24. *in Act.*

1 Cor. 11. 10.

Pſal. 96. 6. Power and Beauty are in his Sanctuary.

Ad domos ſtatim Dominicas currimus, corpora humi ſternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudiis ſupplicamus. Salvia. de Prov. l. 7.

(*b*) Num. 6. 23.

(*c*) 2 Chron. 30. 27.

(*d*) *Cod. l.* 1. *tit.* 3. *de Epiſ.* & *Cler.* 43. & 44. *ſæpe.*

(*e*) 1 Tim. 2. 8. John 9. 31. Jer. 11. 11. Ezech. 8. 18.

(*f*) Pſal. 132. 9.

mon advice, hath both for matter and form preſcribed whatſoever is herein publickly done. No doubt, from God it hath proceeded, and by us it muſt be acknowledged a Work of ſingular care and providence, that the Church hath evermore held a Preſcript form of Common Prayer, although not in all things every where the ſame, yet for the moſt part retaining ſtill the ſame analogy. So that if the Liturgies of all ancient Churches throughout the World be compared amongſt themſelves, it may be eaſily perceived they had all one original mould, and that the publick Prayer of the People of God in Churches throughly ſetled, did never uſe to be voluntary Dictates, proceeding from any Man's extemporal wit. To him which conſidereth the grievous and ſcandalous Inconveniencies, whereunto they make themſelves daily ſubject, with whom any blind and ſecret Corner is judged a fit Houſe of Common Prayer; the manifold confuſions which they fall into, where every Man's private Spirit and Gift (as they term it) is the only Biſhop that ordaineth him to this Miniſtry; the irkſom deformities whereby through endleſs and ſenſeleſs effuſions of indigeſted Prayers, they oftentimes diſgrace in moſt unſufferable manner the worthieſt part of Chriſtian duty towards God, who herein are ſubject to no certain Order, but pray both what and how they liſt; to him, I ſay, which weigheth duly all theſe things, the reaſons cannot be obſcure, why God doth in Publick Prayer ſo much reſpect the (*a*) Solemnitie of Places where, the (*b*) Authority and calling of Perſons by whom, and the (*c*) preciſe Appointment even with what Words or Sentences his Name ſhould be called on amongſt his People.

(*a*) 2 Chron. 6. 20.
(*b*) Joel. 2. 17.
(*c*) 2 Chron. 29. 30.

Of them which like not to have any ſet form of Common Prayer.

26. No Man hath hitherto been ſo impious, as plainly and directly to condemn Prayer. The beſt ſtratagem that Satan hath, who knoweth his Kingdom to be no one way more ſhaken, than by the Publick devout Prayers of God's Church, is by traducing the form and manner of them, to bring them into contempt, and ſo to ſhake the force of all Men's devotion towards them. From this, and from no other forge, hath proceeded a ſtrange conceit, that to ſerve God with any ſet form of Common Prayer, is ſuperſtitious. As though God himſelf did not frame to his Prieſts the very ſpeech, wherewith they were charged to bleſs the People; or as if our Lord, even of purpoſe to prevent this fancy of extemporal and voluntary Prayers, had not left us of his own framing one, which might both remain as a part of the Church-Liturgy, and ſerve as a Pattern whereby to frame all other Prayers with efficacy, yet without ſuperfluity of Words. If Prayers were no otherwiſe accepted of God, than being conceived always new, according to the exigence of preſent occaſions; if it be right to judge him by our own Bellies, and to imagine that he doth loath to have the ſelf-ſame ſupplications often iterated, even as we do to be every day fed without alteration or change of diet; if Prayers be Actions which ought to waſte away themſelves in the making; if being made to remain that they may be reſumed and uſed again as Prayers, they be but Inſtruments of Superſtition; ſurely, we cannot excuſe *Moſes*, who gave ſuch occaſion of ſcandal to the World, by not being contented to praiſe the Name of Almighty God, according to the uſual naked ſimplicity of God's Spirit, for that admirable victory given them againſt *Pharaoh*, unleſs ſo dangerous a Preſident were left for the caſting of Prayers into certain Poetical moulds, and for the framing of Prayers which might be repeated often, although they never had again the ſame occaſions which brought them forth at the firſt. For that very Hymn of *Moſes* grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Jewiſh Liturgy; nor only that, but ſundry other ſithence invented. Their Books of Common-Prayer contained partly Hymns taken out of the Holy Scripture, partly Benedictions, Thankſgivings, Supplications, penned by ſuch as have been from time to time, the Governours of that Synagogue. Theſe they ſorted into their ſeveral times and places, ſome to begin the ſervice of God with, and ſome to end, ſome to go before, and ſome to follow, and ſome to be interlaced between the Divine Readings of the Law and Prophets. Unto their cuſtom of finiſhing the Paſſover with certain Pſalms, there is not any thing more probable, than that the holy Evangeliſt doth evidently allude, ſaying, That after the Cup delivered by our Saviour unto his Apoſtles, (*d*) *they ſung*, and went forth to the Mount of Olives. As the Jews had their Songs of *Moſes*, and *David*, and the reſt; ſo the Church of Chriſt from the very beginning hath both uſed the ſame, and beſides them other of like nature, the Song of the Virgin *Mary*, the Song of *Zachary*, the Song of *Simeon*, ſuch Hymns as the Apoſtle doth often ſpeak of, ſaying, (*e*) *I will pray and ſing with the Spirit.* Again, (*f*) *in Pſalms, Hymns, and Songs, making melody unto the Lord, and that heartily.* Hymns and Pſalms are ſuch kinds of Prayer as are not wont to be conceived upon a ſudden; but are framed by Meditation before hand, or elſe by Prophetical illumination are inſpired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God by extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, inabled Men to all parts of ſervice neceſſary for the edifying of his Church.

Num. 6. 23.

(*d*) Matth. 26. 30. ὑμνήσαντες, having ſung the Pſalms which were uſual at that Feaſt, thoſe Pſalms which the Jews call the great *Halleluiah*, beginning at the 113. and continuing to the end of the 118. See *Paul Burgenſ. in Pſal.* 112. addit. 1. and *Scal. de emendat. tempo.*

(*e*) 1 Cor. 14. 15.

(*f*) Epheſ. 5. 19.

27. Now, albeit the Admonitioners did ſeem at the firſt to allow no Preſcript form of Prayer at all, but thought it the beſt that their Miniſter ſhould always be left at liberty to pray, as his own diſcretion did ſerve, yet becauſe this opinion upon better advice they afterwards retracted, their Defender and his Aſſociates have ſithence propoſed to the

Of them who allowing a ſet form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.

World a form, ſuch as themſelves like, and, to ſhew their diſlike of ours, have taken againſt it thoſe exceptions, which, whoſoever doth meaſure by number, muſt needs be greatly out of love with a thing that hath ſo many faults; whoſoever by weight, cannot chuſe but eſteem very highly of that, wherein the wit of ſo ſcrupulous Adverſaries hath not hitherto obſerved any defect, which themſelves can ſeriouſly think to be of moment. *Groſs Errors and manifeſt Impiety* they grant we have *taken away.* Yet (*a*) many things in it they ſay are amiſs; many inſtances they give of things in our Common Prayer, not agreeable as they pretend with the word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinity with the form of the Church of *Rome*; it differeth too much from that which Churches elſewhere reformed allow and obſerve; our Attire diſgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor geſtured as beſeemeth; it requireth nothing to be done, which a Child may not lawfully do; it hath a number of ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, which may be better called Wiſhes than Prayers; it intermingleth Prayings and Readings in ſuch manner, as, if Supplicants ſhould uſe in propoſing their Suits unto mortal Princes, all the World would judge them mad; it is too long, and by that mean abridgeth Preaching; it appointeth the People to ſay after the Miniſter; it ſpendeth time in ſinging and in reading the Pſalms by courſe, from ſide to ſide; it uſeth the Lord's Prayer too oft, the Songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* and *Nunc Dimittis*, it might very well ſpare; it hath the *Litany*, the Creed of *Athanaſius* and *Gloria Patri*, which are ſuperfluous; it craveth Earthly things too much; for deliverance from thoſe Evils againſt which we pray, it giveth no Thanks; ſome things it asketh unſeaſonably, when they need not to be prayed for, as deliverance from Thunder and Tempeſt, when no Danger is nigh; ſome in too abject and diffident manner, as that God would give us that which we for our unworthineſs dare not ask; ſome which ought not to be deſired, as the deliverance from ſudden Death, riddance from all Adverſity, and the extent of ſaving Mercy towards all Men. Theſe and ſuch like are the Imperfections, whereby our form of Common Prayer is thought to ſwerve from the Word of God. A great favourer of that part, but yet (his Error that way excepted) a learned, a painful, a right virtuous and a good Man did not fear ſometime to undertake, againſt Popiſh Detractors, the general maintenance and defence of our whole Church-Service, as having in it nothing repugnant to the Word of God. And even they which would file away moſt from the largeneſs of that Offer, do notwithſtanding in more ſparing terms acknowledge little leſs. For when thoſe oppoſite judgments which never are wont to conſtrue things doubtful to the better, thoſe very tongues which are always prone to aggravate whatſoever hath but the leaſt ſhew whereby it may be ſuſpected to ſavour of, or to ſound towards any evil, do by their own voluntary ſentence clearly free us from *groſs Errors*, and from *manifeſt Impiety* herein; who would not judge us to be diſcharged of all blame, which are confeſt to have no great fault, even by their very word and teſtimony, in whoſe eyes no fault of ours hath ever hitherto been accuſtomed to ſeem ſmall? Nevertheleſs, what they ſeem to offer us with the one hand, the ſame with the other they pull back again. They grant we err not in palpable manner, we are not openly and notoriouſly impious; yet Errors we have, which the ſharp inſight of their wiſeſt Men do eſpy; there is hidden impiety, which the profounder ſort are able enough to diſcloſe. Their skilful ears perceive certain harſh and unpleaſant diſcords in the ſound of our Common Prayer, ſuch as the Rules of Divine Harmony, ſuch as the Laws of God cannot bear.

The form of our Liturgy too near the Papiſts, too far different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.

28. Touching our Conformity with the Church of *Rome*, as alſo of the difference between ſome Reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath been already anſwered, may ſerve for anſwer to that Exception, which in theſe two reſpects they take particularly againſt the form of our common Prayer. To ſay, that in nothing they may be followed, which are of the Church of *Rome*, were violent and extream. Some things they do, in that they are Men, in that they are Wiſe Men and Chriſtian Men ſome things, ſome things in that they are Men miſled and blinded with Error. As far as they follow Reaſon and Truth, we fear not to tread the ſelf-ſame ſteps wherein they have gone, and to be their Followers. Where *Rome* keepeth that which is ancienter and better; others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer, and changing it for worſe; we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defects reſemble them whom we love. For although they profeſs they agree with us touching (*b*) *a preſcript form of Prayer to be uſed in the Church*; yet in that very form which they ſay is (*c*) *agreeable to God's Word, and the uſe of Reformed Churches*, they have by ſpecial Proteſtation declared, That their meaning is not, it ſhall be preſcribed as a thing whereunto they will tye their Miniſter. *It ſhall not* (they ſay) *be neceſſary for the Miniſter daily to repeat all theſe things before mentioned, but beginning with* ſome like *Confeſſion, to proceed to the Sermon; which ended, he* either *uſeth the Prayer for all States before mentioned*, or elſe prayeth as the Spirit of God ſhall move his Heart. Herein therefore we hold it much better, with the Church of *Rome*, to appoint a preſcript form which every Man ſhall be bound to obſerve, than with them to ſet down a kind of direction, a form for Men to uſe if they liſt, or otherwiſe to change as pleaſeth themſelves. Furthermore, the Church of *Rome* hath

---

(*a*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 131. afterwards, p. 135. Whereas Mr. Doctor affirmeth that there can be nothing ſhewed in the whole Book which is not agreeable unto the Word of God: I am very loath, *&c.* Notwithſtanding, my duty of defending the Truth and Love which I have firſt towards God, and then towards my Country, conſtraineth me being thus provoked, to ſpeak a few words more particularly of the form of Prayer, that when the blemiſhes thereof do appear, it may pleaſe the Queens Majeſty, and her honourable Council, with thoſe of the Parliament, *&c.*

(*b*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 135.

(*c*) A Book of the form of Common Prayer tendered to the Parliament, p. 46.

hath rightly alſo conſidered, that Publick Prayer is a Duty intire in it ſelf, a Duty requiſite to be performed much oftner than Sermons can poſſibly be made. For which cauſe, as they, ſo we have likewiſe a Publick form how to ſerve God both Morning and Evening, whether Sermons may be had or no. On the contrary ſide, their form of Reformed Prayer ſheweth only what ſhall be done *upon the days appointed for the Preaching of the Word*; with what words the Miniſter ſhall begin, *when the hour appointed for Sermon is come*; what ſhall be ſaid or ſung before *Sermon*, and what after. So that according to this form of theirs, it muſt ſtand for a Rule, *No Sermon, No Service.* Which over-ſight occaſioned the French ſpitefully to term Religion in that ſort exerciſed, a meer *Preach.* Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbear to rehearſe; in conſideration whereof, we cannot be induced to prefer their Reformed form of Prayer before our own, what Church ſoever we reſemble therein.

Pag. 22.
Pag. 24.

29. The Attire which the Miniſter of God is by Order to uſe at times of Divine Service, being but a matter of meer formality, yet ſuch as for Comelineſs ſake hath hitherto been judged by the wiſer ſort of Men not unneceſſary to concur with other ſenſible Notes, betokening the different kind or quality of Perſons and Actions whereto it is tyed; as we think not our ſelves the holier, becauſe we uſe it, ſo neither ſhould they with whom no ſuch thing is in uſe, think us therefore unholy, becauſe we ſubmit our ſelves unto that, which in a matter ſo indifferent the wiſdom of Authority and Law hath thought comely.

Attire belonging to the Service of God.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 71. We think the Surplice eſpecially unmeet for a Miniſter of the Goſpel to wear, p. 75. It is eaſily ſeen by *Solomon*, *Eccleſ.* 8. 9. that to wear a white Garment was highly eſteemed in the Eaſt-parts, and was ordinary to thoſe that were in any eſtimation, as black with us, and therefore was no ſeveral Apparel for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſtry in.

To ſolemn Actions of Royalty and Juſtice, their ſuitable ornaments are a Beauty. Are they only in Religion a ſtain? (*a*) *Divine Religion,* (ſaith St. *Jerom,* he ſpeaketh of the Prieſtly Attire of the Law,) *hath one kind of Habit wherein to miniſter before the Lord, another for ordinary uſes belonging unto common life. Pelagius* having carped at the curious neatneſs of Men's Apparel in thoſe days, and through the ſowrneſs of his diſpoſition ſpoken ſomewhat too hardly thereof, affirming, That (*b*) *the glory of Cloaths and Ornaments was a thing contrary to God and godlineſs*; St. *Jerom,* whoſe cuſtom is not to pardon over-eaſily his Adverſaries, if any where they chance to trip, preſſeth him as thereby making all-ſorts of Men in the World *God's Enemies. Is it enmity with God* (ſaith he) *if I wear my Coat ſomewhat handſom?* If a Biſhop, a Prieſt, a Deacon and the reſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Order *come to adminiſter the uſual Sacrifice in a* (*c*) *white Garment,* are they hereby God's adverſaries? *Clarks, Monks, Widows, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwiſe ſeen than in foul and ragged Cloaths. Not to ſpeak any thing of Secular Men, which are proclaimed to have war with God as oft as ever they put on precious and ſhining Cloaths.* By which words of *Jerom* we may take it at the leaſt for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw *Pelagius* into hatred, as condemning by ſo general a ſpeech even the neatneſs of that very Garment it ſelf, wherein the Clergy did then uſe to adminiſter publickly the Holy Sacrament of Chriſts moſt bleſſed Body and Blood: For that they did then uſe ſome ſuch Ornament, the words of *Chryſoſtom* give plain teſtimony, who ſpeaking to the Clergy of *Antioch* telleth them, that if they did ſuffer notorious Malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord, and not put them by, it would be as heavily revenged upon them, as if themſelves had ſhed his Blood, that for this purpoſe God had called them to the rooms which they held in the Church of Chriſt; that this, they ſhould reckon was *their Dignity, this their ſafety, this their whole Crown and Glory*; and therefore this they ſhould carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is adminiſtred imagine themſelves called only *to walk up and down in a white and ſhining Garment.* Now, whereas theſe ſpeeches of *Jerom* and *Chryſoſtom* do ſeem plainly to allude unto ſuch Miniſterial Garments as were then in uſe, to this they anſwer, that by *Jerom* nothing can be gathered, but only that the Miniſters came to Church in handſom Holy-day apparel, and that himſelf did not think them bound by the Law of God to go like Slovens; but the Weed which we mean he defendeth not. That (*d*) *Chryſoſtom* meaneth indeed the ſame which we defend, but ſeemeth rather to reprehend than allow it as we do. Which Anſwer wringeth out of *Jerom* and *Chryſoſtom* that which their words will not gladly yield. They both ſpeak of the ſame Perſons, namely, the Clergy; and of their Weed at the ſame time, when they adminiſter the bleſſed Sacrament; and of the ſelf-ſame kind of Weed, a white Garment, ſo far as we have wit to conceive; and for any thing we are able to ſee, their manner of ſpeech is not ſuch as doth argue either the thing it ſelf to be different whereof they ſpeak, or their Judgment concerning it different; although the one do only maintain it againſt *Pelagius,* as a thing not therefore unlawful, becauſe it was fair or handſom, and the other make it a matter of ſmall commendation in it ſelf, if they which wear it do nothing elſe but wear the Robes which their Place requireth. The honeſty, dignity and eſtimation of White Apparel in the Eaſtern part of the World, is a token of greater fitneſs for this ſacred uſe, wherein it were not convenient that any thing baſely thought of ſhould be ſuffered. Notwithſtanding, I am not bent to ſtand ſtiffly upon theſe Probabilities, that in *Jeroms* and *Chryſoſtoms* time any ſuch Attire was made ſeveral to this purpoſe. Yet ſurely the words

(*a*) *Hieron.* in 44. Ezech.

(*b*) *Hiero. Adver. Pelag. l.* 1. *c.* 9.

(*c*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 77. By a White Garment is meant a comely Apparel, and not ſlovenly.

Chryſoſt. ad popul. Antioch. tom. 5. *Serm.* 60.

(*d*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 75. It is true, *Chryſoſtom* maketh mention of a White Garment, but not in commendation of it, but rather to the contrary: for he ſheweth that the dignity of their Miniſtry was in taking heed that none unmeet were admitted to the Lord's Supper, not in going about the Church with a White Garment.

of *Solomon* are very impertinent to prove it an Ornament, *therefore* not ſeveral for the Miniſters to execute their Miniſtry in, becauſe Men of credit and eſtimation wore their ordinary Apparel white. For we know that when *Solomon* wrote thoſe words, the ſeveral Apparel for the Miniſters of the Law, to execute their Miniſtry in, was ſuch. The (*a*) Wiſe Man which feared God from his heart, and honoured the Service that was done unto him, could not mention ſo much as the Garment of Holineſs, but with effectual ſignification of moſt ſingular reverence and love. Were it not better that the love which Men bear to God, ſhould make the leaſt things which are imployed in his Service amiable, than that their over-ſcrupulous diſlike of ſo mean a thing as a Veſtment, ſhould from the very Service of God withdraw their hearts and affections? I term it rather a mean thing, a thing not much to be reſpected, becauſe even they ſo account now of it, whoſe firſt Diſputations againſt it were ſuch, as if Religion had ſcarcely any thing of greater weight. Their (*b*) Allegations were then, That *if a Man were aſſured to gain a thouſand by doing that which may offend any one Brother, or be unto him a cauſe of falling, he ought not to do it*; That this *Popiſh Apparel, the ſurplice eſpecially, hath been by Papiſts abominably abuſed*; That it hath been *a mark and a very Sacrament of Abomination*; That remaining, it ſerveth as *a Monument of Idolatry*, and not only edifieth not, but, as a dangerous and ſcandalous Ceremony, doth exceeding much harm *to them of whoſe good we are commanded to have regard*, That it cauſeth Men *to periſh, and make ſhipwrack of Conſcience*, for ſo themſelves profeſs they mean, when they ſay the weak are offended herewith; That it *hardneth Papiſts, hindreth the weak from profiting in the knowledge of the Goſpel, grieveth godly minds, and giveth them occaſion to think hardly of their Miniſters*; That, if the *Magiſtrates may command*, or *the Church appoint* Rites and Ceremonies, yet ſeeing our *abſtinence from things in their own nature indifferent, if the weak Brother ſhould be offended, is a flat Commandment of the Holy Ghoſt, which no Authority either of Church or Common-wealth can make void*; therefore neither may the one nor the other lawfully *ordain this Ceremony, which hath great incommodity and no profit, great offence and no edifying*; That by the Law it ſhould have been burnt and conſumed with fire as a thing infected with Leproſie; That the Example of *Hezekiah* beating to powder the Brazen Serpent, and of *Paul* abrogating thoſe abuſed Feaſts of Charity, *inforceth upon us the duty of aboliſhing altogether* a thing which hath been, and is ſo offenſive; Finally, That God by his Prophet hath given *an expreſs Commandment*, which in this caſe toucheth us, no leſs than of old it did the Jews, *Ye ſhall pollute the covering of the Images of Silver, and the rich ornament of your Images of Gold, and caſt them away as a ſtained rag; thou ſhalt ſay to it, Get thee hence.* Theſe, and ſuch like, were their firſt Diſcourſes, touching that Church-Attire, which with us for the moſt part is uſual in Publick Prayer; our Eccleſiaſtical Laws ſo appointing, as well becauſe it hath been of reaſonable continuance, and by ſpecial choice was taken out of the number of thoſe holy Garments, which (over and beſides their myſtical reference) ſerved for (*c*) *comelineſs* (*d*) under the Law, and is in the number of thoſe Ceremonies, which may with choice and diſcretion be uſed to that purpoſe in the Church of Chriſt; as alſo for that it ſuiteth ſo fitly with that lightſom affection of (*e*) joy, wherein God delighteth when his Saints praiſe him; and ſo lively reſembleth the glory of the Saints in Heaven, together with the beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto Men, that they which are to appear for Men in the preſence of God, as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would chuſe any, could not eaſily deviſe a Garment of more decency for ſuch a Service. As for thoſe fore-rehearſed vehement allegations againſt it, ſhall we give them credit, when the very Authors from whom they came, confeſs they believe not their own ſayings? For when once they began to perceive how many, both of them in the two Univerſities, and of others, who abroad having Eccleſiaſtical charge do favour mightily their Cauſe, and by all means ſet it forward, might by perſiſting in the extremity of that Opinion hazard greatly their own Eſtates, and ſo weaken that part which their places do now give them much opportunity to ſtrengthen; they asked counſel, as it ſeemed, from ſome abroad, who wiſely conſidered that the Body is of far more worth than the Raiment. Whereupon, for fear of dangerous inconveniencies, it hath been thought good to add, (*f*) That ſometimes Authority *muſt and may with good conſcience be obeyed, even where Commandment is not given upon good ground*; That *the duty of Preaching is one of the abſolute Commandments of God, and therefore ought not to be forſaken, for the bare inconveniency of a thing which in its own nature is indifferent*; That *one of the fouleſt ſpots in the Surplice, is the offence which it giveth in occaſioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be* confirmed in their wickedneſs; yet hereby there is no unlawfulneſs proved, but *only an Inconveniency*, that ſuch things ſhould be eſtabliſhed, howbeit no ſuch Inconveniency neither, *as may not be borne with*; That when God doth flatly command us to abſtain from things in their own Nature indifferent, if they offend our weak Brethren, his meaning is not we ſhould obey his Commandment herein, unleſs we may do it, *and not leave undone that which the Lord hath abſolutely commanded.* Always provided, That whoſoever will enjoy the benefit of this Diſpenſation, to wear a ſcandalous Badge of Idolatry rather than forſake his Paſtoral charge, do (*as occaſion ſerveth*) *teach* nevertheleſs ſtill *the incommodity of the thing it ſelf, admoniſh the weak Brethren that they be not, and pray unto God ſo to ſtrengthen them that they may not, be offended thereat.* So that whereas before they which had Authority to inſtitute Rites and Ceremonies, were denied to have power to inſtitute this, it

is

(*a*) Eccluſ. 45. 7.

(*b*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 79.

71.

75, 72.

*T.C.l.*2.*p.*403.

l. 1. *p.* 73, 76.

l. 2. *p.* 403.

Lib. 1. *p.* 76.

Page 81.

Page 78.

Eſay 30. 22.

(*c*) Exod. 28. 2.

(*d*) Exod. 39. 27.

(*e*) Pſal. 149. 2. Apoc. 15. 6. Mar. 16. 5.

(*f*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 74. & *l.* 2. *p.* 250. *Index.* *l.* 3. *c.* 8. *l.* 3. *p.* 262, 263.

Lib. 3. *p.* 263.

Page 263.

now confeſt, that this they may alſo *lawfully*, but not ſo *conveniently* appoint; they d well before, and as they ought, who had it in utter deteſtation and hatred as a thing ominable; they now do well, which think it may be both borne and uſed with a very od Conſcience; before, he which by wearing it were ſure to win thouſands unto Chriſt, ght not to do it if there were but one which might be offended; now, though it be with e offence of thouſands, yet it may be done rather than that ſhould be given over, wherenotwithſtanding we are not certain we ſhall gain one; the Examples of *Hezekiah* and of *ul*, the Charge which was given to the Jews by *Eſay*, the ſtrict Apoſtolical prohibition things indifferent, whenſoever they may be ſcandalous, were before ſo forcible Laws ainſt our Eccleſiaſtical Attire, as neither Church nor Common-wealth could poſſibly ake void, which now one of far leſs authority than either, hath found how to fruſtrate diſpenſing with the breach of inferior Commandments, to the end that the greater ay be kept. But it booteth them not thus to ſoder up a broken Cauſe, whereof their ſt and laſt diſcourſes will fall aſunder, do what they can. Let them ingenuouſly confeſs at their Invectives were too bitter, their Arguments too weak, the matter not ſo dangeus as they did imagine. If thoſe alledged teſtimonies of Scripture did indeed concern e matter to ſuch effect as was pretended, that which they ſhould infer, were unlawfulſs, becauſe they were cited as Prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concern. If ey prove not our attire unlawful, becauſe in truth they concern it not, it followeth that ey prove not any thing againſt it, and conſequently, not ſo much as uncomelineſs or inonveniency. Unleſs therefore they be able throughly to reſolve themſelves, that there is o one Sentence in all the Scriptures of God, which doth controul the wearing of it in ch manner, and to ſuch purpoſe, as the Church of *England* alloweth; unleſs they can lly reſt and ſettle their minds in this moſt ſound perſwaſion, that they are not to make hemſelves the only competent Judges of decency in theſe caſes, and to deſpiſe the ſolemn udgment of the whole Church, preferring before it their own conceit, grounded only upn uncertain ſuſpicions and fears, whereof if there were at the firſt ſome probable auſe, when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath it ſelf worn hat out alſo; unleſs, I ſay, thus reſolved in mind they hold their Paſtoral Charge with e comfort of a good Conſcience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing at which they think themſelves bound of duty to reprove, how ſhould it poſſibly help further them in their courſe, to take ſuch occaſions as they ſay are requiſite to be tan, and in penſive manner to tell their Audience; "*Brethren, our hearts deſire is, that we might enjoy the full liberty of the Goſpel, as in other reformed Churches they do elſewhere, upon whom the heavy hand of Authority hath impoſed no grievous burthen. But ſuch is the miſery of theſe our days, that ſo great happineſs we cannot look to attain unto. Were it ſo, that the equity of the Law of* Moſes *could prevail; or the zeal of* Hezekiah *be found in the hearts of thoſe Guides and Governours under whom we live; or the voice of God's own Prophets be duly heard; or the Examples of the Apoſtles of Chriſt be followed; yea, or their Precepts be anſwered with full and perfect obedience; theſe abominable Rags, polluted Garments, marks and Sacraments of Idolatry, which Power, as you ſee, conſtraineth us to wear, and Conſcience to abhor, had long ere this day been removed both out of ſight and out of memory. But, as now things ſtand, behold to what narrow ſtreights we are driven: On the one ſide, we fear the words of our Saviour Chriſt,* Wo be to them by whom ſcandal and offence cometh: *On the other ſide, at the Apoſtles ſpeech we cannot but quake and tremble,* If I preach not the Goſpel, wo be unto me. *Being thus hardly beſet, we ſee not any other Remedy, but to hazard your Souls the one way, that we may the other way endeavour to ſave them. Touching the offence of the Weak therefore, we muſt adventure it. If they periſh, they periſh. Our Paſtoral charge is God's moſt abſolute Commandment. Rather than that ſhall be taken from us, we are reſolved to take this filth, and to put it on, although we judge it to be ſo unfit and inconvenient, that as oft as ever we pray or preach ſo arrayed before you, we do as much as in us lyeth, to caſt away your Souls that are weak-minded, and to bring you unto endleſs perdition. But we beſeech you, Brethren, have a care of your own ſafety, take heed to your ſteps, that ye be not taken in thoſe ſnares which we lay before you. And our Prayer in your behalf to Almighty God is, that the poyſon which we offer you may never have the Power to do you harm.* Advice and counſel is beſt ſought for at their hands, which either have no part at all in the Cauſe whereof they inſtruct; or elſe are ſo far ingaged, that themſelves are to bear the greateſt adventure in the ſucceſs of their own Counſels. The one of which two Conſiderations maketh Men the leſs reſpective, and the other the more circumſpect. Thoſe good and learned Men which gave the firſt direction to this courſe, had reaſon to wiſh that their own proceedings at home might be favoured abroad alſo, and that the good affection of ſuch as inclined towards them might be kept alive. But if themſelves had gone under thoſe ſails which they require to be hoiſed up, if they had been themſelves to execute their own Theory in this Church, I doubt not but eaſily they would have ſeen, being nearer at hand, that the way was not good which they took of adviſing Men, firſt, to wear the apparel, that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then, of requiring them ſo to preach as they might be ſure they could not continue, except they imagine that Laws which permit them not to do as they would, will endure them to ſpeak as they liſt, even againſt that which themſelves do by conſtraint of Laws; they would have eaſily ſeen, that our People being accuſtomed t think evermore that thing evil which is publickly under any pretence reproved, and th Men themſelves worſe which reprove it, and uſe it too; it ſhould be to little purpoſe f them to ſalve the wound, by making proteſtations in diſgrace of their own Actions, wit plain acknowledgment that they are ſcandalous, or by uſing fair intreaty with the wea Brethren; they would eaſily have ſeen, how with us it cannot be endured to hear a Ma openly profeſs that he putteth fire to his Neighbours houſe, but yet ſo halloweth the ſam with Prayer, that he hopeth it ſhall not burn. It had been therefore perhaps ſafer an better for ours to have obſerved St. *Baſils* advice, both in this and in all things of like nature: *Let him which approveth not his Governours Ordinances, either plainly (but privately always) ſhew his diſlike if he have* λόγον ἰσχυρόν, *ſtrong and invincible reaſon again them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture; or elſe let him quietly with ſilenc do what is enjoyned.* Obedience with profeſt unwillingneſs to obey, is no better than manifeſt diſobedience.

Baſil. Aſcet. reſponſ. ad inter. 47.

Of geſture in praying, and of different places choſen to that purpoſe.

T. C. l. 1 *p.* 134.

30. Having thus diſputed, whether the Surplice be a fit Garment to be uſed in the ſervic of God, the next Queſtion whereinto we are drawn, is, whether it be a thing allowable o no, that the Miniſter ſhould ſay Service in the Chancel, or turn his face at any time from the People, or before Service ended remove from the place where it was begun? By them which trouble us with theſe doubts, we would more willingly be reſolved of a greater doubt; whether it be not a kind of taking God's Name in vain, to debaſe Religion with ſuch frivolous diſputes, a ſin to beſtow time and labour about them? Things of ſo mean regard and quality, although neceſſary to be ordered, are notwithſtanding very unſavory when they come to be diſputed of: Becauſe Diſputation preſuppoſeth ſome difficulty in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they muſt be either very ſimple or very froward, who need to be taught by diſputation what is meet. When we make profeſſion of our Faith, we ſtand; when we acknowledge our ſins, or ſeek unto God for favour, we fall down; becauſe the geſture of conſtancy becometh us beſt in the one, in the other the behaviour of humility. Some parts of our Liturgy conſiſt in the reading of the word of God, and the proclaiming of his Law, that the People may thereby learn what their duties are towards him; ſome conſiſt in words of praiſe and thankſgiving, whereby we acknowledge unto God what his bleſſings are towards us; ſome are ſuch as albeit they ſerve to ſingular good purpoſe, even when there is no Communion adminiſtred, nevertheleſs, being deviſed at the firſt for that purpoſe, are at the Table of the Lord for that cauſe alſo commonly read; ſome are uttered as from the people, ſome as with them unto God, ſome as from God unto them, all as before his ſight, whom we fear, and whoſe preſence to offend with any the leaſt unſeemlineſs, we would be ſurely as loath as they, who moſt reprehend or deride that we do. Now, becauſe the Goſpels which are weekly read, do all hiſtorically declare ſomething which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf either ſpake, did, or ſuffered in his own Perſon, it hath been the cuſtom of Chriſtian Men then eſpecially in token of the greater reverence to ſtand, to utter certain words of acclamation, and at the name of Jeſus to bow. Which harmleſs Ceremonies as there is *no Man conſtrained to uſe*; ſo we know no reaſon wherefore any Man ſhould yet imagine it an unſufferable evil. It ſheweth a (*a*) reverend regard to the Son of God above other Meſſengers, although ſpeaking as from God alſo. And againſt Infidels, Jews, Arians, who derogate from the honour of Jeſus Chriſt, ſuch Ceremonies are moſt profitable. (*b*) As for any erroneous *eſtimation*, advancing the Son *above the Father and the holy Ghoſt*, ſeeing that the truth of his equality with them, is a myſtery ſo hard for the wits of mortal Men to riſe unto, of all Hereſies, that which may give him ſuperiority above them, is leaſt to be feared. But to let go this as a matter ſcarce worth the ſpeaking of, whereas, if fault be in theſe things any where juſtly found, Law hath referred the whole diſpoſition and redreſs thereof to the Ordinary of the place; (*c*) they which elſewhere complain, that diſgrace and *injury* is offered even to the meaneſt Pariſh-Miniſter, when the Magiſtrate appointeth him what to wear, and leaveth not ſo ſmall a matter as that to his own diſcretion, being preſumed a Man diſcreet, and truſted with the care of the Peoples Souls, do (*d*) think the graveſt Prelates in the Land no competent Judges, to diſcern and appoint where it is fit for the Miniſter to ſtand, or which way convenient to look Praying. From their Ordinary therefore they appeal to themſelves, finding great fault that we neither reform the thing againſt the which they have long ſince given Sentence, nor yet make anſwer unto what they bring, which is, that Saint *Luke*, declaring how *Peter ſtood up in the midſt of the Diſciples,* did thereby deliver an (*e*) *unchangeable* rule, that *whatſoever* is done in the Church, *ought to be done* in the midſt of the Church; and therefore not Baptiſm to be adminiſtred in one place, Marriage ſolemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord received in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fifth Prayers to be made; that the cuſtom which we uſe is Levitical, abſurd, and ſuch as hindreth the underſtanding of the People; that if it be *meet* for the Miniſter, at ſome time to look towards the People, if the body of the Church be a fit place for ſome part of Divine Service, it muſt needs follow, that whenſoever his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other where, it hath abſurdity. *All theſe reaſons,* they ſay, have been brought, and were hitherto never anſwered; beſides a number of merriments and jeſts unanſwered likewiſe, wherewith they have pleaſantly moved much laughter at our manner of ſerving God. Such is their evil hap to play upon dull-ſpirited Men. We are ſtill perſwaded that a bare denial

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 203.

(*a*) Mark. 12. 6.

(*b*) *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 215.

(c) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 74.

(*d*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 134. *l.* 3. *p.* 187.

Acts 1. 15.

(*e*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 134. *l.* 3. *p.* 187.

nial is anſwer ſufficient to things which meer fancy objecteth ; and that the beſt Apology to words of ſcorn and petulancy, is *Iſaacs* Apology to his Brother *Iſhmael*, the Apology which patience and ſilence maketh. Our Anſwer therefore to their Reaſons, is, No ; to their Scoffs, Nothing.

Eaſineſs of Praying after our form. *T.C.l.*1.*p.*133. & *l.* 3.*p.* 184. Another fault in the whole Service or Liturgy of *England*; is, for that it maintaineth an unpreaching Miniſtry in requiring nothing to be done by the Miniſter, which a Child of ten years old cannot do as well, and as lawfully, as that Man wherewith the Book contenteth it ſelf.

31. When they object that our Book requireth nothing to be done, which a Child may not do as *lawfully and as well as that Man wherewith the Book contenteth it ſelf* ; Is it their meaning that the ſervice of God ought to be a matter of great difficulty ; a Labour which requireth great learning and deep skill, or elſe that the Book containing it ſhould teach what Men are fit to attend upon it, and forbid either Men unlearned, or Children, to be admitted thereunto ? In ſetting down the form of Common-Prayer, there was no need that the Book ſhould mention either the learning of a fit, or the unfitneſs of an ignorant Miniſter, more than that he which deſcribeth the manner how to pitch a field, ſhould ſpeak of moderation and ſobriety in diet. And concerning the duty it ſelf, although the hardneſs thereof be not ſuch as needeth much Art, yet ſurely they ſeem to be very far carried beſides themſelves, to whom the dignity of Publick Prayer doth not diſcover ſomewhat more fitneſs in Men of gravity and ripe diſcretion, than in *children of ten years of age*, for the decent diſcharge and performance of that Office. It cannot be that they who ſpeak thus, ſhould thus judge. At the board and in private it very well becometh Childrens innocency to pray, and their Elders to ſay, *Amen*. Which being a part of their virtuous education, ſerveth greatly both to nouriſh in them the fear of God, and to put us in continual remembrance of that powerful grace, which openeth the mouths of Infants to ſound his praiſe. But Publick Prayer, the ſervice of God in the ſolemn Aſſembly of Saints, is a work, though eaſie, yet withal ſo weighty and of ſuch reſpect, that the great facility thereof is but a ſlender argument to prove, it may be as well and as lawfully committed to Children as to Men of years, howſoever their ability of learning be but only to do that in decent order, wherewith the Book contenteth it ſelf. The Book requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what ſhould any Preſcript form of Prayer framed to the Miniſter's hand require, but only ſo to be read as behoveth. We know that there are in the world certain voluntary Over-ſeers of all Books, whoſe cenſure in this reſpect would fall as ſharp on us as it hath done on many others, if delivering but a form of Prayer, we ſhould either expreſs or include any thing, more than doth properly concern Prayer. The Miniſters greatneſs or meanneſs of knowledge to do other things, his aptneſs or inſufficiency otherwiſe than by reading to inſtruct the flock, ſtandeth in this place as a Stranger, with whom our form of Common-Prayer hath nothing to do. Wherein their exception againſt eaſineſs, as if that did nouriſh Ignorance, proceedeth altogether out of a needleſs jealouſie. I have often heard it inquired of by many, how it might be brought to paſs that the Church ſhould every where have Preachers to inſtruct the People ; what impediments there are to hinder it, and which were the ſpeedieſt way to remove them. In which conſultation, the multitude of Pariſhes, the paucity of Schools, the manifold diſcouragements which are offered unto Men's Inclinations that way, the penury of the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate, the irrecoverable loſs of ſo many Livings of principal value, clean taken away from the Church long ſithence by being appropriated, the daily bruiſes that Spiritual promotions uſe to take by often falling, the want of ſomewhat in certain Statutes which concern the State of the Church, the too great facility of many Biſhops, the ſtony hardneſs of too many Patrons hearts not touched with any feeling in this caſe : ſuch things oftentimes are debated, and much thought upon by them that enter into any diſcourſe concerning any defect of knowledge in the Clergy. But whoſoever be found guilty, the Communion-Book hath ſurely deſerved leaſt to be called in queſtion for this fault. If all the Clergy were as learned as themſelves are, that moſt complain of ignorance in others, yet our Book of Prayer might remain the ſame; and remaining the ſame it is, I ſee not how it can be a let unto any Man's skill in Preaching. Which thing we acknowledge to be God's good gift, howbeit no ſuch neceſſary element, that every act of Religion ſhould be thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not ſomewhat exacted that none can diſcharge but an able Preacher.

The length of our Service. *T.C.l.*1.*p.*133. & *l.* 3.*p.* 184.

32. Two faults there are, which our Lord and Saviour himſelf eſpecially reproved in Prayer ; the one, when oſtentation did cauſe it to be open ; the other, when ſuperſtition made it long. As therefore Prayers the one way are faulty, not whenſoever they be openly made, but when Hypocriſie is the cauſe of open Praying : ſo the length of Prayer is likewiſe a fault, howbeit not ſimply, but where error and ſuperſtition cauſeth more than convenient repetition or continuation of ſpeech to be uſed. It is not, as ſome do imagine, (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) that long Praying is that fault of much ſpeaking in Prayer which our Saviour did reprove ; for then would not he himſelf in Prayer have continued (*a*) whole nights. Uſe in Prayer no vain ſuperfluity of words, as the Heathens do, for they imagine that their much ſpeaking will cauſe them to be heard ; whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is how virtuous their minds are, and not how copious their tongues in Prayer ; how well they think, and not how long they talk, who come to preſent their Supplications before him. Notwithſtanding, for as much as in Publick Prayer we are not only to conſider what is needful in reſpect of God, but there is alſo in Men that which we muſt regard ; we ſomewhat the rather incline to length, leſt over-quick diſpatch of a Duty ſo important ſhould give the World occaſion to deem, that the thing it ſelf is

Aug. Ep. 121.

(*a*) Luke 6.12.

but little accounted of, wherein but little time is beſtowed. Length thereof is a thing which the gravity and weight of ſuch Actions doth require. Beſide, this benefit alſo it hath, that they whom earneſt lets and impediments do often hinder from being Partakers of the whole, have yet through the length of Divine Service, opportunity left them, at the leaſt, for acceſs unto ſome reaſonable part thereof. Again, it ſhould be conſidered, how it doth come to paſs that we are ſo long. For if that very Service of God in the Jewiſh Synagogues, which our Lord did approve and ſanctifie with the preſence of his own Perſon, had ſo large portions of the Law and the Prophets, together with ſo many Prayers and Pſalms read day by day, as do equal in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that reſpect was never thought to deſerve blame, is it now an offence, that the like meaſure of time is beſtowed in the like manner? Peradventure the Church hath not now the leaſure which it had then, or elſe thoſe things whereupon ſo much time was then well ſpent, have ſithence that loſt their dignity and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets and Pſalms, be a part of the Service of God, as needful under Chriſt as before; and the adding of the New-Teſtament, as profitable as the ordaining of the Old to be read; if therewith inſtead of Jewiſh Prayers it be alſo for (a) 1 Tim. 2.1. the good of the Church, to annex that variety which the (*a*) Apoſtle doth commend; ſeeing that the time which we ſpend is no more than the orderly performance of theſe things neceſſarily requireth, why are we thought to exceed in length? Words, be they never ſo few, are too many when they benefit not the Hearer. But he which ſpeaketh no more than edifieth, is undeſervedly reprehended for much ſpeaking. That T.C.l.3.p.184. as *the Devil under the colour of long Prayer drave Preaching out of the Church* heretofore, ſo we *in appointing ſo long Prayers and Readings, whereby the leſs can be ſpent in Preaching, maintain an unpreaching Miniſtry*, is neither adviſedly nor truly ſpoken. They reprove long Prayer, and yet acknowledge it to be in it ſelf a thing commendable. For ſo it muſt needs be, if the Devil have uſed it as *a colour* to hide his malicious practiſes. When Malice would work that which is evil, and in working avoid the ſuſpicion of any evil intent, the colour wherewith it overcaſteth it ſelf, is always a fair and plauſible pretence of ſeeking to further that which is good. So that if we both retain that good which Satan hath pretended to ſeek, and avoid the evil which his purpoſe was to effect, have we not better prevented his malice, than if, as he hath under colour of long Prayer driven Preaching out of the Church; ſo we ſhould take the quarrel of Sermons in hand, and revenge their Cauſe by requital, thruſting Prayer in a manner out of doors under colour of long Preaching? In caſe our Prayers being made at their full length, did neceſſarily inforce Sermons to be the ſhorter, yet neither were this to uphold and maintain an *unpreaching* Miniſtry, unleſs we will ſay that thoſe ancient Fathers, *Chryſoſtom*, *Auguſtine*, *Leo*, and the reſt, whoſe Homilies in that conſideration were ſhorter for the moſt part than our Sermons are, did then not preach when the Speeches were not long. The neceſſity of ſhortneſs cauſeth Men to cut off impertinent Diſcourſes, and to compriſe much matter in few words. But neither did it maintain inability, nor at all prevent opportunity of Preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpoſe. *An hour and a half* is, they ſay, in reformed Churches *ordinarily* thought reaſonable Neh. 8.3. for *their whole Liturgy or Service*. Do we then continue as *Ezra* did in reading the Acts 20. 9. Law from morning till mid-day? or, as the Apoſtle St. *Paul* did in Prayer and Preaching, till men through wearineſs be taken up dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make ſuch complaint, is but this, that if our whole form of Prayer be read, and beſides an hour allowed for a Sermon, we ſpend ordinarily in both more time than they do by half an hour. Which half-hour being ſuch a matter, as the *age of ſome, and infirmity of other ſome are not able to bear*; if we have any ſenſe of the *common imbecillity*, if any care to preſerve Men's wits from being broken with the very *bent of ſo long attention*, if any love or deſire to provide that things moſt holy be not with *hazard* of Men's Souls abhorred and *loathed*, this half-hours tedioúſneſs muſt be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greateſt part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedy will ſerve to help ſo dangerous an Inconvenience.

Inſtead of ſuch Prayers as the Primitive Churches have uſed, and thoſe that be reformed now uſe; we have (they ſay) divers ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, rather Wiſhes than Prayers. *T.C.l.*1.*p.*138. & *l.* 3. *p.* 210, 211.

33. The Brethren in *Ægypt* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, *Epiſt.* 121.) are reported to have many Prayers, but every of them very ſhort, as if they were Darts thrown out with a kind of ſudden quickneſs, leſt that vigilant and erect attention of mind, which in Prayer is very neceſſary, ſhould be waſted or dulled through continuance, if their Prayers were few and long. But that which St. *Auguſtine* doth allow, they condemn. Thoſe Prayers whereunto devout minds have added a piercing kind of brevity, as well in that reſpect which we have already mentioned, as alſo thereby the better to expreſs that quick and ſpeedy expedition, wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of Prayer, are delighted to preſent our ſuits in Heaven, even ſooner than our tongues can deviſe to utter them; they in their mood of contradiction ſpare not openly to deride, and that with ſo baſe terms as do very ill beſeem Men of their gravity. Such ſpeeches are ſcandalous, they ſavour not of God in him that uſeth them, and unto virtuouſly diſpoſed minds they are grievous corroſives. Our caſe were miſerable, if that wherewith we moſt endeavour to pleaſe God, were in his ſight ſo vile and deſpicable, as Men's diſdainful ſpeech would make it.

Leſſons inter mingled with our Prayers.

34. Again, for as much as effectual Prayer is joined with a vehement intention of the interior powers of the Soul, which cannot therein long continue without pain, it hath been therefore thought good ſo by turns to interpoſe ſtill ſomewhat for the higher part of the mind, the underſtanding, to work upon, that both being kept in continual exerciſe with variety, neither might feel any great wearineſs, and yet each be a ſpur to other. For Prayer kindleth our deſire to behold God by ſpeculation; and the mind delighted with that contemplative ſight of God, taketh every where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the Myſteries of Heavenly wiſdom continually ſtirring up in us correſpondent deſires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due ſort, is thereby made the more attentive to hear, and he which heareth, the more earneſt to pray, for the time which we beſtow as well in the one as the other. But for what cauſe ſoever we do it, this intermingling of Leſſons with Prayers is * in their taſte a thing as unſavoury, and as unſeemly in their ſight, as if the like ſhould be done in Suits and Supplications before ſome mighty Prince of the World. Our ſpeech to worldly Superiors we frame in ſuch ſort as ſerveth beſt to inform and perſwade the minds of them, who otherwiſe neither could nor would greatly regard our neceſſities: Whereas, becauſe we know that God is indeed a King, but a *great* King; who underſtandeth all things beforehand, which no other King beſides doth, a King which needeth not to be informed what we lack, a King readier to grant than we to make our requeſts; therefore in Prayer we do not ſo much reſpect what Precepts Art delivereth, touching the method of perſwaſive utterance in the preſence of great Men, as what doth moſt avail to our own edification in piety and godly zeal. If they on the contrary ſide do think that the ſame Rules of decency, which ſerve for things done unto terrene Powers, ſhould univerſally decide what is fit in the ſervice of God, if it be their meaning to hold it for a Maxim, That the Church muſt deliver her publick Supplications unto God in no other form of ſpeech than ſuch as were decent; if ſuit ſhould be made to the Great-Turk, or ſome other Monarch, let them apply their own rule unto their own form of Common-Prayer. Suppoſe that the people of a whole Town, with ſome choſen Man before them, did continually twice or thrice in a week reſort to their King, and every time they come, firſt acknowledge themſelves guilty of Rebellions and Treaſons, then ſing a Song; and after that explain ſome Statute of the Land to the Standers by, and therein ſpend at the leaſt an hour; this done, turn themſelves again to the King, and for every ſort of his Subjects crave ſomewhat of him; at the length ſing him another Song, and ſo take their leave: Might not the King well think, that either they knew not what they would have, or elſe that they were diſtracted in mind, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of their Supplication? This form of ſuing unto Kings were abſurd: This form of Praying unto God they allow. When God was ſerved with legal Sacrifices, ſuch was the miſerable and wretched diſpoſition of ſome Men's minds, that the beſt of every thing they had being culled out for themſelves, if there were in their flocks any poor, ſtarved or diſeaſed thing not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the Altar of God, pretending (as wiſe Hypocrites do, when they rob God to enrich themſelves) that the fatneſs of Calves doth benefit him nothing; to us the beſt things are moſt profitable, to him all as one, if the mind of the offerer be good, which is the only thing he reſpecteth. In reproof of which their devout fraud, the Prophet *Malachy* alledgeth, that Gifts are offered unto God, not as * ſupplies of his want indeed, but yet as teſtimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honour his greatneſs. For which cauſe, ſith the greater they are whom we honour, the more regard we have to the quality and choice of thoſe preſents which we bring them for honours ſake; it muſt needs follow, that if we dare not diſgrace our worldly Superiors with offering unto them ſuch refuſe as we bring unto God himſelf, we ſhew plainly that our acknowledgment of his Greatneſs is but feigned; in heart we fear him not ſo much as we dread him. *If ye offer the blind for Sacrifice, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy Prince. Will he be content or accept thy Perſon, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts? Curſed be the Deceiver which hath in his Flock a Male, and having made a Vow, ſacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing: For I am a great King, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* Should we hereupon frame a Rule, that what form of ſpeech or behaviour ſoever is fit for Suiters in a Princes Court, the ſame and no other beſeemeth us in our Prayers to Almighty God.

Mal. 1. 8, 14.

The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lord's Prayer.

35. But in vain we labour to perſwade them that any thing can take away the tediousneſs of Prayer, except it be brought to the very ſame both meaſure and form which themſelves aſſign. Whatſoever therefore our Liturgy hath more than theirs, under one deviſed pretence or other they cut it off. We have of Prayers for Earthly things in their opinion too great a number; ſo oft to rehearſe the Lord's Prayer in ſo ſmall a time, is, as they think, a loſs of time, the Peoples praying after the Miniſter, they ſay, both

---

* We have no ſuch forms in the Scripture as that we ſhould pray in two or three lines, and then after having read a while ſome other thing, come and pray as much more, and ſo the 20. or 30. time, with pauſes between. If a Man ſhould come to a Prince, and having very many things to demand, after he had demanded one thing, would ſtay a long time, and then demand another, and ſo the third; the Prince might well think that either he came to ask before he knew what he had need of, or that he had forgotten ſome piece of his Suit, or that he were diſtracted in his underſtanding, or ſome other like cauſe of the diſorder of his Supplication. *T. C. l. 1. p.* 138. This kind of reaſon the Prophet in the matter of Sacrifices doth uſe. *T. C. l. 3. p.* 210.

* Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ δῶρόν ἐστι κτήματος δόσις καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διό καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἔχει, ὧν δέονται. Καὶ γὰρ κτῆμά ἐστιν, οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει, οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 5.

waſteth time, and alſo maketh an unpleaſant ſound; the *Pſalms* they would not have to be made (as they are) a part of our Common-Prayer, nor to be ſung or ſaid by turns, nor ſuch Muſick to be uſed with them; thoſe Evangelical *Hymns* they allow not to ſtand in our Liturgy; the *Litany*, the *Creed of Athanaſius*, the *Sentence of Glory*, wherewith we uſe to conclude *Pſalms*, theſe things they cancel, as having been inſtituted in regard of occaſions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now ſuperfluous. Touching Prayers for things earthly, we ought not to think that the Church hath ſet down ſo many of them without cauſe. They peradventure which find this fault, are of the ſame affection with *Solomon*; ſo that if God ſhould offer to grant them whatſoever they ask, they would neither crave Riches, nor length of days, nor yet victory over their Enemies, but only an underſtanding heart; for which cauſe themſelves having Eagles wings, are offended to ſee others fly ſo near the ground. But the tender kindneſs of the Church of God it very well beſeemeth, to help the weaker ſort, which are by ſo great odds more in number, although ſome few of the perfecter and ſtronger may be therewith for a time diſpleaſed. Ignorant we are not, that of ſuch as reſorted to our Saviour Chriſt being preſent on Earth, there came not any unto him with better ſucceſs for the benefit of their Souls everlaſting happineſs, than they whoſe bodily neceſſities gave them the firſt occaſion to ſeek relief, where they ſaw willingneſs and ability of doing every way good unto all. The graces of the ſpirit are much more precious than worldly benefits; our ghoſtly evils of greater importance than any harm which the body feeleth. Therefore our deſires to Heaven-ward ſhould both in meaſure and number no leſs exceed, than their glorious Object doth every way excel in value. Theſe things are true and plain in the eye of a perfect Judgment. But yet it muſt be withal conſidered, that the greateſt part of the World are they which be fartheſt from perfection. Such, being better able by ſenſe to diſcern the wants of this preſent life, than by ſpiritual capacity to apprehend things above ſenſe, which tend to their happineſs in the world to come, are in that reſpect the more apt to apply their minds even with hearty affection and zeal at the leaſt unto thoſe Branches of Publick Prayer, wherein their own particular is moved. And by this mean there ſtealeth upon them a double benefit; firſt, becauſe that good affection, which things of ſmaller account have once ſet on work, is by ſo much the more eaſily raiſed higher; and ſecondly, in that the very cuſtom of ſeeking ſo particular aid and relief at the hands of God, doth by a ſecret contradiction withdraw them from endeavouring to help themſelves by thoſe wicked ſhifts, which they know can never have his allowance, whoſe aſſiſtance their Prayer ſeeketh. Theſe multiplied Petitions of worldly things in Prayer have therefore, beſides their direct uſe, a Service, whereby the Church under-hand, through a kind of Heavenly fraud, taketh therewith the Souls of Men as with certain baits. If then their calculation be true (for ſo they reckon) that a full third of our Prayers be allotted unto earthly benefits, for which our Saviour in his platform hath appointed but one Petition amongſt ſeven, the difference is without any great diſagreement; we reſpecting what Men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection, our Lord contrariwiſe propoſing the moſt abſolute proportion that can be in Men's deſires, the very higheſt mark whereat we are able to aim. For which cauſe alſo our cuſtom is both to place it in the front of our Prayers, as a guide, and to add it in the end of ſome principal limbs or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatſoever may be defective in the reſt. Twice we rehearſe it ordinarily, and oftner as occaſion requireth more ſolemnity or length in the form of Divine Service; not miſtruſting, till theſe new curioſities ſprang up, that ever any Man would think our labour herein miſ-ſpent, the time waſtfully conſumed, and the Office it ſelf made worſe, by ſo repeating that which otherwiſe would more hardly be made familiar to the ſimpler ſort; for the good of whoſe Souls there is not in Chriſtian Religion any thing of like continual uſe and force throughout every hour and moment of their whole lives. I mean not only becauſe Prayer, but becauſe this very Prayer is of ſuch efficacy and neceſſity: for that our Saviour did but ſet Men a bare example how to contrive or deviſe Prayers of their own, and no way bind them to uſe this, is no doubt an Error. *John* the *Baptiſts* Diſciples, which had been always brought up in the boſom of God's Church from the time of their firſt Infancy, till they came to the School of *John*, were not ſo brutiſh, that they could be ignorant how to call upon the Name of God: but of their Maſter they had received a form of Prayer amongſt themſelves, which form none did uſe ſaving his Diſciples, ſo that by it as by a mark of ſpecial difference they were known from others. And of this the Apoſtles having taken notice, they requeſt that as *John* had taught his, ſo Chriſt would likewiſe teach them to pray. *Tertullian* and St. *Auguſtine* do for that cauſe term it, *Orationem Legitimam*, the Prayer which Chriſts own Law hath tyed his Church to uſe in the ſame Preſcript form of words wherewith he himſelf did deliver it: and therefore what part of the World ſoever we fall into, if Chriſtian

Præmiſſa legitima & ordinaria oratione, quaſi fundamento, accidentium jus eſt deſideriorum, jus eſt ſuperſtruendi extrinſecus petitiones. Tertul. de Orat.

Luke 11.1.

I can make no Geometrical and exact meaſure, but verily I believe there ſhall be found more than a third part of the Prayers, which are not Pſalms and Texts of Scripture, ſpent in praying for, and praying againſt the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the Arguments or Contents of the Prayers of the Church, ſet down in the Scripture, and eſpecially of our Saviour Chriſts *Prayer*, by the which ours ought to be directed. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 136. What a reaſon is this, we muſt repeat the Lord's Prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in half an hour, and one in the neck of another? Our Savionr Chriſt doth not there give a preſcript Form of Prayer, whereunto he bindeth us: but giveth us a Rule and ſquare to frame all our Prayers by. I know it is neceſſary to Pray, and Pray often. I know alſo that in a few words it is impoſſible for any Man to frame ſo pithy a Prayer, and I confeſs that the Church doth well in concluding their Prayers with the Lord's Prayer: But I ſtand upon this, That there is no neceſſity laid upon us to uſe theſe very words and no more. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 219.

an Religion have been there received; the ordinary uſe of this very Prayer hath with equal continuance accompanied the ſame, as one of the principal and moſt material duties of honour done to Jeſus Chriſt. *Seeing that we have* (ſaith St. *Cyprian*) *an Advocate with the Father for our ſins, when we that have ſinned come to ſeek for pardon, let us alledge unto God the words which our Advocate hath taught. For ſith his promiſe is our plain warrant, that in his Name what we ask we ſhall receive, muſt we not needs much the rather obtain that for which we ſue, if not only his Name do countenance, but alſo his Speech preſent our requeſts*? Though Men ſhould ſpeak with the tongues of Angels, yet words ſo pleaſing to the ears of God, as thoſe which the Son of God himſelf hath compoſed, were not poſſible for Men to frame. He therefore which made us to live, hath alſo taught us to pray, to the end that ſpeaking unto the Father in the Sons own preſcript form without ſcholy or gloſs of ours, we may be ſure that we utter nothing which God will either diſallow or deny. Other Prayers we uſe many beſides this, and this oftner than any other; although not tyed ſo to do by any Commandment of Scripture, yet moved with ſuch conſiderations as have been before ſet down; the cauſeleſs diſlike whereof which others have conceived, is no ſufficient reaſon for us as much as once to forbear in any place, a thing which uttered with true devotion and zeal of heart, affordeth to God himſelf that Glory, that aid to the weakeſt ſort of Men, to the moſt perfect that ſolid comfort which is unſpeakable.

Cypr. in Orat. Dom.

36. With our Lord's Prayer they would find no fault, ſo that they might perſwade us to uſe it before or after Sermons only (becauſe ſo their manner is) and not (as all Chriſtian People have been of old accuſtomed) inſert it ſo often into the Liturgy. But the Peoples cuſtom to repeat any thing after the Miniſter, they utterly miſlike. Twice we appoint that the words which the Miniſter firſt pronounceth, the whole Congregation ſhall repeat after him. As firſt in the publick Confeſſion of Sins, and again in rehearſal of our Lord's Prayer, preſently after the bleſſed Sacrament of his Body and Blood received. A thing no way offenſive, no way unfit or unſeemly to be done, although it had been ſo appointed oftner than with us it is. But ſurely with ſo good reaſon it ſtandeth in thoſe two places, that otherwiſe to order it were not in all reſpects ſo well. Could there be any thing deviſed better, than that we all at our firſt acceſs unto God by Prayer, ſhould acknowledge meekly our ſins, and that not only in heart, but with tongue; all which are preſent, being made ear-witneſſes, even of every Man's diſtinct and deliberate aſſent unto each particular branch of a common Indictment drawn againſt our ſelves? How were it poſſible, that the Church ſhould any way elſe with ſuch eaſe and certainty provide, that none of her Children may, as *Adam*, diſſemble that wretchedneſs, the penitent confeſſion whereof is ſo neceſſary a Preamble, eſpecially to Common-Prayer? In like manner, if the Church did ever deviſe a thing fit and convenient, what more than this, that when together we have all received thoſe Heavenly Myſteries wherein Chriſt imparteth himſelf unto us, and giveth viſible teſtification of our bleſſed communion with him, we ſhould in hatred of all Hereſies, Factions and Schiſms, the Paſtor as a Leader, the people as willing followers of him ſtep by ſtep, declare openly our ſelves united as Brethren in one, (*a*) by offering up with all our hearts and tongues that moſt effectual Supplication, wherein he unto whom we offer it, hath himſelf not only comprehended all our neceſſities; but in ſuch ſort alſo framed every Petition, as might moſt naturally ſerve for many, and doth, though not always require, yet always import a multitude of ſpeakers together? For which cauſe Communicants have ever uſed it, and we at that time by the form of our very utterance do ſhew we uſe it; yea, every word and Syllable of it, as Communicants. In the reſt we obſerve that cuſtom whereunto (*b*) St. *Paul* alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their Writings make often mention, to ſhew indefinitely what was done, but not univerſally to bind for ever all Prayers unto one only faſhion of utterance. The Reaſons which we have alledged induce us to think it ſtill *a good work*, which they in their penſive care for the well beſtowing of time account *waſte*. As for unpleaſantneſs of Sound, if it happen, the good of Men's ſouls doth either deceive our ears that we note it not, or arm them with patience to endure it. We are not ſo nice as to caſt away a ſharp Knife, becauſe the edge of it may ſometimes grate. And ſuch ſubtile opinions, as few but Utopians are likely to fall into, we in this climate do not greatly fear.

The Peoples ſaying after the Miniſter. Another fault is, That all the People are appointed in divers places to ſay after the Miniſter, whereby not only the time is unprofitably waſted, and a confuſed noiſe of the people (one ſpeaking after another) cauſed, but an Opinion bred in their heads, that thoſe only be their Prayers which they pronounce with their own mouths after the Miniſter, otherwiſe than the order which is left to the Church doth bear. 1 *Cor.* 14. 16. and otherwiſe than *Juſtin Martyr* ſheweth the Cuſtom of the Churches to have been in his time, *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 139. & *l.* 3. *p.* 211, 212, 213.

(*a*) Τὶς γὰρ ἔτι ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθαι δύναται μεθ᾽ οὗ μίαν ἀφῆκε πρὸς θεὸν τὴν φωνήν. *Baſil. Praf. in Pſal.*

(*b*) 1 Cor. 14. 16.

37. The complaint which they make about Pſalms and Hymns might as well be overpaſt without any anſwer, as it is without any cauſe brought forth. But our deſire is to content them, if it may be, and to yield them a juſt reaſon, even of the leaſt things, wherein undeſervedly they have but as much as dreamed or ſuſpected that we do amiſs. They ſeem ſometimes ſo to ſpeak, as if it greatly offended them, that ſuch Hymns and Pſalms as are

Our manner of reading the Pſalms otherwiſe than the reſt of the Scripture. They have always the ſame profit to be ſtudied in, to be read, and preached upon, which other Scriptures have, and this above the reſt, that they are to be ſung. But to make daily Prayers of them hand over head, or otherwiſe than the preſent eſtate wherein we be, doth agree with the matter contained in them, is an abuſing of them. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 206.

Scripture, ſhould in Common-Prayer be otherwiſe uſed, than the reſt of the Scripture is wont; ſometime diſpleaſed they are at the artificial Muſick which we add unto Pſalms of this kind, or of any other nature elſe; ſometime the plaineſt and the moſt intelligible rehearſal of them yet they ſavour not, becauſe it is done by Interlocution, and with a mutual return of Sentences from ſide to ſide. They are not ignorant what difference there is between other parts of Scripture and Pſalms. The choice and flower of * all things profitable in other Books the Pſalms do both more briefly contain, and more movingly alſo expreſs, by reaſon of that Poetical Form wherewith they are written. The Ancients, when they ſpeak of the Book of Pſalms, uſe to fall into large Diſcourſes, ſhewing how this part above the reſt doth of purpoſe ſet forth and celebrate all the conſiderations and operations which belong to God; it magnifieth the holy Meditations and Actions of Divine Men; it is of things Heavenly an Univerſal Declaration, working in them, whoſe hearts God inſpireth with the due conſideration thereof, an habit or diſpoſition of mind whereby they are made fit Veſſels both for receipt and for delivery of whatſoever ſpiritual perfection. What is there neceſſary for Man to know, which the Pſalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an eaſie and familiar Introduction, a mighty Augmentation of all Virtue and Knowledge in ſuch as are entred before, a ſtrong confirmation to the moſt perfect amongſt others. Heroical Magnanimity, exquiſite Juſtice, grave Moderation, exact Wiſdom, Repentance unfeigned, unwearied Patience, the Myſteries of God, the Sufferings of Chriſt, the Terrors of Wrath, the Comforts of Grace, the Works of Providence over this World, and the promiſed Joys of that World which is to come, all good neceſſary to be either known, or done, or had, this one Celeſtial Fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or diſeaſe incident to the Soul of Man, any wound or ſickneſs named, for which there is not in this Treaſure-houſe a preſent comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. Hereof it is, that we covet to make the Pſalms eſpecially familiar unto all. This is the very cauſe, why we iterate the Pſalms oftner than any other part of Scripture beſides; the cauſe wherefore we inure the People together with their Miniſter, and not the Miniſter alone, to read them as other parts of Scripture he doth.

* ἡ περιεκτικὴ τῶν πανιέρων ὑμνολογία. *Dionyſ. Hierar. Eccleſ. cap.* 3.

Of Muſick with Pſalms.

38. Touching Muſical Harmony, whether by Inſtrument or by Voice, it being but of high and low in ſounds a due proportionable diſpoſition, ſuch notwithſtanding is the force thereof, and ſo pleaſing effects it hath in that very part of Man which is moſt Divine, that ſome have been thereby induced to think that the Soul it ſelf by Nature is, or hath in it Harmony. A thing which delighteth all Ages, and beſeemeth all States; a thing as ſeaſonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greateſt weight and ſolemnity, as being uſed when Men moſt ſequeſter themſelves from action. The reaſon hereof is an admirable facility which Muſick hath to expreſs and repreſent to the mind, more inwardly than any other ſenſible mean, the very ſtanding, riſing and falling, the very ſteps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all Paſſions, whereunto the mind is ſubject; yea, ſo to imitate them, that whether it reſemble unto us the ſame ſtate wherein our minds already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, than changed and led away by the other. In Harmony, the very Image and Character even of Virtue and Vice is perceived, the mind delighted with their Reſemblances, and brought, by having them often iterated, into a love of the things themſelves. For which cauſe there is nothing more contagious and peſtilent than ſome kinds of Harmony; than ſome, nothing more ſtrong and potent unto good. And that there is ſuch a difference of one kind from another, we need no proof but our own experience, in as much as we are at the hearing of ſome more inclined unto ſorrow and heavineſs, of ſome more mollified and ſoftned in mind; one kind apter to ſtay and ſettle us, another to move and ſtir our affections: There is that draweth to a marvellous grave and ſober mediocrity, there is alſo that carrieth as it were into extaſies, filling the mind with an heavenly joy, and for the time in a manner ſevering it from the body: So that although we lay altogether aſide the conſideration of Ditty or Matter, the very Harmony of ſounds being framed in due ſort, and carried from the Ear to the Spiritual faculties of our Souls, is by a Native Puiſſance and Efficacy greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatſoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the ſpirits as to allay that which is too eager, ſovereign againſt melancholy and deſpair, forcible to draw forth tears of devotion, if the mind be ſuch as can yield them, able both to move and to moderate all affections. The Prophet *David* having therefore ſingular knowledge, not in Poetry alone, but in Muſick alſo, judged them both to be things moſt neceſſary for the Houſe of God, left behind him to that purpoſe a number of divinely indited Poems, and was farther the Author of adding unto Poetry melody in publick Prayer, melody both Vocal and Inſtrumental for the raſing up of Men's hearts, and the ſweetning of their affections towards God. In which conſiderations, the Church of Chriſt doth likewiſe at this preſent day retain it as an ornament to God's ſervice, and an help to our own devotion. They which under pretence of the Law Ceremonial abrogated require the abrogation of Inſtrumental Muſick, approving nevertheleſs the uſe of Vocal melody to remain, muſt ſhew ſome reaſon wherefore the one ſhould be thought a Legal Ceremony, and not the other. In Church-Muſick curioſity and oſtentation of Art, wanton, or light, or unſuitable Harmony, ſuch as only pleaſeth the ear, and doth not naturally ſerve to the very kind and degree of thoſe impreſſions which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave in Men's minds, doth rather blemiſh

and diſgrace that we do, than add either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other ſide, theſe faults prevented, the force and efficacy of the thing it ſelf, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly ſuiteth with matter altogether ſounding to the praiſe of God, is in truth moſt admirable, and doth much edifie, if not the Underſtanding, becauſe it teacheth not; yet ſurely the Affection, becauſe therein it worketh much. They muſt have hearts very dry and tough, from whom the melody of *Pſalms* doth not ſometime draw that wherein a mind religiouſly affected delighteth. Be it as *Rabanus Maurus* obſerveth, that at the firſt the Church in this exerciſe was more ſimple and plain than we are; that their ſinging was little more than only a melodious kind of pronunciation; that the cuſtom which we now uſe, was not inſtituted ſo much for their cauſe which are Spiritual, as to the end that into groſſer and heavier minds, whom bare words do not eaſily move, the ſweetneſs of melody might make ſome entrance for good things. St. *Baſil* himſelf acknowledging as much, did not think that from ſuch inventions the leaſt jot of eſtimation and credit thereby ſhould be derogated: * For (ſaith he) *whereas the Holy Spirit ſaw that Mankind is unto Virtue hardly drawn, and that Righteouſneſs is the leſs accounted of, by reaſon of the proneneſs of our affections to that which delighteth; it pleaſed the Wiſdom of the ſame Spirit to borrow from melody that pleaſure, which mingled with Heavenly Myſteries cauſeth the ſmoothneſs and ſoftneſs of that which toucheth the ear, to convey, as it were, by ſtealth the treaſure of good things into Man's mind. To this purpoſe were thoſe harmonious tunes of Pſalms deviſed for us, that they which are either in years but young, or touching perfection of Virtue as yet not grown to ripeneſs, might, when they think they ſing, learn. O the wiſe conceit of that Heavenly Teacher, which hath by his skill found out a way, that doing thoſe things wherein we delight, we may alſo learn that whereby we profit!*

* Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιρρεπὲς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ βιοῦ καταμελοῦντας ἡμᾶς; τὶ ποιεῖ; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελωδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν ἵνα τῷ προσηνεῖ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λανθανόντως ὑποδεξώμεθα. Διὰ τοῦτο, τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινενόηται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ ὅλως οἱ γεαροὶ τὸ ἦθος τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελῳδῶσι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται. ὢ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου, ὁμοῦ τε ᾄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μεχανωμένου. *Baſil. in Pſal.*

Of ſinging or ſaying *Pſalms* and other parts of Common-Prayer, wherein the People and Miniſter anſwer one another by courſe.

For the ſinging of *Pſalms* by courſe, and ſide after ſide, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable; and ſo much the more to be ſuſpected, for that the Devil hath gone about to get it ſo great Authority, partly by deriving it from *Ignatius's* time and partly in making the World believe that this came from Heaven and that the Angels were heard to ſing after this ſort. Which as it is a meer Fable, ſo it is confuted by Hiſtoriographers, whereof ſome aſcribe the beginning of this to *Damaſus*, ſome other unto *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 203.

39. And if the Prophet *David* did think that the very meeting of Men together, and their accompanying one another to the Houſe of God, ſhould make the Bond of their Love inſoluble, and tie them in a League of inviolable Amity, *Pſal.* 54. 14. How much more may we judge it reaſonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the People towards other, in them all towards their Paſtor, and in their Paſtor towards every of them; between whom there daily and interchangeably paſs in the hearing of God himſelf, and in the preſence of his holy Angels, ſo many heavenly Acclamations, Exultations, Provocations, Petitions, Songs of Comfort, Pſalms of Praiſe and Thankſgiving? In all which particulars, as when the Paſtor maketh their Suits, and they with one voice teſtify a general aſſent thereunto; or when he joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow, dividing between them the ſentences wherewith they ſtrive, which ſhall moſt ſhew his own, and ſtir up others zeal, to the glory of that God, whoſe name they magnifie; or when he propoſeth unto God their neceſſities, and they their own requeſts for relief in every of them; or when he lifteth up his voice like a Trumpet, to proclaim unto them the Laws of God, they adjoyning, though not as *Iſrael* did, by way of generality a chearful promiſe, (*a*) *All that the Lord hath commanded, we will do*; yet that which God doth no leſs approve, that which ſavoureth more of meekneſs, that which teſtifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecillity unto the ſeveral Branches thereof, ſeveral lowly and humble requeſts for Grace at the merciful Hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; or when they wiſh reciprocally each others ghoſtly happineſs; or when he by exhortation raiſeth them up, and they by proteſtation of their readineſs declare, he ſpeaketh not in vain unto them. Theſe interlocutory forms of ſpeech, what are they elſe, but moſt effectual, partly teſtifications, and partly inflammations of all Piety? When, and how this cuſtom of ſinging by courſe came up in the Church, it is not certainly known. (*b*) *Socrates* maketh *Ignatius* the Biſhop of *Antioch* in *Syria* the firſt beginner thereof, even under the Apoſtles themſelves. But againſt *Socrates* they ſet the authority of (*c*) *Theodoret*, who draweth the original of it from *Antioch*, as *Socrates* doth; howbeit aſcribing the invention to others, *Flavian* and *Diodore*, Men which conſtantly ſtood in defence of the Apoſtolick Faith, againſt the Biſhop of that Church, *Leontius* a favourer of the *Arians*. Againſt both *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, (*d*) *Platina* is brought as a witneſs, to teſtifie that *Damaſus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, began it in his time. Of the *Latin* Church it may be true which *Platina* ſaith. And therefore the eldeſt of that Church which maketh any mention thereof, is St. *Ambroſe* (*e*) Biſhop of *Milan*, at the ſame time when *Damaſus* was of *Rome*. Amongſt the *Grecians*, (*f*) St. *Baſil* having brought it into his Church before they of *Neocæſarea* uſed it, *Sabellius* the Heretick, and *Marcellus*, took occaſion thereat, to incenſe the Churches againſt him, as being an Author of new devices in the Service of God. Whereupon, to avoid the opinion of Novelty and Singularity, he alledgeth for that which he him-

(*a*) Exod. 19. 8. & 24. 3. Deut. 5. 27. & 26. 17. Joſh. 24. 16.

(*b*) *Socrat. Hiſt. Eccl. lib.* 6. *c.* 8.

(*c*) *Theod. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24.

(*d*) *Plat. in vita Damaſi.*

(*e*) *Bene mari plerumque comparatur Eccleſia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis veſtibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam undis refluentibus ſtridet; tum reſponſoriis Pſalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, conſonus undarum fragor reſultat.* Hexam. Lib. 2. cap. 5.

(*f*) *Baſil. Epiſt.* 63.

himſelf did, the example of the Churches of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Thebes*, *Paleſtina*, the *Arabians*, *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, *Meſopotamians*, and, in a manner, all that reverenced the cuſtom of ſinging *Pſalms* together. If the *Syrians* had it then before *Baſil*, *Antioch* the Mother-Church of thoſe parts muſt needs have uſed it before *Baſil*, and conſequently before *Damaſus*. The queſtion is then, how long before, and whether ſo long, that *Ignatius*, or as ancient as *Ignatius*, may be probably thought the firſt Inventors. *Ignatius* in *Trajans* days ſuffered Martyrdom. And (*a*) of the Churches in *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, to *Trajan* the Emperour his own Vicegerent there affirmeth, That the only crime he knew of them, was, They uſed to meet together at a certain day, and to praiſe Chriſt with Hymns as a God, *Secum invicem*, one to another amongſt themſelves. Which for any thing we know to the contrary, might be the ſelf-ſame form which *Philo Judæus* expreſſeth, declaring how the *Eſſens* were accuſtomed with Hymns and Pſalms to honour God, ſometime all exalting their voices together in one, and ſometime one part anſwering another, wherein, as he thought, they ſwerved not much from the pattern of *Moſes* and (*b*) *Miriam*. Whether *Ignatius* did at any time hear the Angels praiſing God after that ſort, or no, what matter is it? If *Ignatius* did not, yet one which muſt be with us of greater Authority did. (*c*) *I ſaw the Lord* (ſaith the Prophet *Iſaiah*) *on a high Throne, the Seraphins ſtood upon it*, one cryed to another, *ſaying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, the whole world is full of his glory*. But whoſoever were the Author, whatſoever the Time, whenceſoever the example of beginning this Cuſtom in the Church of Chriſt; ſith we are wont to ſuſpect things only before tryal, and afterwards either to approve them as good, or if we find them evil, accordingly to judge of them; their counſel muſt needs ſeem very unſeaſonable, who adviſe Men now to ſuſpect that wherewith the World hath had, by their own account, Twelve hundred years acquaintance, and upwards, enough to take away ſuſpicion aud jealouſie. Men know by this time, if ever they will know, whether it be good or evil which hath been ſo long retained. As for the Devil, which way it ſhould greatly benefit him to have this manner of ſinging Pſalms accounted an invention of *Ignatius*, or an imitation of the Angels of Heaven, we do not well underſtand. But we very well ſee in them who thus plead, a wonderful celerity of diſcourſe. For perceiving at the firſt but only ſome cauſe of ſuſpicion and fear, leſt it ſhould be evil, they are preſently in one and the ſelf-ſame breath reſolved, * That *what beginning ſoever it had, there is no poſſibility it ſhould be good*. The Potent Arguments which did thus ſuddenly break in upon them, and overcome them, are; Firſt, That it is not unlawful for the People, all jointly to praiſe God in ſinging of Pſalms. Secondly, That they are not any where forbidden by the Law of God, to ſing every Verſe of the whole Pſalm, both with heart and voice, quite and clean throughout. Thirdly, That it cannot be underſtood what is ſung after our manner. Of which three, for as much as lawfulneſs to ſing one way, proveth not another way inconvenient; the former two are true Allegations, but they lack ſtrength to accompliſh their deſire; the third ſo ſtrong, that it might perſwade, if the truth thereof were not doubtful. And ſhall this inforce us to baniſh a thing which all Chriſtian Churches in the World have received; a thing which ſo many ages have held; a thing which the moſt approved Councils and Laws have ſo oftentimes ratified; a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which always heretofore the beſt Men, and wiſeſt Governours of God's people, did think they could never commend enough; a thing which as *Baſil* was perſwaded, did both ſtrengthen the Meditation of thoſe holy Words which were uttered in that ſort, and ſerve alſo to make attentive, and to raiſe up the hearts of Men; a thing whereunto God's people of old did reſort with hope and thirſt, that thereby, eſpecially their Souls, might be edified; a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heavenly delight, ſtirreth up flagrant deſires and affections correſpondent unto that which the words contain, allayeth all kind of baſe and earthly Cogitations, baniſheth and driveth away thoſe evil ſecret ſuggeſtions which our inviſible Enemy is always apt to miniſter, watereth the heart to the end it may fructifie, maketh the virtuous, in trouble, full of magnanimity and courage, ſerveth as a moſt approved remedy againſt all doleful and heavy accidents which befall Men in this preſent life; to conclude, ſo fitly accordeth with the Apoſtles own Exhortation, *Speak to your ſelves in Pſalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs, making melody, and ſinging to the Lord in your hearts*; that ſurely there is more cauſe to fear, leſt the want thereof be a maim, than the uſe a blemiſh to the Service of God. It is not our meaning, that what we attribute unto the Pſalms, ſhould be thought to depend altogether on that only form of ſinging or reading them by courſe, as with us the manner is; but the end of our ſpeech is to ſhew, That becauſe the Fathers of the Church, with whom the ſelf-ſame cuſtom was ſo many ages ago in uſe, have uttered all theſe things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reap, obſerving that and no other form, it may be juſtly avouched, that we our ſelves retaining it, and beſides it alſo the other more newly and not unfruitfully deviſed, do neither want that good which the latter invention can afford, nor loſe any thing of that, for which the Ancients ſo oft and ſo highly commend the former. Let Novelty therefore in this give over endleſs contradictions, and let ancient cuſtom prevail.

40. We

(*a* Plin. ſecund. Epiſt. lib. 10. ep. 97.

(*b*) Exod. 15. 1, 21.

(*c*) Iſa. 6. 3.

Epheſ. 5. 19.

---

* From whence ſoever it came, it cannot be good, conſidering, that when it is granted, that all the People may praiſe God (as it is in ſinging of Pſalms) then this ought not to be reſtrained unto a few; and where it is lawful, both with heart and voice to ſing the whole Pſalm; there it is not meet, that they ſhould ſing but the one half with their heart and voice, and the other with their heart only. For where they may both with heart and voice ſing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore beſides the incommodity which cometh this way, in that being toſſed after this ſort, Men cannot underſtand what is ſung, thoſe other two inconveniences come of this form of ſinging, and therefore it is baniſhed in all Reformed Churches. *T. C. lib.* 1. *p.* 203.

Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis.*

40. We have already given cauſe ſufficient for the great conveniency, and uſe of reading the Pſalms oftner than other Scriptures. Of reading or ſinging likewiſe *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*, oftner than the reſt of the Pſalms, the cauſes are no whit leſs reaſonable; ſo that if the one may very well monthly, the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are Songs which concern us ſo much more than the Songs of *David*, as the Goſpel toucheth us more than the Law, the New-Teſtament than the Old. And if the Pſalms for the excellency of their uſe deſerve to be oftner repeated than they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftner repetition, what diſorder is it if theſe few Evangelical Hymns, which are in no reſpect leſs worthy, and may be by reaſon of their paucity imprinted with much more eaſe in all Men's memories, be for that cauſe every day rehearſed? In our own behalf it is convenient and orderly enough, that both they and we make day by day Prayers and Supplications the very ſame; why not as fit and convenient to magnifie the Name of God day by day with certain the very ſelf-ſame Pſalms of Praiſe and Thankſgiving? Either let them not allow the one, or elſe ceaſe to reprove the other. For the ancient-received uſe of intermingling Hymns and Pſalms with Divine Readings, enough hath been written. And if any may fitly ſerve unto that purpoſe, how ſhould it better have been deviſed, than that a competent number of the Old being firſt read, theſe of the New ſhould ſucceed in the place where now they are ſet? In which place notwithſtanding, there is joyned with *Benedictus* the Hundredth Pſalm, with *Magnificat* the Ninety-eighth, the Sixty-ſeventh with *Nunc dimittis*; and in every of them the choice left free for the Miniſter to uſe indifferently the one or the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrel at other Pſalms, which are in like manner appointed alſo to be daily read, why do theſe ſo much offend and diſpleaſe their taſte? They are the firſt Gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the World, by ſuch as in their Hearts, Arms, and very Bowels embraced Him; being Prophetical diſcoveries of Chriſt already preſent, whoſe future coming the other *Pſalms* did but fore-ſignifie; they are againſt the obſtinate incredulity of the Jews, the moſt luculent teſtimonies that Chriſtian Religion hath; yea, the only ſacred Hymns they are, that Chriſtianity hath peculiar unto it-ſelf; the other being Songs too of praiſe and thankſgiving, but Songs wherewith as we ſerve God, ſo the Jew likewiſe. And whereas they tell us, Theſe Songs were fit for that purpoſe, when *Simeon* and *Zachary* and the Bleſſed Virgin uttered them, but cannot ſo be to us which have not received like benefit; ſhould they not remember how expreſly *Hezekiah*, amongſt many other good things, is commended for this alſo, That the praiſes of God were through his appointment daily ſet forth, by uſing in publick Divine Service the Songs of *David* and *Aſaph* unto that very end? Either there wanted wiſe Men to give *Hezekiah* advice, and to inform him of that, which in his caſe was as true as it is in ours, namely, that without ſome inconvenience and diſorder he could not appoint thoſe *Pſalms* to be uſed as ordinary Prayers, ſeeing that altho' they were Songs of Thankſgiving, ſuch as *David* and *Aſaph* had ſpecial occaſion to uſe, yet not ſo the whole Church and People afterwards, whom like occaſions did not befal; or elſe *Hezekiah* was perſwaded as we are, that the praiſes of God in the mouths of his Saints, are not ſo reſtrained to their own particular, but that others may both conveniently and fruitfully uſe them; firſt, becauſe the Myſtical Communion of all faithful Men is ſuch as maketh every one to be intereſſed in thoſe precious Bleſſings, which any one of them receiveth at God's hands; ſecondly, becauſe when any thing is ſpoken to extol the goodneſs of God, whoſe mercy endureth for ever, albeit the very particular occaſion whereupon it riſeth, do come no more; yet, the Fountain continuing the ſame, and yielding other new effects which are but only in ſome ſort proportionable, a ſmall reſemblance between the benefits, which we and others have received, may ſerve to make the ſame words of praiſe and thankſgiving fit, though not equally in all circumſtances fit for both; a clear demonſtration whereof, we have in all the Ancient Fathers Commentaries and Meditations upon the *Pſalms*. Laſt of all, becauſe even when there is not as much as the ſhew of any reſemblance, nevertheleſs by often uſing their words in ſuch manner, our minds are daily more and more inured with their affections.

These thankſgivings were made by occaſion of certain particular benefits, and are no more to be uſed for ordinary Prayers, than the *Ave-Maria*. So that both for this cauſe, and the other before alledged of the Pſalms, it is not convenient to make ordinary Prayers of them. *T. C. lib.* 3. *p.* 208.

2 Chro. 29. 30.

Of the Litany.

41. The Publick Eſtate of the Church of God amongſt the Jews, hath had many rare and extraordinary Occurrences, which alſo were occaſions of ſundry (*a*) open Solemnities and Offices, whereby the people did with general conſent make ſhew of correſpondent affection towards God. The like duties appear uſual in the ancient Church of Chriſt, by that which (*b*) *Tertullian* ſpeaketh of Chriſtian Women themſelves matching with Infidels. *She cannot content the Lord with performance of his diſcipline, that hath at her ſide a Vaſſal, whom Satan hath made his viceagent to croſs whatſoever the faithful ſhould do. If her preſence be required at the time of*

We pray for the avoiding of thoſe dangers which are nothing near us; as from Lightning and Thundring in the midſt of Winter; from Storm and Tempeſt, when the Weather is moſt fair, and the Seas moſt calm. It is true, that upon ſome urgent Calamity a Prayer may, and ought to be framed, which may beg, either the commodity, for want whereof the Church is in diſtreſs, or the turning away of that Miſchief, which either approacheth, or is already upon it. But to make thoſe Prayers which are for the preſent time and danger, ordinary and daily Prayers, I cannot hitherto ſee any, either Scripture, or example of the Primitive Church. And here for the ſimples ſake, I will ſet down after what ſort this abuſe crept into the Church. There was one *Mamercus* Biſhop of *Vienna*, which in the time of great Earth-quakes, which were in *France*, inſtituted certain Supplications, which the *Grecians* (and we of them) call the *Litany*, which concerned that matter: There is no doubt, but as other diſcommodities roſe in other Countries, they likewiſe had Prayers accordingly. Now Pope *Gregory*, either made himſelf, or gathered the Supplications that were made againſt the Calamities of every Country, and made of them a great Litany or Supplication, as *Platina* calleth it, and gave it to be uſed in all Churches: Which thing, albeit all Churches might do for the time, in reſpect of the caſe of the Calamity which the Churches ſuffered, yet there is no cauſe, why it ſhould be perpetual, that was ordained but for a time; and why all Lands ſhould pray to be delivered from the incommodities that ſome Land hath been troubled with. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 137. (*a*) Exod. 15. 20. Wiſd. 10. 20. 2 Sam. 6. 2. 1 Chron. 13. 5. 2 Chron. 20. 3. Joel. 2. 15. (*b*) *Tertul. lib.* 2. *ad uxor.*

Station or ſtanding Prayer, he chargeth her at no time but that to be with him in his baths; if a faſting day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cauſe for the Church to go forth in ſolemn Proceſſion, his whole family have ſuch buſineſs come upon them, that no one can be ſpared. Theſe *Proceſſions*, as it ſeemeth, were firſt begun for the interring of holy Martyrs, and the viſiting of thoſe places where they were intombed. Which thing, the name it ſelf applied by (c) Heathens unto the office of Exequies, and partly the ſpeeches of ſome of the Ancients delivered concerning (*d*) Chriſtian Proceſſions, partly alſo the very droſs which Superſtition thereunto added, I mean, the Cuſtom of Invocating Saints in Proceſſions heretofore uſual, do ſtrongly inſinuate. And as things invented to one purpoſe are by uſe eaſily converted to more, (*e*) it grew that Supplications, with this ſolemnity for the appeaſing of God's wrath and the averting of publick evils, were of the Greek Church termed ***Litanies***, *Rogations* of the Latin (*f*). To the People of *Vienna* (*Mamercus* being their Biſhop about 450 years after Chriſt) there befel many things, the ſuddenneſs and ſtrangeneſs whereof ſo amazed the hearts of all Men, that the City they began to forſake as a place which Heaven did threaten with imminent ruin. It beſeemed not the perſon of ſo grave a Prelate to be either utterly without counſel, as the reſt were, or in a common perplexity to ſhew himſelf alone ſecure. Wherefore as many as remained he earneſtly exhorteth to prevent portended calamities, uſing thoſe virtuous and holy means, wherewith others in like caſe have prevailed with God. To which purpoſe he perfecteth the ***Rogations*** or ***Litanies*** before in uſe, and addeth unto them that which the preſent neceſſity required. Their good ſucceſs moved (*g*) *Sidonius* Biſhop of *Arverna* to uſe the ſame ſo corrected ***Rogations***, at ſuch time as he and his people were after afflicted with Famin, and beſieged with potent Adverſaries. For till the empty name of the Empire came to be ſetled in *Charles* the Great, the fall of the ***Romans*** huge Dominion concurring with other univerſal evils, cauſed thoſe times to be days of much affliction and trouble throughout the World. So that ***Rogations*** or ***Litanies*** were then the very ſtrength, ſtay, and comfort of God's Church. Whereupon in the year Five hundred and ſix it was by the Council of *Aurelia* decreed, That the whole Church ſhould beſtow yearly at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, three days in that kind of Proceſſionary ſervice. About half an hundred years after, to the end that the Latin Churches, which all obſerved this Cuſtom, might not vary in the order and form of thoſe great ***Litanies*** which were ſo ſolemnly every where exerciſed; it was thought convenient by *Gregory* the Firſt, and the beſt of that name, to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at length to gather ruſt; which thing the Synod of *Colen* ſaw, and in part redreſt within that Province, neither denying the neceſſary uſe for which ſuch Litanies ſerve, wherein God's clemency and mercy is deſired by publick ſuit, to the end that Plagues, Deſtructions, Calamities, Famins, Wars, and all other the like Adverſities, which for our manifold ſins we have always cauſe to fear, may be turned away from us, and prevented through his Grace; nor yet diſſembling the great abuſe whereunto as ſundry other things, ſo this had grown by Men's improbity and malice; to whom that which was deviſed for the appeaſing of God's diſpleaſure, gave opportunity of committing things which juſtly kindled his wrath. For remedy whereof it was then thought better, that theſe and all other Supplications or Proceſſions ſhould be no where uſed, but only within the Walls of the Houſe of God, the place ſanctified unto Prayer. And by us not only ſuch inconveniences being remedied, but alſo whatſoever was otherwiſe amiſs in form or matter, it now remaineth a work, the abſolute perfection whereof upbraideth with Error, or ſomewhat worſe, them whom in all parts it doth not ſatisfie. As therefore Litanies have been of longer continuance than that we ſhould make either *Gregory* or *Mamercus* the Author of them; ſo they are of more permanent uſe, than that now the Church ſhould think it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what evils hang over our heads, God doth know, and not we. We find by daily experience that thoſe calamities may be neareſt at hand, readieſt to break in ſuddenly upon us, which we in regard of times or circumſtances may imagine to be fartheſt off. Or if they do not indeed approach, yet ſuch miſeries as being preſent all Men are apt to bewail with tears, the wiſe by their Prayers ſhould rather prevent. Finally, if we for our ſelves had a priviledge of immunity, doth not true Chriſtian Charity require, that whatſoever any part of the World, yea, any one of all our Brethren elſewhere, doth either ſuffer or fear, the ſame we account as our own burthen? What one Petition is there found in the whole Litany, whereof we ſhall ever be able at any time to ſay, That no Man living needeth the grace or benefit therein craved at God's hands? I am not able to expreſs how much it doth grieve me, that things of Principal Excellency ſhould be thus bitten at, by Men whom God hath endued with graces both of Wit and Learning for better purpoſes.

Of *Athanaſius* Creed, and *Gloria Patri.*

42. We have from the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt received that brief Confeſſion of Faith, which hath been always a badge of the Church, a mark whereby to diſcern Chriſtian Men from Infidels and Jews, (*g*) *This Faith received from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples* (ſaith *Irenæus*) *the Church, though diſperſed throughout the World, doth notwithſtanding keep as ſafe, as if it dwelt within the Walls of ſome one houſe, and as uniformly hold, as if it had but one only heart and ſoul; this as conſonantly it preacheth,*

teach-

(c) *Terent. Andr.*

(*d*) Hier. Epiſt. 22. ad Euſt. *Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam cauſa deerit procedendi, ſi ſemper quando neceſſe eſt progreſſura ſis.*

(e) *Socrat. l. 6. c. 8. Sozom. l. 8. c. 8. Theod. l. 15. l. 30. l. 3. c. 10. Novel. 68. 51.*

(*f*) *Baſil. Epiſt. 63. Niceph. l. 14. c. 3 Cedren. in Theodoſ.*

(g) *Sidon. l. 7. Epiſt. 1.*

Concil. tom. 2. p. 513.

Concil. tom. 5. Anno. 1536.

(*g*) *Iren. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

teacheth, and delivereth, as if but one tongue did ſpeak for all. As one Sun ſhineth to the whole World, ſo there is no Faith but this one publiſhed, the brightneſs whereof muſt enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the Truth. (*a*) *This rule* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *Chriſt did inſtitute, the ſtream and current of this rule hath gone as far, it hath continued as long, as the very promulgation of the Goſpel.* (*b*) Under *Conſtantine* the Emperor, about Three-hundred years and upward after Chriſt, *Arius* a Prieſt in the Church of *Alexandria,* a ſuttle-witted and a marvellous fair-ſpoken Man, but diſcontented that one ſhould be placed before him in honour, whoſe ſuperior he thought himſelf in deſert, became through envy and ſtomach prone unto contradiction, and bold to broach at the length that Hereſy, wherein the Deity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, contained but not opened in the former Creed, the coequality and coeternity of the Son with the Father was denied. Being for this impiety deprived of his place by the Biſhop of the ſame Church, the puniſhment which ſhould have reformed him, did but increaſe his obſtinacy, and give him occaſion of labouring with greater earneſtneſs elſewhere, to intangle unwary minds with the ſnares of his damnable opinion. *Arius* in ſhort time had won to himſelf a number both of Followers and of great Defenders, whereupon much diſquietneſs on all ſides enſued. The Emperor, to reduce the Church of Chriſt unto the Unity of ſound Belief, when other means, whereof tryal was firſt made, took no effect, gathered that famous Aſſembly of Three-hundred and eighteen Biſhops in the Council of *Nice,* where beſides order taken for many things which ſeemed to need redreſs, there was with common conſent, for the ſettling of all Men's minds, that other Confeſſion of Faith ſet down, which we call the *Nicene Creed,* whereunto the *Arians* themſelves which were preſent ſubſcribed alſo; not that they meant ſincerely and indeed to forſake their error, but only to eſcape deprivation and exile, which they ſaw they could not avoid, openly perſiſting in their former opinions when the greater part had concluded againſt hem, and that with the Emperors Royal Aſſent. Reſerving therefore themſelves unto future opportunities, and knowing it would not boot them to ſtir again in a matter ſo compoſed, unleſs they ſhould draw the Emperor firſt, and by his means the chiefeſt Biſhops unto their part; till *Conſtantines* death, and ſomewhat after, they always profeſſed love nd zeal to the Nicene Faith, yet ceaſed not in the mean while to ſtrengthen that part which in heart they favoured, and to infeſt by all means under colour of other quarrels heir greateſt Adverſaries in this cauſe: Amongſt them *Athanaſius* eſpecially, whom by he ſpace of Forty-ſix years, from the time of his Conſecration to ſucceed *Alexander* Archbiſhop in the Church of *Alexandria,* till the laſt hour of his life in this World, they ever ſuffered to enjoy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of *Conſtantine* ſtoln rom him. *Conſtantius Conſtantines* Succeſſor, his ſcourge and torment by all the ways hat malice armed with Soveraign Authority could deviſe and uſe. Under *Julian* no reſt given him; and in the days of *Valentinian,* as little. Crimes there were laid to his charge many, the leaſt whereof, being juſt, had bereaved him of eſtimation and credit with Men, while the World ſtandeth. His Judges evermore the ſelf-ſame Men by whom his ccuſers were ſuborned. Yet the iſſue always on their part ſhame; on his, triumph. Thoſe Biſhops and Prelates, who ſhould have accounted his cauſe theirs, and could not, many of them, but with bleeding hearts and with watred cheeks, behold a perſon of ſo great place and worth conſtrained to endure ſo foul indignities, were ſure by bewraying their affection towards him to bring upon themſelves thoſe moleſtations, whereby if they would not be drawn to ſeem his Adverſaries, yet others ſhould be taught how unſafe it was to continue his friends. Whereupon it came to paſs in the end, that (very few excepted) all became ſubject to the ſway of time; other odds there was none amongſt them, ſaving only that ſome fell ſooner away, ſome later from the ſoundneſs of Belief; ſome were Leaders in the Hoſt of Impiety, and the reſt as common Soldiers, either yielding through fear, or brought under with penury, or by flattery enſnared, or elſe beguiled through ſimplicity, which is the faireſt excuſe that well may be made for them. Yea, (that which All Men did wonder at) *Oſius* the ancienteſt Biſhop that Chriſtendom then had, the moſt forward in defence of the Catholick cauſe, and of the contrary part moſt feared; that very *Oſius,* with whoſe hand the *Nicene* Creed it ſelf was ſet down, and framed for the whole Chriſtian World to ſubſcribe unto, ſo far yielded in the end, as even with the ſame hand to ratifie the *Arians* Confeſſion, a thing which they neither hoped to ſee, nor the other part ever feared, till with amazement they ſaw it done. Both were perſwaded, that Although there had been for *Oſius* no way, but either preſently ſubſcribe or die, his anſwer and choice would have been the ſame that *Eleazars* was, *It doth not become our age to diſſemble, whereby many young perſons might think, that* Oſius *an hundred years old* *nd upward were now gone to another Religion; and ſo through mine hypocriſie [for a little time of tranſitory life] they might be deceived by me, and I procure malediction* *nd reproach to my old age. For though I were now delivered from the torments of Men,* *et could I not eſcape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead.* But ſuch was the ſtream of thoſe times, that all Men gave place unto it, which we cannot but impute part

2 Mac. 6. 24.

Major Centenario. Sulpit. Sever. hiſt. l. 2.

ly

(*a*) *Tertul. de Præſer. Adverſ. Hæret. & Adverſ. Prax.* (*b*) The like may be ſaid of the *Gloria Patri,* and the *Athanaſian* Creed. It was firſt brought into the Church, to the end, that Men thereby ſhould make an open Profeſſion in the Church of the Divinity of the Son of God, againſt the deteſtable opinion of *Arius* and his Diſciples wherewith at that time marvellouſly ſwarmed almoſt the whole Chriſtendom. Now that it hath pleaſed the Lord to quench that fire, there is no ſuch cauſe why theſe things ſhould be uſed in the Church, at the leaſt, why that *Gloria Patri* ſhould be ſo often repeated. *T. C. lib. 1. p. 137.*

ly, to their own over-ſight. For at the firſt the Emperor was theirs, the determination of the Council of *Nice* was for them, they had the *Arians* hands to that Council: So great advantages are never changed ſo far to the contrary, but by great Error. It plainly appeareth that the firſt thing which weakned them, was their ſecurity. Such as they knew were in heart ſtill affected towards Arianiſm, they ſuffered by continual nearneſs to poſſeſs the minds of the greateſt about the Emperour, which themſelves might have done with very good acceptation, and neglected it. In *Conſtantines* life time to have ſetled *Conſtantius* the ſame way, had been a duty of good ſervice towards God, a mean of peace and great quietneſs to the Church of Chriſt, a labour eaſie, and how likely we may conjecture, when after that ſo much pains was taken to inſtruct and ſtrengthen him in the contrary courſe, after that ſo much was done by himſelf to the furtherance of Hereſie, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorſe, nothing more grieved him than the memory of former proceedings in the cauſe of Religion, and that which he now foreſaw in *Julian*, the next Phyſician into whoſe hands the body that was thus diſtempered muſt fall. Howbeit this we may ſomewhat excuſe, in as much as every Man's particular care to his own charge was ſuch, as gave them no leiſure to heed what others practiſed in Princes Courts. But of the two Synods of *Arimine* and *Seleucia* what ſhould we think? *Conſtantius* by the *Arians* ſuggeſtion had deviſed to aſſemble all the Biſhops of the whole World about this controverſie; but in two ſeveral places, the Biſhops of the Weſt at *Arimine* in *Italy*, the Eaſtern at *Seleucia* the ſame time. Amongſt them of the Eaſt there was no ſtop, they agreed without any great ado, gave their ſentence againſt Hereſie, excommunicated ſome chief maintainers thereof, and ſent the Emperor word what was done. They had at *Arimine* about Four hundred which held the truth, ſcarce of the adverſe part Fourſcore; but theſe obſtinate, and the other weary of contending with them: Whereupon, by both it was reſolved to ſend to the Emperor ſuch as might inform him of the cauſe, and declare what hindred their peaceable agreement. There are choſen for the Catholick ſide (*a*) ſuch Men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldneſs, neither gravity, nor learning, nor wiſdom. The *Arians* for the credit of their faction take the eldeſt, the beſt experienced, the moſt wary, and the longeſt practiſed Veterans they had amongſt them. The Emperor conjecturing of the reſt on either part, by the quality of them whom he ſaw, ſent them ſpeedily away, and with them a certain Confeſſion of Faith (*b*) ambiguouſly and ſubtilly drawn by the *Arians*, whereunto unleſs they all ſubſcribed, they ſhould in no caſe be ſuffered to depart from the place where they were. At the length it was perceived, that there had not been in the Catholicks, either at *Arimine*, or at *Seleucia*, ſo much foreſight as to provide that true intelligence might paſs between them what was done. Upon the advantage of which Error, their Adverſaries abuſing each with perſwaſion that other had yielded, ſurpriſed both. The Emperor the more deſirous and glad of ſuch events, for that, beſides all other things wherein they hindred themſelves, the gall and bitterneſs of certain Men's writings, who ſpared him little for honours ſake, made him for their ſakes the leſs inclinable to that truth which he himſelf ſhould have honoured and loved. Only in *Athanaſius* there was nothing obſerved throughout the courſe of that long Tragedy, other than ſuch as very well became a wiſe Man to do, and a righteous to ſuffer. So that this was the plain condition of thoſe times: The whole World againſt *Athanaſius*, and *Athanaſius* againſt it; half a hundred of years ſpent in doubtful trial, which of the two in the end would prevail, the ſide which had all, or elſe the part which had no Friend but God and Death; the one a Defender of his innocency, the other a Finiſher of all his Troubles. Now although theſe Contentions were cauſe of much evil, yet ſome good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occaſioned the learned and ſound in Faith to explain ſuch things as Hereſie went about to deprave. And in this reſpect, the Creed of *Athanaſius*, firſt exibited unto *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) ſent to the Emperor *Jovinian*, for his more full information concerning that truth which Arianiſm ſo mightily did impugn, was both in the Eaſt and the Weſt-Churches accepted as a treaſure of ineſtimable price, by as many as had not given up even the very ghoſt of belief. Then was the Creed of *Athanaſiu* written, howbeit not then ſo expedient to be publickly uſed as now in the Church of God; becauſe while the heat of diviſion laſteth, truth it ſelf enduring oppoſition doth not ſo quietly and currantly paſs throughout all Men's hands, neither can be of that account, which afterwards it hath, when the World once perceiveth the virtue thereof, not only in it ſelf, but alſo by the conqueſt which God hath given it over Hereſie. That which Hereſie did by ſiniſter interpretations go about to pervert in the firſt and moſt ancient Apoſtolical Creed, the ſame being by ſingular dexterity and plainneſs cleared from thoſe Heretical corruptions, partly by this Creed of *Athanaſius* written about the year Three hundred and forty, and partly by (*c*) that other ſet down in the Synod of *Conſtantinopl* Forty years after, comprehending, together with the *Nicene* Creed, an addition of othe Articles which the *Nicene* Creed omitted, becauſe the controverſie then in hand needed no mention to be made of them. Theſe Catholick Declarations of our Belief delivered by them, which were ſo much nearer than we are unto the firſt publication thereof, and continuing needful for all Men at all times to know, theſe confeſſions as teſtimonies of our continuance in the ſame Faith to this preſent day, we rather uſe than any othe gloſs or paraphraſe deviſed by our ſelves, which though it were to the ſame effect, not

with

(*a*) *Ex parte noſtra leguntur homines adoleſcentes, parùm docti, parùm cauti. Ab Arianis autem miſſi ſenes, callidi & ingenio valentes veterano, perfidia imbuti, qui apud Regem facile ſuperiores extiterunt.* Sulpit. lib. 1.

(*b*) *Eiſdemque conſcriptam ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus involutam, quæ Catholicam diſciplinam, perfidia latente, loqueretur.* Ib.

Ταύτὴν μοι δοκοῦσιν αἰδούμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὅιτε τῆς ἑσπερίας καὶ τῆς ἑῴας ὅσον βιώσιμον. *Greg. Nazian. de Atha.*

(*c*) That Creed which in the Book of Common-Prayer followeth immediately after the reading of the Goſpel.

withſtanding could not be of the like authority and credit. For that of *Hilary* unto St. *Auguſtine* hath been ever, and is likely to be always true, *Your moſt religious wiſdom knoweth, how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authority of Men's names doth keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have not before held.* Touching the Hymn of *Glory*, our uſual concluſion to Pſalms, the (*a*) glory of all things is that, wherein their higheſt perfection doth conſiſt; and the glory of God, that divine excellency whereby he is eminent above all things, his omnipotent, infinite and eternal Being, (*b*) which Angels and glorified Saints do intuitively behold; we on Earth apprehend principally by Faith, in part alſo by that kind of knowledge which groweth from experience of thoſe effects, the greatneſs whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all Creatures, both in Heaven and Earth. God is (*c*) glorified, when ſuch his excellency above all things is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutiful acknowledgment of God's excellency by occaſion of ſpecial effects, being the very proper ſubject, and almoſt the only matter purpoſely treated of in all Pſalms, if that joyful Hymn of Glory have any uſe in the Church of God, whoſe Name we therewith extol and magnify, can we place it more fitly than where now it ſerveth as a cloſe or concluſion to Pſalms? Neither is the Form thereof newly or unneceſſarily invented. *We muſt* (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *as we have received, even ſo Baptize; and as we Baptize, even ſo Believe; and as we Believe, even ſo give Glory.* Baptizing we uſe the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: Confeſſing the Chriſtian Faith, we declare our Belief in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt: Aſcribing Glory unto God, we give it to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt. It is ἀπόδειξις τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος, *the token of a true and ſound underſtanding* for matter of Doctrine about the Trinity, when, in miniſtring Baptiſm, and making Confeſſion, and giving Glory, there is a conjunction of all three, and no one of the three ſevered from the other two. Againſt the *Arians* affirming the Father to be greater than the Son in honour, excellency, dignity, majeſty, this form and manner of glorifying God was not at that time firſt begun, but received long before, and alledged at that time as an argument for the truth. *If* (ſaith *Fœbadius*) *there be that inequality which they affirm, then do we every day blaſpheme God, when, in Thankſgivings and Offerings of Sacrifice, we acknowledge thoſe things common to the Father and the Son.* The *Arians* therefore, for that they perceived how this did prejudice their cauſe, altered the Hymn of Glory, whereupon enſued in the Church of *Antioch*, about the year Three-hundred-forty-nine, that jar which *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* mention. *In their Quires, while they praiſed God together, as the manner was, at the end of the Pſalms which they ſung, it appeared what opinion every* Man *held; for as much as they glorified ſome the Father,* And *the Son,* And *the Holy Ghoſt; ſome the Father* By *the Son* In *the Spirit; the one ſort thereby declaring themſelves to embrace the Son's equality with the Father, as the Council of* Nice *had defined; the other ſort, againſt the Council of* Nice, *his inequality.* Leontius their Biſhop, although an enemy to the better part, yet wary and ſubtil, as in a manner all the heads of the *Arians* Faction were, could at no time be plainly heard to uſe either form, perhaps leſt his open contradiction of them whom he favoured not, might make them the more eager, and by that means the leſs apt to be privately won; or peradventure for that, though he joined in opinion with that ſort of *Arians*, who denied the Son to be equal with the Father; yet from them he diſſented, which thought the Father and Son, not only unequal, but unlike, as *Ætius* did upon a frivolous and falſe ſurmiſe, that becauſe the Apoſtle hath ſaid, *One God of whom, one* Lord *by whom, one Spirit in whom*, his different manner of ſpeech doth argue a different Nature and Being in them, of whom he ſpeaketh: Out of which blind collection it ſeemeth that this their new deviſed Form did firſt ſpring. But in truth, even that very Form which the *Arians* did then uſe (ſaving that they choſe it to ſerve as their ſpecial mark of Recogniſance, and gave it ſecretly within themſelves a ſiniſter conſtruction) hath not otherwiſe as much as the ſhew of any thing which ſoundeth towards impiety. For albeit, if we reſpect God's glory within it ſelf, it be the equal right and poſſeſſion of all three, and that without any odds, any difference; yet, touching his manifeſtation thereof unto us by continual effects, and our perpetual acknowledgment thereof unto him likewiſe by virtuous offices, doth not every tongue both ways confeſs, That the brightneſs of his Glory hath ſpread it ſelf throughout the World *By* the Miniſtry of his only begotten Son, and is *In* the manifold Graces of the Spirit every way marvellous? Again, That whatſoever we do to his Glory, it is done *In* the power of the Holy Ghoſt, and made acceptable *By* the Merit and Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt? So that glory to the Father *And* the Son, or glory to the Father *By* the Son, ſaving only where evil minds do abuſe and pervert moſt holy things, are not elſe the voices of Error and Schiſm, but of ſound and ſincere Religion. It hath been the Cuſtom of the Church of Chriſt, to end ſometimes Prayers, and Sermons always, with words of glory, wherein, as long as the Bleſſed Trinity had due honour, and till Arianiſm had made it a matter of great ſharpneſs and ſubtilty of Wit to be a ſound-believing Chriſtian; Men were not curious what Syllables or Particles of ſpeech they uſed. Upon which confidence and truſt notwithſtanding, when St. *Baſil* began to practiſe the like indifferency, and to conclude Publick Prayers, glorifying ſometime the Father, with the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; ſometime the Father, by the Son, in the Spirit; whereas long cuſtom had enured them unto the former

Hilar. Arela. Epiſt. ad Aug.
(*a*) 1 Cor. 15. 40. Exod. 33. 18. Heb. 1. 3.
(*b*) Matth. 18. 10.
(*c*) Joſh. 7. 19. Pſalm 22. 23.
Baſil. Ep. 78.
Fœbad. lib. contr. Arian.
Theod. lib. 2. *cap.* 24. *Sozom. lib.* 4. *cap.* 19.
1 Cor. 8. 6. 1 Cor. 12. 3, 4. 13.

kind alone, by means whereof the later was new and ſtrange in their ears: This needleſs experiment brought afterwards upon him a neceſſary labour of excuſing himſelf to his Friends, and maintaining his own act againſt them, who becauſe the Light of his Candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on ſo colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an Author of ſuſpicious Innovation. How hath the World forſaken that courſe which it ſometime held? How are the Judgments, hearts, and affections of Men altered? May we not wonder, that a Man of St. *Baſils* authority and quality, an Arch-Prelate in the Houſe of God, ſhould have his Name far and wide called in queſtion, and be driven to his painful Apologies, to write in his own defence whole Volumes, and yet hardly to obtain with all his endeavour a pardon; the crime laid againſt him, being but only a change of ſome one or two ſyllables in their uſual Church-Liturgy? It was thought in him an unpardonable offence to alter any thing; in us as intolerable, that we ſuffer any thing to remain unaltered. The very Creed of *Athanaſius* and that ſacred Hymn of Glory, than which nothing doth ſound more heavenly in the ears of faithful Men, are now reckoned as ſuperfluities, which we muſt in any caſe pare away, leſt we cloy God with too much ſervice. Is there in that Confeſſion of Faith, any thing which doth not at all times edifie and inſtruct the attentive hearer? Or is our Faith in the Bleſſed Trinity a matter needleſs to be ſo oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principal part of that duty which we owe to God, our Publick Prayer? Hath the Church of Chriſt from the firſt beginning, by a ſecret Univerſal Inſtinct of God's good Spirit, always tied it-ſelf to end neither Sermon, nor almoſt any ſpeech of moment which hath concerned Matters of God, without ſome ſpecial words of honour and glory to that Trinity which we all adore; and is the like concluſion of Pſalms become now at length an eye-ſore, or a galling to their ears that hear it? Thoſe flames of Arianiſm, they ſay, are quenched, which were the cauſe why the Church deviſed in ſuch ſort to confeſs and praiſe the glorious Deity of the Son of God. Seeing therefore the ſore is whole, why retain we as yet the Plaiſter? When the cauſe why any thing was ordained doth once ceaſe, the thing itſelf ſhould ceaſe with it, that, the Church being eaſed of unprofitable labours, needful offices may the better be attended. For the doing of things unneceſſary, is many times the cauſe why the moſt neceſſary are not done. But in this caſe ſo to reaſon will not ſerve their turns. For firſt, the ground whereupon they build is not certainly their own, but with ſpecial limitations. Few things are ſo reſtrained to any one end or purpoſe, that, the ſame being extinct, they ſhould forthwith utterly become fruſtrate. Wiſdom may have framed one and the ſame thing to ſerve commodiouſly for divers ends, and of thoſe ends any one be ſufficient cauſe for continuance, though the reſt have ceaſed; even as the Tongue, which Nature hath given us for an Inſtrument of Speech, is not idle in dumb perſons, becauſe it alſo ſerveth for taſte. Again, if time have worn out, or any other mean altogether taken away, what was firſt intended; uſes, not thought upon before, may afterwards ſpring up, and be reaſonable cauſes of retaining that which other conſiderations did formerly procure to be inſtituted. And it cometh ſometime to paſs, that a thing unneceſſary in it ſelf, as touching the whole direct purpoſe whereto it was meant or can be applied, doth notwithſtanding appear convenient to be ſtill held, even without uſe, leſt by reaſon of that coherence which it hath with ſomewhat moſt neceſſary, the removal of the one ſhould indamage the other: And therefore Men which have clean loſt the poſſibility of ſight, keep ſtill their eyes nevertheleſs in the place where Nature ſet them. As for theſe two Branches whereof our Queſtion groweth, Arianiſm was indeed ſome occaſion of the one, but a cauſe of neither, much leſs the only intire cauſe of both. For albeit conflict with *Arians* brought forth the occaſion of writing that Creed, which long after was made a part of the Church-Liturgy, as Hymns and Sentences of Glory were a part thereof before; yet cauſe ſufficient there is, why both ſhould remain in uſe, the one as a moſt Divine Explication of the chiefeſt Articles of our Chriſtian Belief, the other as an Heavenly acclamation of joyful applauſe to his praiſes in whom we believe; neither the one, nor the other unworthy to be heard ſounding as they are in the Church of Chriſt, whether Arianiſm live or dye. Againſt which poiſon likewiſe, if we think that the Church at this day needeth not thoſe ancient preſervatives, which ages before us were ſo glad to uſe, we deceive our ſelves greatly. The Weeds of Hereſie being grown unto ſuch ripeneſs as that was, do even in the very cutting down ſcatter oftentimes thoſe ſeeds, which for a while lie unſeen and buried in the Earth, but afterward freſhly ſpring up again no leſs pernicious than at the firſt. Which thing they very well know, and I doubt not will eaſily confeſs, who live to their great both toil and grief, where the blaſphemies of *Arians*, *Samoſatenians*, *Tritheiſts*, *Eutychians* and *Macedonians*, are renewed by them, who to hatch their Hereſie have choſen thoſe Churches as fitteſt Neſts, where *Athanaſius's* Creed is not heard; by them, I ſay, renewed, who following the courſe of extream Reformation, were wont in the pride of their own proceedings to glory, that whereas *Luther* did but blow away the Roof, and *Zuinglius* batter but the Walls of Popiſh Superſtition, the laſt and hardeſt work of all remained, which was, to raze up the very ground and foundation of Popery, that doctrine concerning the Deity of Chriſt, which *Satanaſius* (for ſo it pleaſed thoſe impious forſaken Miſcreants to ſpeak) hath in this memorable Creed explained. So manifeſtly true is that which (a) one of the Ancients hath concerning Arianiſm, *Mortuis authoribus hujus veneni, ſcelerata tamen eorum do-*

(a) *Fœbad. contra Ar.*

ctrina non moritur, The Authors of this venom being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithſtanding continueth.

Our want of particular Thankſgiving.

43. Amongſt the heaps of theſe Exceſſes and Superfluities, there is eſpied the want of a principal part of duty, *There are no thankſgivings for the benefits, for which there are Petitions in our Book of Prayer.* This they have thought a point material to be objected. Neither may we take it in evil part to be admoniſhed, what ſpecial duties of thankfulneſs we owe to that merciful God, for whoſe unſpeakable Graces the only requital which we are able to make, is a true, hearty, and ſincere acknowledgment, how precious we eſteem ſuch benefits received, and how infinite in goodneſs the Author from whom they come. But that to every Petition we make for things needful, there ſhould be ſome anſwerable ſentence of thanks provided particularly to follow ſuch requeſts obtained; either it is not a matter ſo requiſite as they pretend; or if it be, wherefore have they not then in ſuch order framed their own Book of Common-Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Saviour taught us a form of Prayer containing ſo many Petitions of thoſe things which we want, and not delivered in like ſort as many ſeveral forms of Thankſgiving, to ſerve when any thing we pray for is granted? What anſwer ſoever they can reaſonably make unto theſe demands, the ſame ſhall diſcover unto them how cauſeleſs a cenſure it is, that there are not in our Book Thankſgivings for all the benefits for which there are Petitions. For concerning the Bleſſings of God, whether they tend unto this life, or the life to come, there is great cauſe why we ſhould delight more in giving thanks, than in making requeſts for them, in as much as the one hath penſiveneſs and fear, the other always joy annexed; the one belongeth unto them that ſeek, the other unto them that have found happineſs; they that pray, do but yet ſow, they that give thanks, declare they have reaped. Howbeit, becauſe there are ſo many Graces, whereof we ſtand in continual need, Graces for which we may not ceaſe daily and hourly to ſue, Graces which are in beſtowing always, but never come to be fully had in this preſent life; and therefore, when all things here have an end, endleſs thanks muſt have their beginning in a ſtate, which bringeth the full and final ſatisfaction of all ſuch perpetual deſires: Again, becauſe our common neceſſities, and the lack which we all have, as well of ghoſtly as of earthly favours, is in each kind ſo eaſily known; but the gifts of God, according to thoſe degrees and times which he in his ſecret wiſdom ſeeth meet, are ſo diverſly beſtowed, that it ſeldom appeareth what all receive, what all ſtand in need of it ſeldom lieth hid; we are not to marvel, though the Church do oftner concur in ſuits, than in thanks unto God for particular benefits. Nevertheleſs, leſt God ſhould be any way unglorified, the greateſt part of our daily Service, they know, conſiſteth according to the Bleſſed Apoſtles own preciſe rule, in much variety of Pſalms and Hymns, for no other purpoſe, but only that out of ſo plentiful a treaſure there might be for every Man's heart to chooſe out his own Sacrifice, and to offer unto God by particular ſecret inſtinct, what fitteth beſt the often occaſions which any ſeveral, either Party or Congregation, may ſeem to have. They that would clean take from us therefore, the daily uſe of the very beſt means we have to magnifie and praiſe the Name of Almighty God for his rich Bleſſings, they that complain of our reading and ſinging ſo many Pſalms for ſo good an end; they, I ſay, that find fault with our ſtore, ſhould of all Men be leaſt willing to reprove our ſcarcity of Thankſgivings. But becauſe peradventure they ſee, it is not either *generally* fit or poſſible that Churches ſhould frame Thankſgivings anſwerable to each Petition, they ſhorten ſomewhat the reins of their cenſure; there are no forms of Thankſgiving, they ſay, for releaſe of thoſe *common calamities*, from which we have Petitions to be delivered. *There are Prayers ſet forth to be ſaid in the common calamities and Univerſal ſcourges of the Realm, as Plague, Famin, &c. And indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God. But as ſuch Prayers are needful*, whereby we beg releaſe from our Diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary Prayers of Thankſgiving, when we have received thoſe things at the Lord's hand, which we asked in our Prayers. As oft therefore as any Publick or Univerſal ſcourge is removed, as oft as we are delivered from thoſe, either imminent or preſent Calamities, againſt the ſtorm and tempeſt whereof we all inſtantly craved favour from above, let it be a Queſtion what we ſhould render unto God for his Bleſſings univerſally, ſenſibly and extraordinarily beſtowed. A Prayer of three or four lines inſerted into ſome part of our Church-Liturgy? No, we are not perſwaded that when God doth in trouble injoyn us the duty of Invocation, and promiſe us the benefit of Deliverance, and profeſs, That the thing he expecteth after at our hands, is to glorifie him as our mighty and only Saviour, the Church can diſcharge in manner convenient a work of ſo great importance, by fore-ordaining ſome ſhort collect wherein briefly to mention thanks. Our cuſtom therefore, whenſoever ſo great occaſions are incident, is by Publick Authority to appoint throughout all Churches ſet and ſolemn Forms, as well of Supplication as of Thankſgiving, the preparations and intended Complements whereof may ſtir up the minds of Men in much more effectual ſort, than if only there ſhould be added to the Book of Prayer that which they require. But we err in thinking that they require any ſuch matter. For albeit their

The default of the Book, for that there are no Forms of Thankſgiving for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities, from which we have Petitions to be delivered. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 208.

Epheſ. 5. 9. Coloſ. 3. 16.

T.C.l.1.p.138.

As ſuch Prayers are needful, whereby we beg releaſe from our diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary Prayers of Thankſgiving, when we have received thoſe things at the Lord's hand which we asked. *T.C. l.* 1. *p.* 138. I do not ſimply require a ſolemn and expreſs Thankſgiving for ſuch benefits; but only upon a ſuppoſition, which is, that if it be expedient that there ſhould be expreſs Prayers againſt ſo many of their earthly miſeries, that then alſo it is meet that upon the deliverance there ſhould be an expreſs Thankſgiving. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 209.

words to our underſtanding be very plain, that in our Book *there are Prayers ſet forth* to be ſaid when *common calamities* are felt, as *Plague, Famin,* and ſuch like; again, that *indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God*: That likewiſe *there ought to be as neceſſary Prayers of Thankſgiving, when we have received thoſe things.* Finally, that the want of ſuch Forms of Thankſgiving for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we have Petitions to be delivered, is the *default of the Book of Common-Prayer*: Yet all this they mean, but only by way of *ſuppoſition if expreſs Prayers* againſt ſo many Earthly miſeries were convenient, *that then* indeed as many expreſs and particular Thankſgivings ſhould be likewiſe neceſſary. Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one ſuperfluous, they would not have it ſo underſtood, as though their minds were that any ſuch addition to the Book is needful, whatſoever they ſay for Arguments ſake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is, they wave in and out, no way ſufficiently grounded, no way reſolved what to think, ſpeak, or write, more than only that, becauſe they have taken it upon them, they muſt (no remedy now) be oppoſite.

In ſome things the Matter of our Prayer, as they affirm, Unſound.

44. The laſt ſuppoſed fault concerneth ſome few things, the very matter whereof is thought to be much amiſs. In a Song of Praiſe to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt we have theſe words, *When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death, thou didſt open the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers.* Which maketh ſome ſhew of giving countenance to their Error, who think that the faithful which departed this life before the coming of Chriſt, were never till then made partakers of joy, but remained all in that place which they term the *Lake of the Fathers.* In our Liturgy requeſt is made, that we may be preſerved from ſudden death. This ſeemeth frivolous, becauſe the godly ſhould always be prepared to die. Requeſt is made, that God would give thoſe things, which we for our unworthineſs dare not ask. *This,* they ſay, *carrieth with it the note of Popiſh ſervile fear, and ſavoureth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity that the children of God have through Chriſt, with their Heavenly Father.* Requeſt is made, that we may evermore be defended from all adverſity. For this *there is no promiſe in Scripture*; and therefore *it is no Prayer of Faith, or of the which we can aſſure our ſelves, that we ſhall obtain it.* Finally, requeſt is made, That God would have mercy upon all Men. This is impoſſible, becauſe ſome are the Veſſels of Wrath, to whom God will never extend his Mercy.

When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death, thou didſt open the Kingdom of Heaven unto all believers.
John 14. 2. & 17. 24.

45. As Chriſt hath purchaſed that Heavenly Kingdom, the laſt perfection whereof is *Glory in the life to come,* Grace in this life a preparation thereunto; ſo the ſame he hath *opened* to the World in ſuch ſort, that whereas none can poſſibly without him attain ſalvation, by him *all that believe* are ſaved. Now whatſoever he did, or ſuffered, the end thereof was, to open the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven, which our iniquities had *ſhut up.* But becauſe by *aſcending after that the ſharpneſs of death* was overcome, he took the very *local poſſeſſion* of glory, and that *to the uſe of all that are his,* even as himſelf before had witneſſed, *I go to prepare a place for you.* And again, *Whom thou haſt given me, O Father, I will that where I am they be alſo with me, that my glory which thou haſt given me, they may behold.* It appeareth, that *when Chriſt did aſcend,* he then moſt *liberally opened* the Kingdom of Heaven, *to the end,* that with him, and by him, all Believers might reign. In what eſtate the Fathers reſted which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All that we can rightly gather, is, that as touching their ſouls, what degree of joy or happineſs ſoever it pleaſed God to beſtow upon them, *his Aſcenſion* which ſucceeded, *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the Body, muſt needs be *not only of,* but after his. As therefore *Helvidius,* againſt whom St. *Jerom* writeth, abuſed greatly thoſe words of *Matthew,* concerning *Joſeph,* and the Mother of our Saviour Chriſt, *He knew her not till ſhe had brought forth her firſt born,* thereby gathering againſt the honour of the Bleſſed Virgin, that a thing denied with ſpecial circumſtance, doth import an oppoſite affirmation when once that circumſtance is expired: After the ſelf-ſame manner, it ſhould be a weak collection, if whereas we ſay, that *when* Chriſt had overcome the ſharpneſs of death, he *then opened* the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers; a thing in ſuch ſort affirmed with circumſtance, were taken as inſinuating an oppoſite denial before that circumſtance be accompliſhed, and conſequently, that becauſe when the ſharpneſs of death was overcome, he then opened Heaven *as well to believing Gentiles as Jews,* Heaven till then was no receptacle to the Souls of either. Wherefore, be the Spirits of the juſt and righteous before Chriſt truly or falſly thought excluded out of Heavenly joy, by that which we in the words alledged before do attribute to Chriſts Aſcenſion, there is to no ſuch opinion, nor to the (*a*) favourers thereof, any countenance at all given. We cannot better interpret the meaning of theſe words, than Pope *Leo* himſelf expoundeth them, whoſe Speech concerning our Lord's Aſcenſion may ſerve inſtead of a Marginal gloſs, (*b*) *Chriſts Exaltation is our Promotion; and whither the glory of the Head is already gone before, thither the Hope of the Body alſo is to follow. For at this day, we have not only the poſſeſſion of Paradiſe aſſured unto us, but in Chriſt we have entred the higheſt of the Heavens.* His opening the Kingdom of Heaven, and his entrance thereinto, was not only to his own uſe, but for the benefit of all Believers.

Hieron. contra Helvid. Auguſt. Hær. 84.

(*a*) *Lyr. ſuper* Gen. 29. *Th. p.* 3. *q.* 52. *ar.* 5.

(*b*) *Leo. Ser.* 1. *de Aſcenſ.*

Touching Prayer for deliverance from ſudden death.

46. Our good or evil eſtate after death, dependeth moſt upon the quality of our lives. Yet ſomewhat there is, why a virtuous mind ſhould rather wiſh to depart this world with

a kind of treatable diſſolution, than to be ſuddenly cut off in a moment; rather to be taken than ſnatched away from the face of the Earth. Death is that which all Men ſuffer, but not all Men with one mind, neither all Men in one manner. For being of neceſſity a thing common, it is through the manifold perſwaſions, diſpoſitions, and occaſions of Men, with equal deſert both of praiſe and diſpraiſe, ſhunned by ſome, by others deſired. So that abſolutely we cannot diſcommend, we cannot abſolutely approve, either willingneſs to live, or forwardneſs to die. And concerning the ways of Death, albeit the choice thereof be only in his hands, who alone hath power over all fleſh, and unto whoſe appointment we ought with patience meekly to ſubmit our ſelves (for to be Agents voluntarily in our own deſtruction, is againſt both God and Nature) yet there is no doubt, but in ſo great variety our deſires will and may lawfully prefer one kind before another. Is there any Man of worth and virtue, although not inſtructed in the School of Chriſt, or ever taught what the ſoundneſs of Religion meaneth, that had not rather end the days of this tranſitory life, as *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, or in *Plato Socrates*, are deſcribed, than to ſink down with them, of whom *Elihu* hath ſaid, *Momento moriuntur*, there is ſcarce an Job 34. 20. inſtant between their flouriſhing, and their not being? But let us which know what it is to die as *Abſalom*, or *Ananias* and *Saphira*, died; let us beg of God, that when the hour of our reſt is come, the patterns of our diſſolution may be *Jacob, Moſes, Joſhua, David*; Heb. 11. 21. who leiſurably ending their Lives in Peace, prayed for the Mercies of God to come upon Deut. 33. their Poſterity; repleniſhed the Hearts of the neareſt unto them with words of memorable Joſh. 24. 1 King. 2. Conſolation; ſtrengthned Men in the fear of God, gave them wholeſome inſtructions of life, and confirmed them in true Religion; in ſum, taught the World no leſs virtuouſly how to die, than they had done before how to live. To ſuch as judge things according to the ſenſe of Natural Men, and aſcend no higher, ſuddenneſs, becauſe it ſhortneth their grief, ſhould in reaſon be moſt acceptable. That which cauſeth bitterneſs in death, is the languiſhing attendance and expectation thereof, e're it come. And therefore Tyrants uſe what art they can to increaſe the ſlowneſs of death. Quick riddance out of life is often both requeſted and beſtowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is for virtuous conſiderations, that Wiſdom ſo far prevaileth with Men, as to make them deſirous of ſlow and deliberate death againſt the ſtream of their ſenſual Inclination, content to endure the longer grief and bodily pain, that the Soul may have time to call it ſelf to a juſt account of all things paſt, by means whereof, Repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exerciſe Patience, the joys of the Kingdom of Heaven have leiſure to preſent themſelves, the pleaſures of ſin and this World's vanities are cenſured with uncorrupt Judgment, Charity is free to make adviſed choice of the ſoyl wherein her laſt Seed may moſt fruitfully be beſtowed, the mind is at liberty to have due regard of that diſpoſition of worldly things, which it can never afterwards alter; and becauſe (*a*) the nearer we draw unto God, (*a*) *Cypr. de Mortal.* the more we are oftentimes enlightned with the ſhining beams of his glorious preſence, as being then even almoſt in ſight, a leiſurable departure may in that caſe bring forth for the good of ſuch as are preſent, that which ſhall cauſe them for ever after from the bottom of their Hearts to pray, *O let us die the death of the righteous, and let our laſt end be like theirs.* All which benefits and opportunities are by ſudden death prevented. And beſides, for as much as death howſoever, is a general effect of the wrath of God againſt ſin, and the ſuddenneſs thereof, a thing which hapneth but to few: The World in this reſpect feareth it the more as being ſubject to doubtful conſtructions, which as no Man willingly would incur, ſo they whoſe happy eſtate after life is of all Men's the moſt certain, ſhould eſpecially wiſh, that no ſuch accident in their death may give uncharitable minds occaſion of raſh, ſiniſter and ſuſpicious verdicts, whereunto they are over-prone: So that, whether evil Men or good be reſpected, whether we regard our ſelves or others, to be preſerved from ſudden death, is a Bleſſing of God. And our Prayer againſt it importeth a twofold deſire; firſt, that death, when it cometh, may give us ſome convenient reſpite; or ſecondly, if that be denied us of God, yet we may have wiſdom to provide always beforehand, that thoſe evils overtake us not, which death unexpected doth uſe to bring upon careleſs Men; and that although it be ſudden in it-ſelf, nevertheleſs in regard of our prepared minds it may not be ſudden.

Prayer that thoſe things which we for our unworthineſs dare not ask, God for the worthineſs of his Son would vouchſafe to grant. This requeſt carrieth with it ſtill the note of the Popiſh ſervile fear, and ſavoureth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity, that the Children of God have, through Chriſt, with their Heavenly Father. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 136.

47. But is it credible, that the very acknowledgment of our own unworthineſs to obtain, and in that reſpect our profeſſed fearfulneſs to ask any thing, otherwiſe than only for his ſake, to whom God can deny nothing, that this ſhould be noted for a Popiſh Error? That this ſhould be termed baſeneſs, abjection of mind, or *ſervility*, is it credible? That which we for our unworthineſs are afraid to crave, our Prayer is, that God for the worthineſs of his Son would notwithſtanding vouchſafe to grant. May it pleaſe them to ſhew us which of theſe words it is, that carrieth the note of Popiſh and ſervile fear? In reference to other Creatures of this inferior World, Man's worth and excellency is admired. Compared with God, the trueſt Inſcription wherewith we can circle ſo baſe a coin, is, that of *David, Univerſa* Pſal. 39. 5. *vanitas eſt omnis homo*; Whoſoever hath the Name of a mortal Man, there is in him whatſoever the name of vanity doth comprehend. And therefore what we ſay of our own *unworthineſs*, there is no doubt but Truth will ratifie. Alledged in Prayer, it both becometh

and behoveth Saints. For as Humility is in Suters a decent virtue, ſo the teſtification thereof, by ſuch effectual acknowledgments, not only * argueth a ſound apprehenſion of his ſuper-eminent Glory and Majeſty before whom we ſtand, but putteth alſo into his hands a kind of pledge or bond for ſecurity againſt our unthankfulneſs, the very Natural Root whereof is always either Ignorance, Diſſimulation, or Pride: Ignorance, when we know not the Author from whom our good cometh: Diſſimulation, when our hands are more open than our eyes, upon that we receive: Pride, when we think our ſelves *worthy* of that, which meer Grace and undeſerved Mercy beſtoweth. In Prayer therefore, to abate ſo vain imaginations with the *true conceit of unworthineſs*, is rather to prevent, than commit a fault. It being no Error thus to think, no fault thus to ſpeak of our ſelves when we pray, is it a fault, that the conſideration of our unworthineſs maketh us *fearful* to open our mouths by way of ſute? While *Job* had proſperity, and lived in honour, Men feared him for his authorities ſake, and in token of their fear, when they ſaw him, they (*a*) *hid themſelves*. Between *Elihu*, and the reſt of *Job*'s Familiars, the greateſt diſparity was but in years. And he, though riper than they in Judgment, doing them reverence in regard of age, ſtood long * *doubtful*, and very loth to adventure upon ſpeech in his Elders hearing. If ſo ſmall inequality between Man and Man, make their modeſty a commendable virtue, who, reſpecting Superiors *as Superiors*, can neither ſpeak nor ſtand before them without fear; that the Publican approacheth not more boldly to God; that when Chriſt in mercy draweth near to *Peter*, he in humility and fear craveth diſtance; that being to ſtand, to ſpeak, to ſue in the preſence of ſo great Majeſty, we are afraid, let no Man blame us. † In which conſideration notwithſtanding, becauſe to flie altogether from God, to deſpair that Creatures unworthy ſhall be able to obtain any thing at his hands, and under that pretence to ſurceaſe from Prayers, as bootleſs or fruitleſs offices, were to him no leſs injurious, than pernicious to our own ſouls; even that which we tremble to do we do, we ask thoſe things which we dare not ask. The knowledge of our own unworthineſs is not without belief in the merits of Chriſt. With that true fear which the one cauſeth, there is coupled true boldneſs; and encouragement drawn from the other. The very ſilence which our unworthineſs putteth us unto, doth it ſelf make requeſt for us, and that in the confidence of his Grace. Looking inward, we are ſtricken dumb; looking upward, we ſpeak and prevail. O happy mixture, wherein things contrary do ſo qualifie and correct the one the danger of the others exceſs, that neither boldneſs can make us preſume, as long as we are kept under with the ſenſe of our own wretchedneſs; nor, while we truſt in the Mercy of God through Jeſus Chriſt, fear be able to tyrannize over us! As therefore our fear excludeth not that (*b*) boldneſs which becometh Saints; ſo if their *familiarity* with God do not ſavour of this fear, it draweth too near that irreverent confidence, wherewith true Humility can never ſtand.

* Μεμνημένος γαρ τῆς ἰδίας παρὰ πάντα οὐδενείας μεμνήσῃ ϗ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ πάντα ὑπερβολῆς. *Philo. de Sacrif. Abel. & Cain.*

(*a*) Job 29. 8. Amongſt the parts of honour *Ariſtotle* reckoneth προσκυνήσεις and ἐκστάσεις. *Rhet. l.* 1. *c.* 5.

* Job 32. 6.

† The Publican did indeed not lift up his eyes: So that if by his example we ſhould ſay, we dare ask nothing, we ought alſo to ask nothing; otherwiſe inſtead of teaching true humility, we open a School to hypocriſie, which the Lord deteſteth. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 203.

(*b*) Rom. 5. 2. 8. 15. Heb. 10. 19.

48. Touching continual deliverance in the World from all adverſity, their conceit is, that we ought not to ask it of God by Prayer; for as much as in Scripture there is no promiſe that we ſhall be evermore free from vexations, calamities, and troubles. Minds religiouſly affected are wont in every thing of weight and moment, which they do or ſee, to examine according unto rules of Piety, what dependency it hath on God, what reference to themſelves, what coherence with any of thoſe duties whereunto all things in the World ſhould lead, and accordingly they frame the inward diſpoſition of their minds, ſometime to admire God, ſometimes to bleſs him and give him thanks, ſometime to exult in his love, ſometime to implore his mercy. All which different elevations of Spirit unto God, are contained in the name of Prayer. Every good and holy deſire, though it lack the form, hath notwithſtanding in it-ſelf the ſubſtance, and with him the force of a Prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, groans and ſighs of the heart of Man. Petitionary Prayer belongeth only to ſuch as are in themſelves impotent, and ſtand in need of relief from others. We thereby declare unto God, what our own deſire is, that he by his power ſhould effect. It preſuppoſeth therefore in us, Firſt, the want of that which we pray for: Secondly, a feeling of that want: Thirdly, an earneſt willingneſs of mind to be eaſed therein: Fourthly, a declaration of this our deſire in the ſight of God, not as if he ſhould be otherwiſe ignorant of our neceſſities; but becauſe we this way ſhew that we honour him as our God, and are verily perſwaded, that no good thing can come to paſs, which he by his omnipotent Power effecteth not. Now becauſe there is no Man's Prayer acceptable, whoſe perſon is odious, neither any Man's perſon gracious without Faith; it is of neceſſity required, that they which pray, do believe. The Prayers which our Lord and Saviour made, were for his own worthineſs accepted; ours God accepteth not, but with this condition, if they be joyned with (*c*) belief in Chriſt. The Prayers of the Juſt are accepted always, but not always thoſe things granted for which they pray: For in Prayer, if Faith and Aſſurance to obtain were both one and the ſame thing, ſeeing that the effect of not obtaining, is a plain teſtimony, that they which prayed, were not ſure they ſhould obtain; it

would

Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adverſity. For as much as there is no promiſe in the Scripture, that we ſhould be free from all adverſity, and that evermore; it ſeemeth that this Prayer might have been better conceived, being no Prayer of Faith, or of the which we can aſſure our ſelves, that we ſhall obtain it. *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 136.

(*c*) *Oratio, quæ non fit per Chriſtum, non ſolum non poteſt delere peccatum, ſed etiam ipſa fit peccatum. Aug. Enar.* 1. *in Pſal.* 108.

would follow, that their Prayer being without certainty of the event, was alſo made unto God without Faith, and conſequently that God abhorred it. Which to think of ſo many Prayers of Saints, as we find have failed in particular requeſts, how abſurd were it? His faithful people have this comfort, that whatſoever they rightly aſk, the ſame (no doubt, but) they ſhall receive, ſo far as may ſtand with the glory of God, and their own everlaſting good; unto either of which two, it is no virtuous Man's purpoſe to ſeek, or deſire to obtain any thing prejudicial; and therefore that clauſe which our Lord and Saviour in the Prayer of his Agony did expreſs, we in Petitions of like nature do always imply, *Pater, ſi poſſibile eſt,* If it may ſtand with thy will and pleaſure. Or if not, but that there be ſecret impediments and cauſes, in regard whereof the thing we pray for is denied us; yet the Prayer it-ſelf, which we make, is a pleaſing Sacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it ſome other way. So that ſinners in very truth are denied, when they (*a*) ſeem to prevail in their Supplications, becauſe it is not for their ſakes, or to their good, that their ſutes take place; the faithful contrariwiſe, becauſe it is for their good oftentimes that their Petitions do not take place, prevail even then when they moſt (*b*) ſeem denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath granted ſome impenitent Men's requeſts, as on the other ſide the Apoſtles ſute he hath of favour and mercy not granted* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine.*) To think we may pray unto God for nothing, but what he hath promiſed in holy Scripture we ſhall obtain, is perhaps an error. For of Prayer there are two uſes. It ſerveth as a mean to procure thoſe things, which God hath promiſed to grant when we aſk; and it ſerveth as a mean to expreſs our lawful deſires alſo towards that, which whether we ſhall have or no, we know not, till we ſee the event. Things in themſelves unholy or unſeemly, we may not aſk; we may whatſoever, being not forbidden, either Nature or Grace ſhall reaſonably move us to wiſh as importing the good of Men; albeit God himſelf have no where by promiſe aſſured us of that particular which our Prayer craveth. To pray for that, which is in it-ſelf, and of its own nature, apparently a thing impoſſible, were not convenient. Wherefore, though Men do without offence wiſh daily, that the affairs which with evil ſucceſs are paſt, might have fallen out much better, yet to pray that they may have been any other than they are, this being a manifeſt impoſſibility in it-ſelf, the Rules of Religion do not permit. Whereas contrariwiſe, when things of their own nature contingent and mutable are by the ſecret determination of God appointed one way, though we the other way make our Prayers, and conſequently aſk thoſe things of God, which are *by this ſuppoſition* impoſſible, we notwithſtanding do not hereby in Prayer tranſgreſs our lawful bounds. That Chriſt, as the only begotten Son of God, having no Superior, and therefore owing honour unto none, neither ſtanding in any need, ſhould either give thanks, or make petition unto God, were moſt abſurd. As Man, what could beſeem him better, whether we reſpect his affection to God-ward, or his own neceſſity, or his charity and love towards Men? Some things he knew ſhould come to paſs, and notwithſtanding prayed for them, becauſe he alſo knew that the neceſſary means to effect them, were his Prayers. As in the *Pſalm* it is ſaid, *Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the ends of the Earth for thy poſſeſſion.* Wherefore, that which here God promiſeth his Son, the ſame in the Seventeenth of *John* he prayeth for, *Father, the hour is come, glorifie thy Son, that thy Son alſo may glorifie thee, according as thou haſt given him power over all fleſh.* But had Chriſt the like promiſe concerning the effect of every particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected could not be promiſed. And we know (*c*) in what ſort he prayed for removal of that bitter Cup, which he taſted, notwithſtanding his Prayer. To ſhift off this example they anſwer firſt, (*d*) *That as other children of God, ſo Chriſt had a promiſe of deliverance, as far as the glory of God in the accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer.* And if we our ſelves have not alſo in that ſort the promiſe of God to be evermore delivered from all adverſity, what meaneth the Sacred Scripture to ſpeak in ſo large terms, *Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous in every work of thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of the Land for thy wealth.* Again, (*e*) *Keep his Laws, and thou ſhalt be bleſt above all people, the Lord ſhall take from thee all infirmities.* The Man whoſe delight is in the Law of God, (*f*) *whatſoever he doth, it ſhall proſper.* For the ungodly there are *great plagues* remaining; but whoſoever putteth his truſt in the Lord, Mercy imbraceth him (*g*) *on every ſide.* Not only that Mercy which keepeth from being over-laid or oppreſt, but Mercy which ſaveth from being *touched* with grievous miſeries, Mercy which turneth away the courſe of (*h*) *the great water-floods,* and permitteth them not to *come near.* Nevertheleſs, becauſe the Prayer of Chriſt did concern but one calamity, they are ſtill bold to deny the lawfulneſs of our Prayer for deliverance out of all, yea, though we pray with the ſame exception that he did, *If ſuch deliverance may ſtand with the pleaſure of Almighty God, and not otherwiſe.* For they have, ſecondly, found out a Rule, that Prayer ought only to be made for deliverance (*i*) *from this or that particular adverſity, whereof we know not, but upon the event, what the pleaſure of God is.* Which quite overthroweth that other Principle, wherein they require unto every Prayer, which is of Faith, an aſſurance to

(*a*) Numb. 11. 33. 1 Sam. 8. 7. Job 1. 12. & 2. 6. Luke 8. 32.

(*b*) 2 Cor. 12. 7, 8, 9.

Aug. Ep. 121. *Ad Probam viduam.*

Pſal. 2. 8.

Joh. 17. 1, 2.

Deut. 30. 9.

(*e*) Deut. 7. 15.

(*f*) Pſal. 1. 4.

(*g*) Pſal. 32. 10.

(*h*) Pſal. 32. 6.

(*i*) T. C. *l.* 3. *p.* 201.

(*c*) Matth. 26. 39. Mark 14. 36. Luke 22. 42. (*d*) Neither did our Saviour Chriſt pray without Promiſe; for as other the Children of God, to whoſe condition he had humbled himſelf, have, ſo had he a promiſe of deliverance ſo far, as the glory of God in that accompliſhment of his vocation would ſuffer. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 200.

(*a*) We ought not to deſire to be free from all adverſity, if it be his will, conſidering that he hath already declared his Will therein. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 201.

to obtain the thing we pray for. At the firſt to pray againſt all adverſity was unlawful, becauſe we cannot aſſure our ſelves that this will be granted. Now we have licence t pray againſt any particular adverſity, and the reaſon given, becauſe we know not but up on the event, what God will do. If we know not what God will do, it followeth, that for any aſſurance we have, he may do otherwiſe than we pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot aſſuredly preſume that God will grant. Seeing therefor neither of theſe two Anſwers will ſerve the turn, they have a (*a*) third, which is, that t pray in ſuch ſort, is but idly miſpent labour, becauſe God hath already revealed his Wil touching this requeſt; and we know, that the ſute we make is denied before we mak it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Chriſt ignorant what God had determined touching thoſe things which himſelf ſhould ſuffer?

*T.C.l.*3 *p.*201.

To ſay, *He knew not what weigh of ſufferances his Heavenly Father had meaſured unto him,* is ſomewhat hard; harder that although *he knew them,* notwithſtanding for the preſent time *they were forgotten through the force of thoſe unſpeakable pangs which he then was in.* The one againſt th plain expreſs words of the holy Evangeliſt,

John 18. 4.

He knew all things that ſhould come upon him. the other leſs credible, if any thing may be of leſs credit than what the Scripture it-ſelf gain-ſayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his ſufferings, make report that memory failed him? Is there in his words and ſpeeches any ſign of defect that way? did not himſelf declare before whatſoever was to happen in the courſe of that whole tragedy? Can we gather by any thing after taken from his own mouth, either in the place of publick judgment, or upon the Altar of the Croſs, that through the bruiſing of his Body som part of the treaſures of his Soul were ſcattered and ſlipt from him? If that which wa perfect both before and after, did fail at this only middle inſtant, there muſt appear som manifeſt cauſe how it came to paſs. True it is, that the pangs of his heavineſs and grie were *unſpeakable*; and as true, that becauſe the minds of the afflicted do never think they have fully conceived the weight or meaſure of their own woe, they uſe their affection as a whetſtone, both to wit and memory; theſe as Nurſes do feed grief, ſo that th weaker his conceit had been touching that which he was to ſuffer, the more it muſt need in that hour have helped to the mitigation of his anguiſh. But his anguiſh we ſee wa then at the very higheſt whereunto it could poſſibly riſe; which argueth his deep apprehenſion, even to the laſt drop of the Gall which that Cup contained, and of every circumſtance wherein there was any force to augment heavineſs; but above all things, the reſolute determination of God, and his own unchangeable purpoſe, which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his Prayer, which plainly teſtifieth ſo great willingneſs to avoid death? Will, whether it be in God or Man, belongeth to the Eſſence o Nature of both. The Nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God diver Wills, although the God-head be in divers perſons, becauſe the power of willing is a natural, not a perſonal propriety. Contrariwiſe, the Perſon of our Saviour Chriſt being but one, there are in him two Wills, becauſe two Natures, the Nature of God, and th Nature of Man, which both do imply this Faculty and Power. So that in Chriſt there is a Divine, and there is an Human will, otherwiſe he were not both God and Man Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned *Monothelites* as Hereticks, for holding That Chriſt had but one Will. The Works and Operations of our Saviours Human will were all ſubject to the Will of God, and framed according to his Law,

Pſal. 40. 8.

I deſired t do thy Will, O God, and thy Law is within mine heart. Now as Man's will, ſo the Wil of Chriſt hath two ſeveral kinds of operation, the one Natural or neceſſary, whereby i deſireth ſimply whatſoever is good in it-ſelf, and ſhunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other Deliberate, when we therefore embrace things as good, becauſe the eye of underſtanding judgeth them good to that end which we ſimply deſire. Thus in it-ſelf we deſire health, Phyſick only for healths ſake. And in this ſort ſpecial Reaſon oftentimes cauſeth the Will by choice to prefer one good thing before another, to leave one for anothers ſake, to forgo meaner for the attainment of higher deſires, which our Saviour likewiſe did. Theſe different inclinations of the Will conſidered, the reaſon is eaſie, how in Chriſt there might grow deſires ſeeming, but being not indeed oppoſite, either the one of them unto the other, or either of them to the Will of God. For let the manner of his

Joh. 12. 27.

ſpeech be weighed. *My Soul is now troubled, and what ſhould I ſay? Father, ſave me out of this hour. But yet for this very cauſe am I come into this hour.* His purpoſe herein was moſt effectually to propoſe to the view of the whole World two contrary Objects, the like whereunto in force and efficacy were never preſented in that manner to any but only to the Soul of Chriſt. There was preſented before his eyes in that fearful hour, on the one ſide God's heavy indignation and wrath towards mankind, as yet unappeaſed, death as yet in full ſtrength, Hell as yet never maſtered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, ſomewhat alſo peradventure more than is either poſſible or needful for the wit of Man to find out; finally, Himſelf fleſh and blood (*b*) left alone to enter into conflict with all theſe: On the other ſide, a World to be ſaved by One, a pacificati

---

(*b*) Matth. 27. 46. *Non potuit divinitas humanitatem, & ſecundum aliquid deſeruiſſe, & ſecundum aliquid non deſeruiſſe? Subtraxit protectionem, ſe non ſeparavit unionem. Sic ergo dereliquit ut non adjuvaret, ſed non dereliquit ut recederet. Sic ergo humanitas à divinitate in paſſione derelicta e Quam tamen mortem quia non pro ſua iniquitate, ſed pro noſtra redemptione ſuſtinuit, quare ſit derelicta requirit, non quaſi adverſus Deum de pœna murmurans, ſed nobis innocentiam ſuam in pœna demonſtrans.* Hug. de Sacra. lib. 2. part. 1. cap. 10. *Deus meus, ut quid dereliquiſti me? Vox eſt nec ignorantiæ nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, ſed admirationis tantum, quæ aliis inveſtigandæ cauſæ ardorem & diligentiam acuat.*

on of wrath through the dignity of that Sacrifice which ſhould be offered, a conqueſt over death through the power of that Deity, which would not ſuffer the Tabernacle thereof to ſee corruption, and an utter diſappointment of all the forces of infernal powers, through the purity of that Soul which they ſhould have in their hands, and not be able to touch. Let no Man marvel, that in this caſe the Soul of Chriſt was much *troubled*. For what could ſuch apprehenſions breed, but (as their nature is) inexplicable Paſſions of mind, deſires abhorring what they embrace, and embracing what they abhor? In which Agony, *how ſhould the tongue go about to expreſs* what the ſoul endured? When the griefs of *Job* were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, ſtill unto his ſeeming they were undiſcovered, *Though my talk* (ſaith *Job*) *be this day in bitterneſs, yet my plague is greater than my groaning.* But here to what purpoſe ſhould words ſerve, when nature hath more to declare than groans and ſtrong cries, more than ſtreams of bloody ſweats, more than his doubled and tripled Prayers can expreſs, who thrice putting forth his hand to receive that Cup, beſides which there was no other cauſe of his coming into the World, he thrice pulleth it back again, and as often even with tears of blood craveth, *If it be poſſible, O Father; or if not, even what thine own good pleaſure is*; for whoſe ſake the Paſſion, that hath in it a bitter and a bloody conflict, even with Wrath, and Death, and Hell, is moſt welcome. Whereas therefore we find in God a will reſolved that Chriſt ſhall ſuffer; and in the Human will of Chriſt two actual deſires, the one avoiding, and the other accepting death: Is that deſire which firſt declareth it-ſelf by Prayer, againſt that wherewith he concludeth Prayer, or either of them againſt his mind, to whom Prayer in this caſe ſeeketh? We may judge of theſe diverſities in the Will, by the like in the Underſtanding. For as the intellectual part doth not croſs it-ſelf, by conceiving Man to be juſt and unjuſt, when it meaneth not the ſame Man, nor by imagining the ſame Man learned and unlearned, if learned in one skill, and in another kind of learning unskilful, becauſe the parts of every true oppoſition do always both concern the ſame ſubject, and have reference to the ſame thing, ſith otherwiſe they are but in ſhew oppoſite, and not in truth: So the Will about one and the ſame thing may in contrary reſpects have contrary inclinations, and that without contrariety. The Miniſter of Juſtice may for publick example to others virtuouſly will the execution of that party, whoſe pardon another for conſanguinities ſake as virtuouſly may deſire. Conſider death in it-ſelf, and nature teacheth Chriſt to ſhun it. Conſider death as a mean to procure the ſalvation of the World, and mercy worketh in Chriſt all (*a*) willingneſs of mind towards it. Therefore in theſe two deſires there can be no repugnant oppoſition. Again, compare them with the Will of God, and if any oppoſition be, it muſt be only between his appointment of Chriſts death, and the former deſire which wiſheth deliverance from death. But neither is this deſire oppoſite to the Will of God. The Will of God was, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer the pains of death. Not ſo his will, as if the torment of innocency did in it-ſelf pleaſe and delight God; but ſuch was his Will, in regard of the end whereunto it was neceſſary that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer. The death of Chriſt in it-ſelf therefore God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtain life, he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner, the Son of Man endureth willingly to that purpoſe thoſe grievous pains, which ſimply not to have ſhunned had been againſt Nature, and by conſequent againſt God. I take it therefore to be an error, that Chriſt either knew not what himſelf was to ſuffer, or elſe had forgotten the things he knew. The root of which error was an over-reſtrained conſideration of Prayer, as though it had no other lawful uſe, but only to ſerve for a choſen mean, whereby the Will reſolveth to ſeek that which the Underſtanding certainly knoweth it ſhall obtain: Whereas Prayers, in truth, both ours are, and his were, as well ſometime a preſentation of meer deſires, as a mean of procuring deſired effects at the hands of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the preſence of dolorous and dreadful objects, even in minds moſt perfect, may as clouds over-caſt all ſenſible joy; that no aſſurance touching future victories can make preſent conflicts ſo ſweet and eaſie, but nature will ſhun and ſhrink from them, nature will deſire eaſe and deliverance from oppreſſive burthens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes againſt the effect of this deſire, yet not againſt the affection it-ſelf, becauſe it is naturally in us; that in ſuch caſe our Prayers cannot ſerve us as means to obtain the thing we deſire; that notwithſtanding they are unto God moſt acceptable ſacrifices, becauſe they teſtifie we deſire nothing but at his hands, and our deſires we ſubmit with contentment to be over-ruled by his Will, and in general they are not repugnant unto the Natural Will of God, which wiſheth to the works of his own hands, in that they are his own handy-work, all happineſs, although perhaps for ſome ſpecial cauſe in our own particular, a contrary determination have ſeemed more convenient; finally, that thus to propoſe our deſires which cannot take ſuch effects as we ſpecifie, ſhall notwithſtanding otherwiſe procure us his Heavenly grace, even as this very Prayer of Chriſt obtained (*b*) Angels to be ſent him, as comforters in his Agony. And, according to this example, we are not afraid to preſent unto God our Prayers for thoſe things, which that he will perform unto us we have no ſure nor certain knowledge. St. *Pauls* Prayer for the Church of *Corinth* was, that they might not do any evil, although he knew that no Man liveth which ſinneth not, although he knew that in this life we always muſt pray, *Forgive us our ſins*. It is our frailty, that in many things we all do amiſs; but a virtue, that we

Job 23. 2.

(*a*) Iſa. 53. 10.
Joh. 10. 15.

(*b*) Luke 22. 43.

2 Cor. 13. 7.

We may not pray in this life, to be free from all ſin, becauſe we muſt always pray, *Forgive us our ſins. T. C. l. 3. p.* 200.

would do amiſs in nothing; and a teſtimony of that virtue, when we pray, that what occaſion of ſin ſoever do offer it ſelf, we may be ſtrengthned from above to withſtand it. They pray in vain to have ſin pardoned, which ſeek not alſo to prevent ſin by Prayer, even every particular ſin, by Prayer againſt all ſin, except Men can name ſome tranſgreſſion wherewith we ought to have truce. For in very deed although we cannot be free from all ſin collectively, in ſuch ſort that no part thereof ſhall be found inherent in us, yet diſtributively, at the leaſt, all great and grievous actual offences, as they offer themſelves one by one, both may and ought to be by all means avoided. So that in this ſenſe to be preſerved from all ſin, is not impoſſible. Finally, concerning deliverance it-ſelf from all adverſity, we uſe not to ſay, Men are in adverſity whenſoever they feel any ſmall hindrance of their welfare in this World, but when ſome notable affliction or croſs, ſome great calamity or trouble, befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it divers circumſtances, the Mind ſundry faculties to apprehend them: It offereth ſometime it-ſelf to the lower powers of the Soul, as a moſt unpleaſant ſpectacle; to the higher ſometimes, as drawing after it a train of dangerous inconveniences; ſometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of ſundry evils; as God's inſtrument of revenge and fury ſometime; ſometime as a rod of his juſt, yet moderate, ire and diſpleaſure; ſometime, as matter for them that ſpitefully hate us to exerciſe their poyſoned malice; ſometime as a furnace of tryal for virtue to ſhew it-ſelf, and through conflict to obtain glory. Which different contemplations of adverſity do work for the moſt part their anſwerable effects. Adverſity either apprehended by Senſe as a thing offenſive and grievous to Nature, or by Reaſon conceived as a ſnare, an occaſion of many Men's falling from God, a ſequel of God's indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan deſireth and would be glad to behold; Tribulation thus conſidered, being preſent cauſeth ſorrow, and being imminent breedeth fear. For moderation of which two affections, growing from the very natural bitterneſs and gall of adverſity, the Scripture much alledgeth contrary fruits, which Affliction likewiſe hath, whenſoever it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of God's holy Spirit concurring therewith. But when the Apoſtle St. *Paul* teacheth, that every one which will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution, and by many tribulations we muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, becauſe in a Foreſt of many Wolves Sheep cannot chuſe but feed in continual danger of life; or when (*a*) St. *James* exhorteth, to account it a matter of exceeding Joy, when we fall into divers temptations, becauſe by the trial of Faith Patience is brought forth; was it, ſuppoſe we, their meaning to fruſtrate our Lord's admonition, *Pray that ye enter not into temptation*? When himſelf pronounceth them bleſſed, that ſhould for his Names ſake be ſubject to all kinds of ignominy and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpoſe that no Man ſhould ever pray with *David* (*b*), *Lord, remove from me ſhame and contempt*? In thoſe tribulations, ſaith St. *Auguſtine* (*c*), *which may hurt as well as profit, we muſt ſay with the Apoſtle, what we ſhould ask as we ought, we know not; yet becauſe they are tough, becauſe they are grievous, becauſe the ſenſe of our weakneſs flieth them, we pray according to the general deſire of the will of Man, that God would turn them away from us, owing in the mean while this devotion to the Lord our God; that if he remove them not, yet we do not therefore imagine our ſelves in his ſight deſpiſed, but rather with godly ſufferance of evils expect greater good at his merciful hands. For thus is virtue in weakneſs perfected.* To the fleſh (as the Apoſtle himſelf granteth) all affliction is naturally grievous. Therefore Nature which cauſeth to fear, teacheth to pray againſt all adverſity. Proſperity, in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuſe the bleſſings of Almighty God, doth prove for the moſt part a thing dangerous to the Souls of Men. Very Eaſe it ſelf is (*d*) death to the wicked, and the Proſperity of fools ſlayeth them: Their Table is a Snare, and their Felicity their utter overthrow. Few Men there are, which long proſper and ſin not. Howbeit, even as theſe ill effects, although they be very uſual and common, are no bar to the hearty Prayers, whereby moſt virtuous minds wiſh peace and proſperity always where they love, becauſe they conſider, that this in it ſelf is a thing naturally deſired: So becauſe all adverſity is in it-ſelf againſt nature, what ſhould hinder to pray againſt it, although the providence of God turn it often unto the great good of many Men? Such Prayers of the Church to be delivered from all adverſity, are no more repugnant to any reaſonable diſpoſition of Men's minds towards death, much leſs to that bleſſed Patience and meek Contentment, which Saints by Heavenly inſpiration have to endure what croſs or calamity ſoever it pleaſeth God to lay upon them, than our Lord and Saviour's own Prayer before his Paſſion was repugnant unto his moſt gracious reſolution to die for the ſins of the whole World.

Pſal. 119. 71.

2 Tim. 3. 12. To pray againſt perſecution, is contrary to that word which ſaith, that every one which will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution. *T.C.l.*3.*p.*200.

(*a*) Jam. 1. 3.

(*b*) Pſal. 119. 22.

(*c*) *Aug. Epiſt.* 121. *cap.* 14.

(*d*) Prov. 1. 32.

Prayer, that all Men may find Mercy, and of the Will of God, that all Men might be ſaved.

49. In praying for deliverance from all adverſity, we ſeek that which Nature doth wiſh to it-ſelf; but by intreating for Mercy towards all, we declare that Affection wherewith Chriſtian Charity thirſteth after the good of the whole World, we diſcharge that duty which the * Apoſtle himſelf doth impoſe on the Church of Chriſt, as a *commendable* office, a ſacrifice *acceptable* in God's ſight, a ſervice according to his heart, whoſe *deſire* is to have all Men ſaved: A work moſt ſuitable with his purpoſe, who gave himſelf to be the price of redemption *for all*, and a forcible mean to *procure the converſion* of all ſuch, as are not yet acquainted with the Myſteries of that Truth which muſt ſave their Souls. Againſt it there is but the bare ſhew of this one Impediment, that all Men's ſalvation, and many Men's eternal condemnation or death, are things the one repugnant to the other, that both cannot

* 1 Tim. 2. 3.

not be brought to paſs ; that we know there are Veſſels of Wrath, to whom God will never extend mercy, and therefore that wittingly we ask an impoſſible thing to be had. The truth is, that as life and death, mercy and wrath, are matters of meer underſtanding or knowledge, all Men's ſalvation and ſome Men's endleſs perdition are things ſo oppoſite, that whoſoever doth affirm the one, muſt neceſſarily deny the other ; God himſelf cannot effect both, or determine that both ſhall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and Man this certainty, that life and death have divided between them the whole Body of mankind. What portion either of the two hath, God himſelf knoweth ; for us he hath left no ſufficient means to comprehend, and for that cauſe neither given any leave to ſearch in particular, who are infallibly the heirs of the Kingdom of God, who caſt-aways. Howbeit, concerning the ſtate of all Men, with whom we live (for only of them our Prayers are meant) we may till the Worlds end, *for the preſent*, always preſume, that *as far as in us there is power to diſcern* what others are ; and as far as any duty of ours dependeth upon the notice of their condition in reſpect of God, the ſafeſt Axioms for Charity to reſt it-ſelf upon, are theſe. *He which believeth already, is* ; and *he which believeth not as yet, may be the child of God.* (*a*) It becometh not us, *during life, altogether to condemn any Man, ſeeing that* (for any thing we know) *there is hope of every Man's forgiveneſs, the poſſibility of whoſe repentance is not yet cut off by death.* And therefore Charity, which (*b*) *hopeth all things*, prayeth alſo for all Men. Wherefore to let go Perſonal Knowledge ouching Veſſels of Wrath and Mercy, what they are inwardly in the ſight of God, it killeth not ; for us there is cauſe ſufficient in all Men, whereupon to ground our Prayrs unto God in their behalf. For whatſoever the Mind of Man apprehendeth as good, the Will of Charity and Love is to have it inlarged in the very uttermoſt extent, that all may njoy it to whom it can any way add perfection. Becauſe therefore the farther a good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier we reckon it ; our Prayers for all Men's good, no leſs than or our own, the Apoſtle with very fit terms commendeth as being καλὸν, a work commendable for the largeneſs of the affection from whence it ſpringeth, even as theirs, (*c*) which ave requeſted at God's hands the ſalvation of many with the loſs of their own Souls, rowning, as it were, and over-whelming themſelves in the abundance of their love towards thers, is propoſed as being in regard of the rareneſs of ſuch affections ὑπερκαλὸν, more than xcellent. But this extraordinary height of deſire after other Men's ſalvation, is no common ark. The other is a duty which belongeth unto all, and prevaileth with God daily. For as is in it-ſelf good, ſo God accepteth and taketh it in very good part at the hands of aithful Men. Our Prayers for all Men do include, both them that ſhall find mercy, and hem alſo that ſhall find none. For them that ſhall, no Man will doubt but our Prayers are oth accepted and granted. Touching them for whom we crave that mercy which is not to e obtained, let us not think that our Saviour did miſ-inſtruct his Diſciples, willing them o pray for the peace, even of ſuch as ſhould be uncapable of ſo great a bleſſing ; or that the rayers of the Prophet *Jeremy* offended God, becauſe the anſwer of God was a reſolute deial of favour to them, for whom Supplication was made. And if any Man doubt, ow God ſhould accept ſuch Prayers in caſe they be oppoſite to his Will, or not grant them, they be according unto that which himſelf willeth, our anſwer is, That ſuch ſuits God acepteth, in that they are conformable unto his *general inclination*, which is, that all Men ight be ſaved ; yet always he granteth them not, for as much as there is in God ſometimes more Private *occaſioned will*, which determineth the contrary. So that the other being e rule of our actions, and not this ; our requeſts for things oppoſite to this Will of God, e not therefore the leſs gracious in his ſight. There is no doubt but we ought in all things o frame our wills to the Will of God, and that otherwiſe in whatſoever we do, we ſin. For our ſelves being ſo apt to err, the only way which we have to ſtrengthen our paths, is by llowing the rule of his Will, whoſe footſteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or e foot, do that which the will commandeth, though they ſerve as inſtruments to ſin, t is ſin the commanders fault, and not theirs, becauſe Nature hath abſolutely, and ithout exception, made them ſubjects to the will of Man, which is Lord over them. s the Body is ſubject to the will of Man, ſo Man's will to the Will of God ; for ſo it ehoveth, that the better ſhould guide and command the worſe. But becauſe the ſubction of the body to the will is by natural neceſſity, the ſubjection of the Will un God voluntary ; we therefore ſtand in need of direction, after what ſort our wills d deſires may be rightly conformed to his. Which is not done by willing always e ſelf-ſame thing that God intendeth. For it may chance, that his purpoſe is ſomeme the ſpeedy death of them, whoſe long continuance in life if we ſhould not wiſh, e were unnatural. When the object or matter therefore of our deſires is (as in is caſe) a thing both good of it ſelf, and not forbidden of God ; when the end r which we deſire it, is virtuous and apparently moſt holy ; when the root from hich our affection towards it proceedeth, is Charity ; Piety that which we do in claring our deſire by Prayer ; yea, over and beſides all this, ſith we know, that to pray r all Men living, is but to ſhew the ſame affection which towards every of them our rd Jeſus Chriſt hath borne, who knowing only as God who are his, did as Man taſte death for

(*a*) Sidon. Apol. lib. 6. Epiſt.

(*b*) 1. Cor. 14. 7.

(*c*) Rom. 9. 3. & 10. 1.

Matth. 10. 11, 12.

Jer. 15. 1.

Propterea nihil contrarietatis t, *ſi Chriſtus homo ſecundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate ſua aſſumpſerat aliquid volebat, quod tamen ſecundum voluntatem divinam, in qua cum* re *omnia diſponebat futurum non eſſe praſciebat, quia & hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, ut pietate moveretur, & hoc ad veram divinitatem, ut à diſpoſitione non moveretur.* Hug. de Quat. Chriſti Volunt.

the good of all men; ſurely to that Will of God, which ought to be, and is the known rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppoſe our ſelves, although his ſecret determination haply be againſt us; which if we did underſtand, as we do not, yet to reſt contented with that which God will have done, is as much as he requireth at the hands of Men. And concerning our ſelves what we earneſtly crave in this caſe, the ſame, as all things elſe that are of like condition, we meekly ſubmit unto his moſt gracious will and pleaſure. Finally, as we have cauſe ſufficient why to think the practice of our Church allowable in this behalf, ſo neither is ours the firſt which hath been of that mind. For to end with the words of *Proſper, This Law of Supplication for all Men* (ſaith he) *the devout zeal of all Prieſts, and of all faithful Men, doth hold with ſuch full Agreement; that there is not any part of all the World, where Chriſtian People do not uſe to pray in the ſame manner. The Church every where maketh Prayers unto God, not only for Saints, and ſuch as already in Chriſt are regenerate; but for all Infidels and Enemies of the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, for all Idolaters, for all that perſecute Chriſt in his followers, for Jews, to whoſe blindneſs the Light of the Goſpel doth not yet ſhine, for Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, who from the Unity of Faith and Charity are eſtranged. And for ſuch what doth the Church ask of God but this, That leaving their Errors they may be converted unto him, that Faith and Charity may be given them, and that out of the darkneſs of ignorance they may come to the knowledge of his truth? Which becauſe they cannot themſelves do in their own behalf, as long as the ſway of evil cuſtom over-beareth them, and the chains of Satan detain them bound, neither are they able to break through thoſe Errors wherein they are ſo determinately ſetled, that they pay unto falſity the whole ſum of whatſoever love is owing unto God's Truth; our Lord merciful and juſt requireth to have all Men prayed for, that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawn up from the depth of ſo bottomleſs evils, we may not doubt but (in part) God hath done the thing we requeſted, nor deſpair, but that being thankful for them, towards whom already he hath ſhewed mercy, the reſt which are not as yet enlightned, ſhall before they paſs out of life, be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the Grace of him which ſaveth [for ſo we ſee it falleth out] over-paſs ſome, ſo that the Prayer of the Church for them be not received, this we may leave to the hidden Judgments of God's Righteouſneſs, and acknowledge that in this Secret there is a Gulf, which, while we live, we ſhall never ſound.*

Proſp. de Vocat. Gen. l. 1. c. 4. inter opera Ambroſ.

Of the Name, the Author, and the force of Sacraments, which Force conſiſteth in this, that God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt.

50. Inſtruction and Prayer, whereof we have hitherto ſpoken, are duties which ſerve as Elements, Parts or Principles to the reſt that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chief. The Church is to us that very * Mother of our New Birth, in whoſe Bowels we are all bred, at whoſe Breaſts we receive nouriſhment. As many therefore as are apparently to our judgment born of God, they have the Seed of their Regeneration by the Miniſtry of the Church, which uſeth to that end and purpoſe, not only the Word, but the Sacraments, both having Generative force and virtue. As oft as we mention a Sacrament properly underſtood (for in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers all Articles which are peculiar to Chriſtian Faith, all Duties of Religion containing that which Senſe or Natural Reaſon cannot of it-ſelf diſcern, are moſt commonly named Sacraments) our reſtraint of the Word to ſome few principal Divine Ceremonies, importeth in every ſuch Ceremony two things, the Subſtance of the Ceremony it-ſelf which is viſible; and, beſides that, ſomewhat elſe more ſecret, in reference whereunto we conceive that Ceremony to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honour the holy Sacraments, not reſpecting ſo much the Service which we do unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that Sacred and Secret Gift which we thereby receive from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore conſiſt altogether in relation to ſome ſuch Gift or Grace Supernatural, as only God can beſtow, how ſhould any but the Church adminiſter thoſe Ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any, but by the Church. There is in Sacraments to be obſerved their Force, and their Form of Adminiſtration. Upon their Force their neceſſity dependeth. So that how they are neceſſary we cannot diſcern, till we ſee how effectual they are. When Sacraments are ſaid to be Viſible Signs of Inviſible Grace, we thereby conceive how Grace is indeed the very end for which these Heavenly Myſteries were inſtituted; and beſides ſundry other Properties obſerved in them, the matter whereof they conſiſt, is ſuch as ſignifieth, figureth, and repreſenteth their End. But ſtill their efficacy reſteth obſcure to our underſtanding, except we ſearch ſomewhat more diſtinctly what Grace in particular that is, whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they have towards it. The uſe of Sacraments is but only in this life, yet ſo, that here they concern a far better life than this, and are for that cauſe accompanied with *Grace which worketh Salvation.* Sacraments are the Powerful Instruments of God to Eternal Life. For as our Natural Life conſiſteth in the Union of the Body with the Soul; ſo our Life Supernatural in the Union of the Soul with God. And for as much as there is no Union of God with Man, without that mean between both which is both; it ſeemeth requiſite that we firſt conſider, how God is in Chriſt, then how Chriſt is in us, and how the Sacraments do ſerve to make us partakers of Chriſt. In other things we may be more brief, but the weight of theſe requireth largeneſs.

* Gal. 4. 26. Iſai. 54. 3.

Oportebat Deum carnem fieri, ut in ſemetipſo concordiam confibularet, Terrenorum pariter atque Cæleſtium, dum utriuſque partis in ſe connectens pignora, & Deum pariter homini, & hominem Deo copularet. Tertul. de Trinit.

That God is in Chriſt by the Perſonal Incarnation of the Son, who is very God.

51. The Lord our God is but one God. In which Indiviſible Unity notwithſtanding, we adore the Father, as being altogether of himſelf; we glorifie that Con-ſubſtantial Word which is the Son; we bleſs and magniſie that Co-eſſential Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the Holy Ghoſt. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by theſe their ſeveral Properties really diſtinguiſhable each from other. For the Subſtance of God, with this property *to be of none*, doth make the Perſon of the Father; the very ſelf-ſame Subſtance in number, with this property *to be of the Father*, maketh the Perſon of the Son; the ſame Subſtance having added unto it the property of *proceeding from the other two*, maketh the Perſon of the Holy Ghoſt. So that in every Perſon there is implied both the Subſtance of God, which is one; and alſo that property which cauſeth the ſame Perſon really and truly to differ from the other two Every Perſon hath his own Subſiſtence, which no other beſides hath, although there be others beſides that are of the ſame Subſtance. As no Man but *Peter* can be the perſon which *Peter* is, yet *Paul* hath the ſelf-ſame Nature which *Peter* hath. Again, Angels have every of them the Nature of pure and Inviſible Spirits, but every Angel is not that Angel which appeared in a Dream to *Joſeph*. Now when God became Man, leſt we ſhould err in applying this to the Perſon of the Father, or of the Spirit, St. *Peters* confeſſion unto Chriſt was, Thou art the * *Son* of the Living God; and St. *Johns* Expoſition thereof was plain, That it is the (*a*) *Word* which was made Fleſh. (*b*) *The Father, and the Holy Ghoſt* (ſaith *Damaſcen*) *have no Communion with the Incarnation of the Word, otherwiſe than only by approbation and aſſent.* Notwithſtanding, for as much as the Word and Deity are one Subject, we muſt beware we exclude not the Nature of God from Incarnation, and ſo make the Son of God incarnate, not to be very God. For undoubtedly, (*c*) even the Nature of God it-ſelf, in the only Perſon of the Son, is incarnate, and hath taken to it-ſelf Fleſh. Wherefore, Incarnation may neither be granted to any Perſon, but only One, nor yet denied to that Nature which is common unto all Three. Concerning the cauſe of which incomprehenſible Myſterie, for as much as it ſeemeth a thing unconſonant, that the World ſhould honour any other as the Saviour, but him whom it honoureth as the Creator of the World, and in the Wiſdom of God it hath not been thought convenient to admit any way of ſaving Man, but by Man himſelf, though nothing ſhould be ſpoken of the Love and Mercy of God towards Man, which this way are become ſuch a Spectacle, as neither Men nor Angels can behold without a kind of Heavenly aſtoniſhment, we may hereby perceive there is cauſe ſufficient, why Divine Nature ſhould aſſume Human, that ſo (*d*) God might be in Chriſt, reconciling to himſelf the World. And if ſome cauſe be likewiſe required, why rather to this end and purpoſe the Son, than either the Father, or the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould be made Man, could we which are born the Children of wrath, be adopted the Sons of God through Grace, any other than the Natural Son of God being Mediator between God and us? It (*e*) became therefore him, by whom all things are, to be the Way of Salvation to all, that the Inſtitution and Reſtitution of the World might be both wrought by one hand. The Worlds Salvation was, without the Incarnation of the Son of God, a thing impoſſible; not ſimply impoſſible, but impoſſible, it being preſuppoſed, that the Will of God was no otherwiſe to have it ſaved, than by the Death of his own Son. Wherefore taking to himſelf our Fleſh, and by his Incarnation making it his own Fleſh, he had now of his own, although from us, what to offer unto God for us. And as Chriſt took Manhood, that by it he might be capable of death, whereunto he humbled himſelf; ſo becauſe Manhood is the proper ſubject of compaſſion and feeling pity, which maketh the Scepter of Chriſt's Regency even in the Kingdom of Heaven amiable; he which without our Nature could not on Earth ſuffer for the ſins of the World, doth now alſo (*f*) by means thereof, both make interceſſion to God for ſinners, and exerciſe dominion over all Men with a true, a natural, and a ſenſible touch of Mercy.

Πρόσωπον ἤγουν ὑπόστασίς ἐστι κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας τὸ ἰδικὸν παρὰ τὸ κοινόν. Κοινότης γάρ ἐστιν ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου πράγματος, ἴδιαι δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ ὑποστάσεις, *Suid.* Ἡ οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὑφίσταται, ἀλλὰ ἐν ταῖς ὑποστάσεσι θεωρεῖται, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἰδιάζοντος ἔχει ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπάρξαι, *Damaſc. de Orthod. Fide, lib.* 3. *cap.* 6.

Iſai. 9. 6.
Jer. 23. 6.
Rom. 9. 5.
John 16. 15. & 5. 21.
Col. 2. 9.
1 John 5. 20.

* Matth. 16. 16.

(*a*) John 1. 14. *Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magneſ.* Ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς ἀλλὰ οὐσιώδης. Οὐ γάρ ἐστι λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρου φώνημα ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεϊκῆς οὐσία γεννητή.

(*b*) Κατ' οὐδένα λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῇ σαρκώσει τοῦ λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' εὐδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. *Damaſc.*

(*c*) *In illo Divinitas eſt Unigeniti facta particeps mortalitatis noſtræ, ut & nos participes ejus immortalitatis eſſemus.* Aug. Epiſt. 57.

(*d*) 2 Cor. 5. 19.

(*e*) Heb. 2. 10.

(*f*) Heb. 4. 15.

The Miſ-interpretations which Hereſie hath made of the manner, how God and Man are United in one Chriſt.

52. It is not in Man's ability, either to expreſs perfectly, or conceive the manner how this was brought to paſs. But the ſtrength of our Faith is tried by thoſe things wherein our wits and capacities are not ſtrong. Howbeit, becauſe this Divine Myſtery is more true than plain, divers having framed the ſame to their own conceits and fancies, are found in their Expoſitions thereof more plain than true: In ſo much, that by the ſpace of Five hundred years after Chriſt, the Church was almoſt troubled with nothing elſe, ſaving only with care and travel to preſerve this Article from the ſiniſter conſtruction of Hereticks. Whoſe firſt miſts when the light of the (*g*) *Nicene* Council had diſpelled, it was not long e're *Macedonius* transferred unto God's moſt holy Spirit the ſame blaſphemy, wherewith *Arius* had already diſhonoured his co-eternally begotten Son; not long e're *Apollinarius* began to (*h*) pare away from Chriſt's Humanity. In refutation of which impieties, when the Fathers of the Church, *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, and the two *Gregories*, had by their painful travels ſufficiently cleared the truth; no leſs for the Deity of the Holy Ghoſt, than for the compleat Humanity of Chriſt, there followed hereupon a final concluſion, whereby thoſe Controverſies, as alſo the reſt which *Paulus Samoſatenus*, *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Ætius*, *Eunomius*, together with the whole ſwarm of peſtilent *Demi-Arians*, had from time to time

(*g*) *An. Dom.* 325.

(*h*) Μηδὲ γὰρ δεηθῆναι φησὶ τὴν σαρκὰ ἐκείνην ἀνθρωπίνου νοὸς ἡγεμονευομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτὴν ἐνδεδυκότος θεοῦ λόγου. *Suid.*

time ſtirred up ſithence the Council of *Nice*, were both privately, firſt at *Rome* in a ſmaller Synod, and then (a) at *Conſtantinople* in a general famous Aſſembly, brought to a peaceable and quiet end, ſevenſcore Biſhops and ten agreeing in that Confeſſion, which by them ſet down remaineth at this preſent hour a part of our Church-Liturgy, a Memorial of their Fidelity and Zeal, a ſoveraign preſervative of God's people from the venemous infection of Hereſie. Thus in Chriſt the verity of God, and the compleat ſubſtance of Man, were with full agreement eſtabliſhed throughout the World, till ſuch time as the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* broached it-ſelf, (b) *Dividing Chriſt into two Perſons, the Son of God, and the Son of Man, the one a Perſon begotten of God before all Worlds, the other alſo a Perſon born of the Virgin* Mary, *and in ſpecial favour choſen to be made intire to the Son of God above all Men, ſo that whoſoever will honour God, muſt together honour Chriſt, with whoſe Perſon God hath vouchſafed to joyn himſelf in ſo high a degree of gracious reſpect and favour.* But that the ſelf-ſame Perſon, which verily is Man, ſhould properly be God alſo, and that by reaſon not of two Perſons linked in Amity, but of two Natures, Human and Divine, conjoyned in one and the ſame Perſon, the God of Glory may be ſaid as well to have ſuffered death, as to have raiſed the dead from their Graves; the Son of Man as well to have made, as to have redeemed the World, *Neſtorius* in no caſe would admit. That which deceived him, was want of heed to the firſt beginning of that admirable combination of God with Man. The Word (ſaith St. *John*) was made fleſh, and dwelt *in us*. The Evangeliſt uſeth the plural number, Men for Manhood, *us* for the nature whereof we conſiſt, even as the Apoſtle denying the Aſſumption of *Angelical Nature*, ſaith likewiſe in the plural number, he took not *Angels*, but the Seed of *Abraham*. It pleaſed not the Word or Wiſdom of God to take to it-ſelf ſome one Perſon amongſt Men, for then ſhould that one have been advanced which was aſſumed, and no more; but Wiſdom, to the end ſhe might ſave many, built her Houſe of that *Nature* which is common unto all, ſhe made not *this or that Man* her Habitation, but dwelt *in us*. The Seeds of Herbs and Plants at the firſt, are not in act, but in poſſibility, that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Son of God had taken to himſelf a Man now made and already perfected, it would of neceſſity follow, that there are in Chriſt two Perſons, the one aſſuming, and the other aſſumed; whereas the Son of God did not aſſume a Man's perſon unto his own, but a Man's nature to his own Perſon, and therefore took *Semen*, the Seed of *Abraham*, the very firſt original Element of our Nature, before (c) it was come to have any Perſonal Human ſubſiſtence. The Fleſh and the Conjunction of the Fleſh with God, began both at one inſtant; his making, and taking to himſelf our fleſh, was but one act, ſo that in Chriſt there is no Perſonal ſubſiſtence but one, and that from everlaſting. By taking only the nature of Man, he ſtill continueth one Perſon, and changeth but the manner of his ſubſiſting, which was before in the meer glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our fleſh. For as much therefore as Chriſt hath no perſonal ſubſiſtence but one, whereby we acknowledge him to have been eternally the Son of God, we muſt of neceſſity apply to the *Perſon* of the Son of God, even that which is ſpoken of Chriſt according to his Human nature. For example, according to the fleſh, he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, baptized of *John* in the River *Jordan*, by *Pilate* adjudged to die, and executed by the Jews. We cannot ſay properly, that the Virgin bore, or *John* did baptize, or *Pilate* condemn, or the Jews crucifie, the Nature of Man, becauſe theſe all are Perſonal Attributes; his Perſon is the Subject which receiveth them, his Nature that which maketh his Perſon capable or apt to receive. If we ſhould ſay, that the Perſon of a Man in our Saviour Chriſt was the ſubject of theſe things, this were plainly to intrap our ſelves in the very ſnare of the *Neſtorians* Hereſie, between whom and the Church of God there was no difference, ſaving only that *Neſtorius* imagined in Chriſt, as well a Perſonal Human ſubſiſtence, as a Divine; the Church acknowledging a ſubſtance, both Divine and Human, but no other Perſonal ſubſiſtence than Divine, becauſe the Son of God took not to himſelf a Man's perſon, but the nature only of a Man. Chriſt is a Perſon both Divine and Human, howbeit not therefore two perſons in one; neither both theſe in one ſenſe, but a Perſon Divine, becauſe he is *perſonally* the Son of God; Human, becauſe *he hath* really *the nature* of the Children of Men. In Chriſt therefore God and Man, *There is* (ſaith *Paſchaſius*) *a twofold Subſtance, not a twofold Perſon, becauſe one Perſon extinguiſheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct.* For the Perſonal Being, which the Son of God already had, ſuffered not the Subſtance to be Perſonal which he took, although together with the Nature which he had, the Nature alſo which he took, continueth. Whereupon it followeth againſt *Neſtorius*, That no Perſon was born of the Virgin but the Son of God, no Perſon but the Son of God baptized, the Son of God condemned, the Son of God and no other Perſon crucified; which one only point of Chriſtian Belief, *The infinite worth of the Son of God*, is the very ground of all things believed concerning Life and Salvation, by that which Chriſt either did or ſuffered as Man in our behalf. But for as much as St. *Cyril*, the chiefeſt of thoſe two-hundred Biſhops aſſembled in the Council of *Epheſus*, where the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* was condemned, had in his Writings againſt the *Arians* avouched, that *the Word* or *Wiſdom* of God hath *but one Nature* which is Eternal, and whereunto he aſſumed Fleſh, (for the *Arians* were of

(a) *An. Dom.* 381.

(b) Οὐκ ἔτι τὴν ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν, *Cyril. Epiſt. ad Eulog.* Οὐκ ἔλεγε γὰρ ἕνωσιν τȣ̃ λόγȣ τȣ̃ θεȣ̃ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε καὶ διαίρεσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεὸν ἀπεκάλει τὸν χριστὸν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι ὡς ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ σχέσει καὶ τῇ οἰκειώσει κατὰ τὸ ταυτὰ ἀλλήλοις ἀρέσκειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλίας. *Leont. de Sect.*

John. 1. 14.

Heb. 2. 16.

(c) Ἡ ληφθεῖσα φύσις οὐ προϋπῆρχε τῆς λήψεως. *Theod. Dial.*

*Ἄτρεπτος.

Paſch. lib. de Spir. Sanct.

An. Dom. 431.

of opinion, that beſides God's own Eternal Wiſdom, there is a Wiſdom which God created before all things, to the end he might thereby create all things elſe, and that this Created Wiſdom was the Word which took Fleſh.) Again, for as much as the ſame *Cyril* had given inſtance in the Body and the Soul of Man, no farther than only to enforce by example againſt *Neſtorius*, that a viſible and an inviſible, a mortal and an immortal Subſtance, may united make *one Perſon*; the words of *Cyril* were in proceſs of time ſo taken, as though it had been his drift to teach, that even as in us the Body and the Soul, ſo in Chriſt God and Man, make but *one Nature*. Of which Error, ſix-hundred and thirty Fathers in the Council of *Chalcedon* condemned *Eutyches*. For as *Neſtorius* teaching rightly, that God and Man are diſtinct Natures, did thereupon miſ-infer, that in Chriſt thoſe Natures can by no conjunction make one Perſon; ſo *Eutyches*, of ſound belief as touching their true Perſonal Copulation, became unſound, by denying the difference which ſtill continueth between the one and the other Nature. We muſt therefore keep warily a middle courſe, ſhunning both that diſtraction of Perſons, wherein *Neſtorius* went awry; and alſo this later confuſion of Natures, which deceived *Eutyches*. (*a*) Theſe Natures from the moment of their firſt combination have been, and are for ever inſeparable. For even when his Soul forſook the Tabernacle of his Body, his Deity forſook neither Body nor Soul. If it had, then could we not truly hold, either that the Perſon of Chriſt was buried, or that the Perſon of Chriſt did raiſe up it-ſelf from the dead. For the Body ſeparated from the Word, can in no true ſenſe be termed the Perſon of Chriſt; nor is it true, to ſay that the Son of God in raiſing up that Body did raiſe up himſelf, if the Body were not both with him, and of him, even during the time it lay in the Sepulchre. The like is alſo to be ſaid of the Soul, otherwiſe we are plainly and inevitably *Neſtorians*. The very Perſon of Chriſt therefore, for ever one and the ſelf-ſame, was only touching Bodily Subſtance concluded within the Grave, his Soul only from thence ſevered; but by Perſonal Union, his Deity ſtill inſeparably joyned with both.

An. Dom. 431.

(*a*) Ἀχώριστον προσήκει τῆς σαρκὸς εἶναι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν, κἀν τῷ σταυρῷ κἀν τῷ τάφῳ. *Theodor. Dial.* Ἀπαθής.

53. The ſequel of which Conjunction of Natures in the Perſon of Chriſt, is no aboliſhment of Natural Properties appertaining to either Subſtance, no tranſition or tranſmigration thereof out of one ſubſtance into another: Finally, no ſuch mutual infuſion, as eally cauſeth the ſame Natural Operations or Properties to be made common unto both Subſtances; but whatſoever is natural to Deity, the ſame remaineth in Chriſt uncommunicated unto his Manhood, and whatſoever natural to Manhood, his Deity thereof is uncapable. The true Properties and Operations of his Deity, are, to know that which is not poſſible for *Created Natures* to comprehend; to be ſimply the higheſt cauſe of all things, the Well-ſpring of Immortality and Life; to have neither end nor beginning of days; to be every where preſent, and incloſed no where; to be ſubject to no alteration nor paſſion; to produce of it-ſelf thoſe effects, which cannot proceed but from infinite Majeſty and Power. The true Properties and Operations of his Manhood, are ſuch as *Irenæus* reckoneth up, *If Chriſt* (ſaith he) *had not taken fleſh from the very Earth, he would not have coveted thoſe earthly nouriſhments, wherewith bodies which be taken from thence, are fed. This was the Nature which felt hunger after long faſting, was deſirous of reſt after travel, teſtified compaſſion and love by tears, groaned in heavineſs, and with extremity of grief even melted away it-ſelf into bloody ſweats.* To Chriſt we aſcribe, both working of Wonders, and ſuffering of Pains; we uſe concerning him ſpeeches, as well of Humility, as of Divine Glory; but the one we apply unto that Nature which he took of the Virgin *Mary*, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not therefore imagine, that the properties of the weaker Nature have vaniſhed with the preſence of the more glorious, and have been therein ſwallowed up as in a Gulf. We dare not in this point give ear to them, who over-boldly affirm, (*b*) *That the Nature which Chriſt took weak and feeble from us, by being mingled with Deity, became the ſame which Deity is; that the Aſſumption of our Subſtance unto his, was like the blending of a drop of Vinegar with the huge Ocean, wherein although it continue ſtill, yet not with thoſe properties which ſevered it hath; becauſe ſithence the inſtant of their conjunction, all diſtinction and difference of the one from the other, is extinct; and whatſoever we can now conceive of the Son of God, is nothing elſe but meer Deity*: Which words are ſo plain and direct for *Eutyches*, that I ſtand in doubt, they are not his whoſe name they carry. Sure I am, they are far from truth, and muſt of neceſſity give place to the better-adviſed ſentences of other Men. (*c*) *He which in himſelf was appointed* (ſaith *Hilary*) *a Mediator to ſave his Church, and for performance of that Myſtery of Mediation between God and Man, is become God and Man, doth now being but one, conſiſt of both thoſe Natures united, neither hath he, through the Union of both, incurred the damage or loſs of either, leſt by being born a Man we ſhould think he hath given over to be God; or that, becauſe he continueth God, therefore he cannot be Man alſo; whereas the true belief which maketh a Man happy, proclaimeth jointly God and Man, confeſſeth the Word and Fleſh together. Cyril* more plainly, (*d*) *His two Natures have knit themſelves the one to the other, and are in that nearneſs, as uncapable of confuſion, as of diſtraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference between them, Fleſh is not become God, but doth ſtill continue Fleſh, although it be now the Fleſh of God.* Yea, *of each Subſtance* (ſaith (*e*) *Leo*) *the Properties are all preſerved and kept ſafe.* Theſe two Natures are as cauſes and original Grounds of all

That by the Union of the one with the other Nature in Chriſt, there groweth neither gain nor loſs of Eſſential Properties to either.

Ταῦτα πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένης. *Iren. lib.* 3. *adverſ. hæreſ.*

Chriſt did all theſe, ἀνθρωπίνου σώματος νόμῳ. *Greg. Nazianz. Orat.* 2. *de Filio.*

Τοὺς μὲν ταπεινοὺς λόγους τῷ ἐκ Μαριὰς ἀθρώπῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἀνηγμένους καὶ θεοπρεπεῖς τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι λόγῳ. *Theod. Dial.* Ἀσύγχυτος.

(*b*) *Greg. Nyſs. Epiſt. ad Theophil. Alexandr.*

(*c*) *Hilar. de Trin. lib.* 9.

(*d*) *Cyr. Epiſt. ad Neſt.*

(*e*) *Salva proprietate utriuſque naturæ,*

---

cepta eſt à Majeſtate humilitas, à virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas. Leo Epiſt. ad Flav.

things which Chriſt hath done. Wherefore ſome things he doth as God, becauſe his Deity alone is the Well-ſpring from which they flow; ſome things as Man, becauſe they iſſue from his meer Human nature; ſome things jointly as both God and Man, becauſe both Natures concur as Principles thereunto. For albeit the Properties of each *Nature* do cleave only to that Nature whereof they are Properties, and therefore Chriſt cannot *naturally be* as God, the ſame which he *naturally is* as Man, yet both Natures may very well concur unto *one effect*, and Chriſt in that reſpect be truly ſaid to *work*, both as God and as Man, one and the ſelf-ſame thing. Let us therefore ſet it down for a rule or principle ſo neceſſary, as nothing more, to the plain deciding of all doubts and queſtions about the Union of Natures in Chriſt, that of both Natures there is a *Co-operation* often, an *Aſſociation* always, but never any Mutual *Participation*, whereby the Properties of the one are infuſed into the other. Which rule muſt ſerve for the better underſtanding of that which * *Damaſcene* hath touching croſs and circulatory ſpeeches, wherein there are attributed to God ſuch things as belong to Manhood, and to Man ſuch as properly concern the Deity of Chriſt Jeſus, the cauſe whereof is the *Aſſociation* of Natures in one Subject. A kind of Mutual Commutation there is, whereby thoſe concrete Names, *God* and *Man*, when we ſpeak of Chriſt. do take interchangeably one anothers room; ſo that for truth of ſpeech, it skilleth not whether we ſay, that the Son of God hath created the World, and the Son of Man by his Death hath ſaved it; or elſe, that the Son of Man did create, and the Son of God die to ſave the World. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the Manhood of Chriſt claimeth, or to Man what his Deity hath right unto, we underſtand by the Name of God, and the Name of Man, neither the one nor the other Nature, but the whole Perſon of Chriſt, in whom both Natures are. When the Apoſtle ſaith of the Jews, that they crucified the Lord of Glory, and when the Son of Man, being on Earth, affirmeth, that the Son of Man was in Heaven at the ſame inſtant; there is in theſe two ſpeeches that Mutual Circulation before-mentioned. In the one there is attributed to God, or the (*a*) Lord of Glory, Death, whereof Divine Nature is not capable; in the other Ubiquity unto (*b*) Man, which Human Nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of Glory, we muſt needs underſtand the whole Perſon of Chriſt, who being Lord of Glory was indeed crucified, but not in that nature, for which he is termed the Lord of Glory. In like manner, by the Son of Man, the whole Perſon of Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be meant, who being Man upon Earth, filled Heaven with his glorious preſence, but not according to that nature, for which the title of Man is given him. Without this Caution, the Fathers whoſe belief was ſincere, and their meaning moſt ſound, ſhall ſeem in their Writings one to deny what another conſtantly doth affirm. *Theodoret* diſputeth with great earneſtneſs, that *God* cannot be ſaid to ſuffer. But he thereby meaneth Chriſt's *Divine Nature* againſt (*c*) *Apollinarius*, which held even Deity it-ſelf paſſible. *Cyril* on the other ſide againſt *Neſtorius* as much contendeth, that whoſoever will deny *very God* to have ſuffered death, doth forſake the Faith. Which notwithſtanding to hold were Hereſie, if the Name of God in this Aſſertion did not import, as it doth, the Perſon of Chriſt, who being verily God, ſuffered death, but in the Fleſh, and not in that ſubſtance for which the Name of God is given him.

What Chriſt hath obtained according to the Fleſh, by the Union of his Fleſh with Deity.

54. If then both Natures do remain with their properties in Chriſt thus diſtinct, as hath been ſhewed, we are for our better underſtanding, what either Nature receiveth from other, to note, that Chriſt is by three degrees a Receiver: Firſt, in that he is the Son of God: Secondly, in that his Human Nature hath had the honour of Union with Deity beſtowed upon it: Thirdly, in that by means thereof ſundry eminent Graces have flowed as effects from Deity into that Nature which is coupled with it. On Chriſt therefore is beſtowed the Gift of Eternal Generation, the Gift of Union, and the Gift of Unction. By the Gift of Eternal Generation, Chriſt hath received of the Father one, and in number the (*d*) ſelf-ſame ſubſtance, which the Father hath of himſelf, unreceived from any other. For every (*e*) *beginning is a Father* unto that which cometh of it, and every *Off-ſpring is a Son* unto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is (*f*) originally that Deity, which Chriſt (*g*) originally is not (for Chriſt is God (*h*) by being of God; Light (*i*), by iſſuing out of Light;) it followeth hereupon, that whatſoever Chriſt hath (*k*) common unto him with his Heavenly Father, the ſame of neceſſity muſt be *given* him, but naturally and (*l*) eternally given not beſtowed by way of benevolence and favour

---

* Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀντιδόσεως, ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἀντιδιδούσης τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τὰ ἴδια, διὰ τὴν τῆς ὑποστάσεως ταυτότητα, καὶ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. *Damaſc. de Orthod. Fid. l.* 3. *c.* 4. *Verum eſt duarum in Chriſto naturarum alteram ſuas alteri proprietates impertire, enunciando videlicet, idque non in abſtracto ſed in concreto ſolum, divinas homini non humanitati, humanas non deitati ſed Deo tribui. Cujus hæc eſt ratio, quia, cum ſuppoſitum prædicationis ſit ejuſmodi ut utramque naturam in ſe contineat, ſive ab una ſive ab altera denominetur nihil refert.*

(*a*) 1 Cor. 2. 8.

(*b*) John 3. 13.

(*c*) Θνητὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ κατασκευάζουσι τὴν θεότητα. *Greg. Nyſſ. de Sectator. Apollinar. Epiſt. ad Flav.*

(*d*) *Nativitas Dei non poteſt non eam ex qua profecta eſt tenere naturam. Neque enim aliud quàm Deus ſubſiſtit qui non aliunde quàm ex Deo Deus ſubſiſtit.* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 5. *Cum ſit gloria, ſempiternitate, virtute, regno, poteſtate hoc quod Pater eſt, omnia tamen hæc non ſine auctore ſicut pater, ſeu ex patre tanquam filius ſine initio & æqualis habet.* Ruffin. in Symb. Apoſt. cap. 9. *Filium aliunde non deduco ſed de ſubſtantia Patris omnem à patre conſecutum poteſtatem.* Tertul. contra Prax. (*e*) Epheſ. 1. 15. πᾶσα πατριά, *quicquid alteri quoviſmodo dat eſſe.* (*f*) Jam. 1. 17. *Pater luminum* υἱοῦ τε καὶ πνεύματος δηλονότι. *Pachym. in Dionyſ. de Cœl. Hierar. cap.* 1. *Pater eſt principium totius divinitatis, quia ipſe à nullo eſt. Non enim habet de quo procedat; ſed ab eo & Filius eſt genitus & Spiritus ſanctus procedit.* Aug. de Trinit. lib. 4. cap. 20. *Hinc Chriſtus deitatis loco nomen ubique patris uſurpat, quia pater nimirum eſt* πηγαία θεότης. (*g*) *Pater tota ſubſtantia eſt, filius vero derivatio totius & propagatio.* Tertul. contra Prax. (*h*) *Quod enim Deus eſt, ex Deo eſt.* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 5. *Nihil niſi natum habet filius.* Hilar. lib. 4. (*i*) Ἀπαύγασμα δόξης. Heb. 1. 3. Ἐστὶν ἀπόῤῥοια τῆς τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινής ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου. *Sap.* 7. 25, 26. (*k*) *Nihil in ſe diverſum ac diſſimile habent natus & generans.* Hilar. de Synod. Adverſ. Aria. *In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud,* Vincent. Lyr. cap. 19. (*l*) *Ubi author æternus eſt, ibi & nativitatis æternitas eſt. Quia ſicut nativitas ab authore eſt, ita & ab æterno authore æterna nativitas eſt.* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12. *Sicut naturam præſtat filio ſine initio Generatio: Ita Spiritus ſancti præſtat eſſentiam ſine initio Proceſſio.* Aug. de Trin. lib. 5. cap. 15.

as the other gifts both are. And therefore (*a*) where the Fathers give it out for a rule, that whatſoever Chriſt is ſaid in Scripture to have *received*, the ſame we ought to apply only to the Manhood of Chriſt: Their Aſſertion is true of all things which Chriſt hath received *by Grace*; but to that which he hath received of the Father by Eternal Nativity or Birth, it reacheth not. Touching Union of Deity with Manhood, it is by Grace, becauſe there can be no greater Grace ſhewed towards Man, than that God ſhould vouchſafe to unite to Man's nature, the Perſon of his only-begotten Son. Becauſe the Father (*b*) loveth the Son as Man, he hath by Uniting Deity with Manhood *given* all things into his hands. It hath (*c*) *pleaſed* the Father, that in him all Fulneſs ſhould dwell. The name which he hath above all names is (*d*) *given* him. As the Father hath life in himſelf, the Son in himſelf hath life alſo by the (*e*) *gift* of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Chriſt a fountain of Life, is, that (*f*) *conjunction of the Nature of God with the Nature of Man* in the Perſon of Chriſt, (*g*) *which gift* (ſaith Chriſt to the Woman of *Samaria*) if thou didſt know, and in *that reſpect* underſtand, *who it is* which asketh water of thee, thou wouldſt ask of him, that he might give thee Living Water. The Union therefore of the Fleſh with Deity, is to *that fleſh* a gift of Principal Grace and Favour. For by virtue of this Grace, Man is really made God, a Creature is exalted above the dignity of all Creatures, and hath all Creatures elſe under it. This admirable Union of God with Man, can inforce in that higher Nature no alteration, becauſe unto God there is nothing more natural, than not to be ſubject to any * change. Neither is it a thing impoſſible, that the Word being made Fleſh, ſhould be that which it was not before as touching the manner of ſubſiſtence, and yet continue in all Qualities or Properties of Nature the ſame it was, becauſe the Incarnation of the Son of God conſiſteth *meerly in the Union* of Natures, which Union doth add Perfection to the Weaker, to the Nobler no alteration at all. If therefore it be demanded what the Perſon of the Son of God hath attained by aſſuming Manhood; ſurely, the whole ſum of all is this, to be as we are, truly, really and naturally Man, by means whereof he is made capable of meaner offices, than otherwiſe his Perſon could have admitted, the only gain he thereby purchaſed for himſelf, was to be capable of loſs and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be ſaid concerning the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, that as our Nature hath in no reſpect changed his, ſo from his to ours as little alteration hath enſued? The very cauſe of his taking upon him our Nature was to change it, to better the Quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no ſort to aboliſh the Subſtance which he took; nor to infuſe into it the Natural forces and properties of his Deity. As therefore we have ſhewed, how the Son of God by his Incarnation hath changed the manner of that Perſonal ſubſiſtence, which before was ſolitary, and is now in the Aſſociation of Fleſh, no alteration thereby accruing to the Nature of God; ſo neither are the *Properties of Man's nature* in the Perſon of Chriſt, by force and virtue of the ſame Conjunction ſo much altered, as not to ſtay within thoſe limits which our Subſtance is bordered withal; nor the *ſtate and quality* of our Subſtance ſo unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from ſo near Copulation with Deity. God from us can receive nothing, we by him have obtained much. For albeit, the Natural Properties of Deity be not communicable to Man's nature, the Supernatural Gifts, Graces and Effects thereof, are. The honour which our Fleſh hath by being the Fleſh of the Son of God, is in many reſpects great. If we reſpect but that which is common unto us with him, the Glory provided for him and his in the Kingdom of Heaven, his Right and Title thereunto, even in that he is Man, differeth from other Men's, becauſe he is that Man of whom God is himſelf a part. We have right to the ſame Inheritance with Chriſt, but not the ſame right which he hath; his being ſuch as we cannot reach, and ours ſuch as he cannot ſtoop unto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth and the Life; to be the Wiſdom, Righteouſneſs, Sanctification, Reſurrection; to be the Peace of the whole World, the Hope of the Righteous, the Heir of all things; to be that Supream Head whereunto all Power, both in Heaven and in Earth, is given: Theſe are not Honours common unto Chriſt with other Men; they are Titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a meer Man, yet true of Chriſt, even in that he is Man, but Man with whom Deity is perſonally joyned, and unto whom it hath added thoſe excellencies which make him more than worthy thereof. Finally, ſith God hath deified our Nature, though not by turning it into himſelf, yet by making it his own inſeparable Habitation, we cannot now conceive, how God ſhould without Man, either (*h*) exerciſe Divine Power, or receive the glory of Divine Praiſe. For Man is in (*i*) both an Aſſociate of Deity. But to come to the Grace of *Unction*: Did the parts of our Nature, the Soul and Body of Chriſt, receive by the influence of Deity wherewith they were matcht, no ability of Operation, no Virtue, or quality

(*a*) Ὅσα λέγει ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ υἱός καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτῆ λέγει, οὐ τὴν θεότητα. *Theod. fol.* 42. *& ex Greg. Nazianz. Orat.* 2. *de Fil ibid.* 44.

(*b*) John 3. 35.

(*c*) Epheſ. 1. 5.

(*d*) Phil. 2. 9.

(*e*) John. 5. 26.

(*f*) 1 John 5. 20. *Hic eſt verus Deus, & vita æterna.*

(*g*) John. 4.10.

* Ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινόν ἐστι τὸ θνητὸν, οὕτω τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος κοινὸν τὸ ἄτρεπτόν τε καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον. *Theod.* Dial. Ἄτρεπτος. *Periculum ſtatus ſui Deo nullum eſt.* Tertul. de Car. Chr. *Majeſtati Filii Dei corporea Nativitas nihil contulit, nihil abſtulit*, Leo. de Nativit. Ser. 8. Μένει ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, θεός μένει καὶ τὴν ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ παρασκευάζων ὕπαρξιν. *Theophil. In formam ſervi tranſiſſe non eſt naturam perdidiſſe Dei.* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 12.

(*h*) Μετέχει ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας. *Theod.* (*i*) Ἡ δὲ ἄρα τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν πάντων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὐτὴ τὸν ἑνωθέντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. *Gregor. Nyſſ. apud Theod.* Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς σῆς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκάθισεν ἐπάνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας. *Chryſ. in Pſal.* 41.

above Nature? Surely, as the Sword which is made fiery, doth not only cut by reaſon of the ſharpneſs which ſimply it hath, but alſo burn by means of that heat which it hath from fire; ſo there is no doubt but the Deity of Chriſt hath enabled that Nature which it took of Man, to do more than Man in this World hath power to comprehend; for as much as (the bare Eſſential Properties of Deity excepted) he hath imparted unto it all things, he hath repleniſhed it with all ſuch Perfections, as the ſame is any way apt to receive, (a) at the leaſt according to the exigence of that œconomy or ſervice, for which it pleaſed him in Love and Mercy to be made Man. For, as the Parts, Degrees, and Offices of that Myſtical Adminiſtration did require, which he voluntarily undertook, the Beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly, either * reſtrain or enlarge themſelves. From hence we may ſomewhat conjecture, how the Powers of that Soul are illuminated, which being ſo inward unto God, cannot chooſe but be privy unto all things which God worketh, and muſt therefore of neceſſity be endued with knowledge, ſo far forth (b) Univerſal; though not with infinite knowledge, peculiar to Deity it-ſelf. The Soul of Chriſt that ſaw, in this life, the Face of God, was here, through ſo viſible preſence of Deity, filled with all manner (c) of Graces and Virtues in that unmatchable degree of Perfection; for which, of him we read it written, *That God with the Oyl of Gladneſs anointed* (d) *him* (e) *above his* (f) *fellows*. And as God hath in Chriſt unſpeakably glorified the Nobler, ſo likewiſe the meaner part of our Nature, the very Bodily Subſtance of Man. Where alſo that muſt again be remembred, which we noted before, concerning the degrees of the influence of Deity proportionable unto his own purpoſes, intents and counſels. For in this reſpect his Body, which by Natural condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of Everlaſting immunity from Death, Paſſion and Diſſolution, till God which gave it to be ſlain for ſin, had for Righteouſneſs ſake reſtored it to life with certainty of endleſs continuance. Yea, in this reſpect, the very glorified Body of Chriſt retained in it the (g) ſkars and marks of former mortality. But ſhall we ſay, that in Heaven his glorious body, by virtue of the ſame cauſe, hath now power to preſent itſelf in all places, and to be every where at once preſent? We nothing doubt, but God hath many ways above the reach of our capacities exalted that Body which it hath pleaſed him to make his own, that Body wherewith he hath ſaved the World, that Body which hath been and is the Root of Eternal Life, the Inſtrument wherewith Deity worketh, the Sacrifice which taketh away ſin, the Price which hath ranſomed Souls from Death, the Leader of the whole Army of Bodies that ſhall riſe again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy, Heaven hath endowed it with celeſtial power, that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the Angels of Heaven adore it. Notwithſtanding, (h) a Body ſtill it continueth, a Body con-ſubſtantial with our Bodies, a Body of the ſame both Nature and Meaſure which it had on Earth. To gather therefore into one ſum all that hitherto hath been ſpoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make compleat the whole ſtate of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; his Deity, his Manhood, the Conjunction of both, and the diſtinction of the one from the other being joyned in one. Four principal Hereſies there are, which have in thoſe things withſtood the truth; *Arians*, by bending themſelves againſt the Deity of Chriſt; *Apollinarians*, by maiming and miſinterpreting that which belongeth to his Human Nature; *Neſtorians*, by renting Chriſt aſunder, and dividing him into two perſons; the followers of *Eutyches*, by confounding in his Perſon thoſe Natures which they ſhould diſtinguiſh. Againſt theſe there have been four moſt famous Ancient General Councils; the Council of *Nice* to define againſt *Arians*, againſt *Apollinarians* the Council of *Conſtantinople*, the Council of *Epheſus* againſt *Neſtorians*, againſt *Eutychians* the *Calcedon*-Council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indiviſibly, diſtinctly*, the firſt applied to his being God, and the ſecond to his being Man, the third to his being of both One, and the fourth to his ſtill continuing in that One both, we may fully by way of Abridgment compriſe whatſoever Antiquity hath at large handled, either in Declaration of Chriſtian Belief, or in Refutation of the aforeſaid Hereſies. Within the compaſs of which four heads, I may truly affirm that all Hereſies which touch but the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, (whether they have riſen in theſe later days, or in any age heretofore,) may be with great facility brought to confine themſelves. We conclude therefore, that to ſave the World it was of neceſſity the Son of God ſhould be thus incarnate, and that God ſhould ſo be in Chriſt, as hath been declared.

(a) Luke 2. 47.

* Ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τοῦ λόγου ἐν τῷ πειράζεσθαι ϗ σταυροῦσθαι ϗ ἀποθνήσκειν, συγγινομένου δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ νικᾷν ϗ ὑπομένειν ϗ χρηστεύεσθαι ϗ ἀνίστασθαι ϗ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. *Theod. & Iren. lib. 3. Adverſ. Hæreſ.* Matth. 27. 46.

(b) Col. 2. 3.

(c) Iſai. 11. 2.

(d) Iſai. 61. 1. Luke 4. 18. Acts 4. 27.

(e) Heb. 1. 9.

(f) 2 Cor. 1. 21. 1 Joh. 2. 20, 27.

(g) John 20. 27.

(h) Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μὲν ἐστί ϗ ἄφθαρτον ϗ θείας δόξης μεστόν, σῶμα δὲ ὅμως τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχον περιγραφὴν *Theod. fol.* 80.

Of the Perſonal Preſence of Chriſt every where, and in what ſenſe it may be granted, he is every where preſent according to the Fleſh.

55. Having thus far proceeded in ſpeech concerning the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, his two Natures, their Conjunction, that which he either is, or doth in reſpect of both, and that which the one receiveth from the other; ſith God in Chriſt is generally the Medicine which doth cure the World, and Chriſt in us is that Receipt of the ſame Medicine, whereby we are every one particularly cured, in as much as Chriſt's Incarnation and Paſſion can be available to no Man's good, which is not made partaker of Chriſt, neither can we participate him without his Preſence; we are briefly to conſider how Chriſt is preſent, to the end it may thereby better appear, how we are made partakers of Chriſt, both otherwiſe, and in the Sacraments themſelves. All things are in ſuch ſort divided into Finite and Infinite, that no one Subſtance, Nature or Quality, can be poſſibly capable of both. The World and all things in the World, are ſtinted; all effects that proceed from them; all the powers and abilities whereby they work; whatſoever they do, whatſoever they may, and whatſoever they are, is limited. Which limitation of each Creature is both the

perfection, and alſo the preſervation thereof. Meaſure is that which perfecteth all things, becauſe every thing is for ſome end; neither can that thing be available to any end, which is not proportionable thereunto; and to proportion as well exceſſes, as defects, are oppoſite. Again, for as much as nothing doth periſh, but only through exceſs or defect of that, the due proportioned meaſure whereof doth give perfection, it followeth, that meaſure is likewiſe the preſervation of all things. Out of which premiſes we may conclude, not only, that nothing created can poſſibly be unlimited, or can receive any ſuch accident, quality or property, as may really make it infinite (for then ſhould it ceaſe to be a Creature) but alſo, that every Creatures limitation is according to his own kind; and therefore, as oft as we note in them any thing above their kind, it argueth, that the ſame is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cauſe more powerful than they are. Such as the Subſtance of each thing is, ſuch is alſo the Preſence thereof. Impoſſible it is, (a) that God ſhould withdraw his Preſence from any thing, becauſe the very Subſtance of God is infinite. He filleth Heaven and Earth, although he take up no room in either, becauſe his Subſtance is immaterial, pure, and of us in this World ſo incomprehenſible, that albeit no part of us be ever abſent from him, who is preſent whole unto every particular thing, yet his Preſence with us we no way diſcern further, than only that God is preſent; which partly by Reaſon, and more perfectly by Faith, we know to be firm and certain. Seeing therefore that Preſence every where is the ſequel of an infinite and incomprehenſible Subſtance, (for what can be every where, but that which can no where be comprehended?) to enquire whether Chriſt be every where, is to enquire of a Natural Property, a Property that cleaveth to the Deity of Chriſt. Which Deity being common unto him with none, but only the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt, it followeth, that nothing of Chriſt which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the Soul nor the Body of Chriſt, and conſequently, not Chriſt as Man, or Chriſt according to his Human Nature, can poſſibly be every where preſent, becauſe thoſe phraſes of Limitation and Reſtraint, do either point out the principal ſubject whereunto every ſuch attribute adhereth, or elſe they intimate the radical cauſe out of which it groweth. For example, when we ſay, that Chriſt as Man, or according to his Human Nature, ſuffered death; we ſhew what Nature was the proper ſubject of Mortality: When we ſay, that as God, or according to his Deity, he conquered Death, we declare his Deity to have been the cauſe, by force and virtue whereof, he raiſed himſelf from the Grave. But neither is the Manhood of Chriſt, that ſubject whereunto Univerſal Preſence agreeth, neither is it the cauſe original, by force whereof his Perſon is enabled to be every where preſent. Wherefore Chriſt is eſſentially preſent with all things, in that he is very God, but not preſent with all things as Man, becauſe Manhood and the parts thereof, can neither be the cauſe, nor the true ſubject of ſuch Preſence. Notwithſtanding, ſomewhat more plainly to ſhew a true immediate reaſon, wherefore the Manhood of Chriſt can neither be every where preſent, nor cauſe the Perſon of Chriſt ſo to be; we acknowledge that of St. *Auguſtine* concerning Chriſt moſt true, *In that he is perſonally the Word, he created all things; in that he is naturally Man, he himſelf is created of God*; and it doth not appear, that any one Creature hath Power to be preſent with all Creatures. Whereupon nevertheleſs it will not follow, that Chriſt cannot therefore be thus preſent, becauſe he is himſelf a Creature; for as much as only Infinite Preſence is that which cannot poſſibly ſtand with the Eſſence or Being of any Creature; as for Preſence with all things that are, with the whole Race, Maſs and Body of them is Finite, Chriſt by being a *Creature*, is not *in that reſpect* excluded from poſſibility of Preſence with them. That which excludeth him therefore, as Man, from ſo great largeneſs of Preſence, is only his being *Man*, a Creature *of this particular kind*, whereunto the God of Nature hath ſet thoſe bounds of reſtraint and limitation, beyond which, to attribute unto it any thing more than a Creature *of that ſort* can admit, were to give it another Nature, to make it a Creature of ſome other kind than in truth it is. Furthermore, if Chriſt, in that he is Man, be every where preſent. ſeeing this cometh not by the Nature of Manhood it-ſelf, there is no other way how it ſhould grow, but either by the Grace of Union with Deity, or by the Grace of Unction received from Deity. It hath been already ſufficiently proved, that by Force of Union the Properties of both Natures are imparted *to the Perſon only*, in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one Nature, really conveyed or tranſlated into the other; it hath been likewiſe proved, that Natures united in Chriſt, continue the very ſame which they are, where they are not united. And concerning the Grace of Unction, wherein are contained the Gifts and Virtues which Chriſt as Man hath above Men, they make him Really and Habitually a Man more excellent than we are, they take not from him the Nature and Subſtance that we have, they cauſe not his Soul nor Body to be of another kind, than ours is. Supernatural endowments are an advancement, they are no extinguiſhment of that Nature whereto they are given. The ſubſtance of the Body of Chriſt hath no Preſence, neither can have, but only Local. It was not therefore every where ſeen, nor did it every where ſuffer death, every where it could not be intombed, it is not

(a) Pſal. 139. 7. 8. Jer. 23. 24.

Ideo Deus ubique eſſe dicitur, quia nulli parti rerum abſens eſt; ideo totus, quia non parti rerum partem ſui præſentem præbet, & alteri parti alteram partem, ſed non ſolum Univerſitati Creaturæ, verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter adeſt. Aug. Epiſt. 57.

Quod ad verbum attinet, Creator eſt; quod ad hominem, creatura eſt, Aug. Epiſt. 57. *Deus qui ſemper eſt, & ſemper erat, fit creatura*, Leo. de Nativ. *Multi timore trepidant ne Chriſtum eſſe Creaturam dicere compellantur; nos proclamamus non eſſe periculum dicere, Chriſtum eſſe Creaturam.* Hier. in Epiſt. ad Eph. 2.

every where now being exalted into Heaven. There is no proof in the World ſtrong to inforce that Chriſt had a true Body, but by the true and natural Properties of his Body. Amongſt which Properties Definite or Local Preſence is chief, *How is it true of Chriſt* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *that he died, was buried, and roſe again, if Chriſt had not that very fleſh, the nature whereof is capable of theſe things, fleſh mingled with blood, ſupported with bones, woven with ſinews, embroidered with veins?* If his Majeſtical Body have now any ſuch new property, by force whereof it may every where really, even *in Subſtance*, preſent it-ſelf, or may at once be in many places; then hath the Majeſty of his eſtate extinguiſhed the verity of his Nature. *Make thou no doubt or queſtion of it* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *but that the Man Chriſt Jeſus is now in that very place, from whence he ſhall come in the ſame Form and Subſtance of Fleſh which he carried thither, and from which he hath not taken Nature, but given thereunto Immortality. According to this Form he ſpreadeth not out himſelf into all places: For it behoveth us to take great heed, leſt while we go about to maintain the glorious Deity of him which is Man, we leave him not the true Bodily Subſtance of a Man.* According to St. *Auguſtine*'s opinion therefore, that Majeſtical Body which we make to be every where preſent, doth thereby ceaſe to have the Subſtance of a true Body. To conclude, we hold it in regard of the fore-alledged proofs a moſt infallible truth, that Chriſt as Man is not every where preſent. There are which think it as infallibly true, that Chriſt is every where preſent as Man, which peradventure in ſome ſenſe may be well enough granted. His Human Subſtance in it ſelf is naturally abſent from the Earth; his Soul and Body not on Earth, but in Heaven only: Yet becauſe this Subſtance is inſeparably joyned to that Perſonal Word, which by his very Divine Eſſence is preſent with all things; the Nature which cannot have in it-ſelf Univerſal Preſence, hath it *after a ſort*, by being *no where ſevered* from that which every where is preſent. For in as much as that Infinite Word is not diviſible into parts, it could not in part, but muſt needs be wholly incarnate, and conſequently whereſoever the Word is, it hath with it Manhood, elſe ſhould the Word be in part, or ſomewhere God only, and not Man, which is impoſſible. For the *Perſon of Chriſt is whole*, perfect God, and perfect Man, whereſoever; although the parts of his Manhood being Finite, and his Deity Infinite, we cannot ſay, that the *whole of Chriſt* is ſimply every where, as we may ſay, that his Deity is, and that his Perſon is by Force of Deity. For, *ſomewhat of the Perſon of Chriſt* is not every where in that ſort, namely, his Manhood the *only Conjunction* whereof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the *actual poſition* reſtrained and tied to a certain place; yet preſence *by way of Conjunction* is in ſome ſort preſence. Again, as the Manhood of Chriſt may after a ſort be every where ſaid to be preſent, becauſe that Perſon is every where preſent, from whoſe Divine Subſtance Manhood is no where ſevered: So the ſame Univerſality of Preſence may likewiſe ſeem in another reſpect appliable thereunto, namely, by *Co-operation* with Deity, and that *in all things*. The light created of God in the Beginning did firſt by it-ſelf illuminate the World; but after that the Sun and Moon were created, the World ſithence hath *by them* always enjoyed the ſame. And that Deity of Chriſt, which before our Lord's Incarnation wrought all things without Man, doth now work nothing, wherein the Nature which it hath aſſumed is either abſent from it, or idle. Chriſt as Man hath (*a*) all Power both in Heaven and Earth given him. He hath as Man, not as God only, (*b*) Supream Dominion over quick and dead; for ſo much his Aſcenſion into Heaven and his Seſſion at the right Hand of God do import. The Son of God, which did firſt humble himſelf by taking our fleſh upon him, deſcended afterwards much lower, and became according to the Fleſh obedient, ſo far as to ſuffer Death, even the Death of the Croſs, for all Men, becauſe ſuch was his Father's Will. The former was an Humiliation of Deity, the later an Humiliation of Manhood; (*c*) for which cauſe there followed upon the later an Exaltation of that which was humbled: For with Power he created the World, but reſtored it by obedience. In which obedience, as according to his Manhood he had glorified God on Earth, ſo God hath glorified in Heaven that Nature which yielded him obedience, and hath given unto Chriſt, even in that he is Man, ſuch Fulneſs of Power over the whole World, that he which before fulfilled, in the ſtate of Humility and Patience, whatſoever God did require, doth now (*d*) reign in Glory, till the time that all things be reſtored. He which came down from Heaven, and deſcended into the loweſt parts of the Earth, is aſcended far above all Heavens; that ſitting at the right Hand of God he might from thence fill all things with the gracious and happy fruits of his ſaving Preſence. Aſcenſion into Heaven is a plain local tranſlation of Chriſt, according to his Manhood, from the lower to the higher parts of the World. Seſſion at the right Hand of God is the actual exerciſe of that Regency and Dominion, wherein the Manhood of Chriſt is joyned, and matched with the Deity of the Son of God; not that his Manhood was before without the Poſſeſſion of the ſame Power, but becauſe the full uſe thereof was ſuſpended, till that Humility, which had been before as a vail to hide and conceal Majeſty, were laid aſide. After his riſing again from the dead, then did God ſet him at his right Hand in Heavenly Places far above all Principality and Power, and Might, and Domination, and every Name that is named, not in this World only, but alſo in that which is to come; and hath (*e*) put all things under his Feet, and hath appointed him over all the Head to the Church, which is his Body, the fulneſs of him that filleth all in all. The (*f*) Scepter of which Spiritual Regiment over us in this preſent World is at the length to be

yielded

Tertul. de Car. Chr.

Aug. Epiſt. 57.

(*a*) Math. 28.

(*b*) Rom. 14. 9.

(*c*) Phil. 2. 9. Heb. 2. 9. Revel. 5. 12.

(*d*) Luke 21. 27. Acts 3. 21. Epheſ. 4. 9.

Epheſ. 1. 20.

(*e*) Pſal 8. 6. Heb. 2. 8.

(*f*) 1 Cor. 15.

yielded up into the hands of the Father which gave it; that is to ſay, the uſe and exerciſe thereof ſhall ceaſe, there being no longer on Earth any Militant Church to govern. This Government therefore he exerciſeth both as God and as Man; as God, by Eſſential Preſence with all things; as Man, by Co-operation with that which eſſentially is preſent. Touching the manner how he worketh as Man in all things; the Principal Powers of the Soul of Man are the Will and the Underſtanding, the one of which two in Chriſt aſſenteth unto all things, and from the other nothing which Deity doth work, is hid; ſo that by knowledge and aſſent the Soul of Chriſt is preſent with all things, which the Deity of Chriſt worketh. And even the Body of Chriſt it-ſelf, although the definite limitation thereof be moſt ſenſible, doth notwithſtanding admit in ſome ſort a kind of infinite and unlimited Preſence likewiſe. For his Body being a part of that Nature, which whole Nature is preſently joyned unto Deity, whereſoever Deity is, it followeth, that his Bodily Subſtance hath every where a Preſence of true Conjunction with Deity. And for as much as it is by virtue of that Conjunction made the Body of the Son of God, by whom alſo it was made a Sacrifice for the ſins of the whole World, this giveth it a *preſence of force and efficacy* throughout all Generations of Men. Albeit therefore nothing be *actually* infinite *in ſubſtance*, but God only in that he is God; nevertheleſs, as every number is infinite by poſſibility of addition, and every line by poſſibility of extenſion infinite; ſo there is no ſtint which can be ſet to the value or merit of the Sacrificed Body of Chriſt, it hath no meaſured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is alſo it-ſelf infinite in *poſſibility of Application.* Which things indifferently every way conſidered, that gracious promiſe of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt concerning preſence with his to the very end of the World, I ſee no cauſe but that we may well and ſafely interpret he doth perform, both as God, by eſſential preſence of Deity, and as Man, in that order, ſenſe and meaning, which hath been ſhewed.

The Union or Mutual Participation, which is between Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt, in this preſent World.

56. We have hitherto ſpoken of the perſon and of the preſence of Chriſt. Participation is that mutual inward hold which Chriſt hath of us, and we of him, in ſuch ſort that each poſſeſſeth other by way of ſpecial intereſt, property, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof, we may, from that which hath been before ſufficiently proved, aſſume to our purpoſe theſe two Principles, that *every original cauſe imparteth it-ſelf unto thoſe things which come of it*; and *whatſoever taketh Being from any other, the ſame is after a ſort in that which giveth it Being.* It followeth hereupon, that the Son of God being Light of Light, muſt needs be alſo Light (*a*) in Light. The Perſons of the Godhead, by reaſon of the Unity of their ſubſtance, do as neceſſarily remain one within another, as they are of neceſſity to be diſtinguiſhed one from another, becauſe two are the iſſue of one, and one the Off-ſpring of the other two; only of three, one not growing out of any other. And ſith they all are but one God in number, one indiviſible Eſſence or Subſtance, their diſtinction cannot poſſibly admit Separation. For how ſhould that ſubſiſt *ſolitarily* by it-ſelf, which hath no ſubſtance but *individually* the very ſame, whereby others ſubſiſt with it; ſeeing that the Multiplication of Subſtances *in particular* is neceſſarily required to make thoſe things ſubſiſt apart, which have the ſelf-ſame General Nature, and the Perſons of that Trinity are not three particular Subſtances, to whom one *General* Nature is common, but three that ſubſiſt by one ſubſtance, *which it-ſelf is Particular*; yet they all three have it, and their ſeveral ways of having it are that which maketh their Perſonal diſtinction? The Father therefore is in the Son, and the Son in him; they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Fathers firſt Off-ſpring which is the Son, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally alſo in the Son, no way ſevered or divided, by reaſon of the ſole and ſingle Unity of their Subſtance. The Son in the Father, as Light in that Light out of which it floweth without ſeparation; the Father in the Son, as Light in that Light which it cauſeth, and leaveth not. And becauſe in this reſpect his eternal Being is of the Father, which eternal Being is his Life, therefore he by the Father liveth. Again, ſith all things do accordingly love their Off-ſpring, as themſelves are more or leſs contained in it, he which is thus the only-begotten, muſt needs be in this degree the only-beloved of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father, by eternal Derivation of Being and Life from him, muſt needs be in him through an eternal Affection of love. His Incarnation cauſeth him alſo as Man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that he is Man, he receiveth Life from the Father, as from the Fountain of that Ever-living Deity, which in the Perſon of the Word hath combined it-ſelf with Manhood, and doth thereunto impart ſuch, as to no other Creature beſides him is communicated. In which conſideration likewiſe, the (*b*) love of the Father towards him is more than it can be towards any other; neither can any attain unto that perfection of love, which he beareth towards his Heavenly Father. Wherefore God is not ſo in any, nor any ſo in God, as Chriſt; whether we conſider him as the Perſonal Word of God, or as the Natural Son of Man. All other things that are of God have God in them, and he them in himſelf likewiſe. Yet becauſe their Subſtance and his wholly differeth, their coherence and communion, either with him or amongſt themſelves, is in no ſort like unto that before mentioned. God hath his influence into the very Eſſence of all things, without which influence of Deity ſupporting them, their utter annihilation could not chooſe but follow. Of him all things have both received their firſt Being, and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his Off-ſpring, his influence is

(*a*) In the boſome of the Father, Joh. 1. 18. *Ecce dico alium eſſe Patrem, & alium Filium; non diviſione alium, ſed diſtinctione.* Tertul. contra Prax. *Nec in numerum pluralem defluit incorporea generatio, nec in diviſionem cadit, ubi qui naſcitur nequaquam à generante ſeparatur.* Rufin. in Symbol.

(*b*) Luke 3. 22. Joh. 3. 34, 35. & 5. 20. & 10. 17. & 14. 31. & 15. 10.

in them, and the Perſonal Wiſdom of God is, for that very cauſe, ſaid to excel in nimbleneſs or agility, to (*a*) pierce into all intellectual, pure and ſubtile ſpirits, to go through all, and to reach unto every thing which is. Otherwiſe, how ſhould the ſame Wiſdom be that which ſupporteth, (*b*) beareth up, and ſuſtaineth all? Whatſoever God doth work, the hands of all three Perſons are joyntly and equally in it, according to *the order of that connexion*, whereby they each depend upon other. And therefore albeit in that reſpect the Father be firſt, the Son next, the Spirit laſt, and conſequently neareſt unto every effect which groweth from all three; nevertheleſs, they all being of one Eſſence, are likewiſe all of one Efficacy. Dare any Man, unleſs he be ignorant altogether how inſeparable the Perſons of the Trinity are, perſwade himſelf that every of them may have their ſole and ſeveral Poſſeſſions, or that (*c*) we being not partakers of all, can have fellowſhip with any one? The Father as Goodneſs, the Son as Wiſdom, the Holy Ghoſt as Power, do all concur in every particular, outwardly iſſuing from that one only glorious Deity which they all are. For that which moveth God to work, is Goodneſs; and that which ordereth his Work, is Wiſdom; and that which perfecteth his Work, is Power. All things which God in their times and ſeaſons hath brought forth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a work unbegun is in the Artificer, which afterward bringeth it unto effect. Therefore whatſoever we do behold now in this preſent World, it was inwrapped within the Bowels of Divine Mercy, written in the Book of Eternal Wiſdom, and held in the hands of Omnipotent Power. the firſt Foundations of the World being as yet unlaid. So that all things which God hath made, are in that reſpect the (*d*) Off-ſpring of God, they are *in him* as effects in their higheſt cauſe; he likewiſe actually is *in them*, the aſſiſtance and influence of his Deity is *their life*. Let hereunto *ſaving efficacy* be added, and it bringeth forth a ſpecial Off-ſpring amongſt Men, containing them to whom God hath himſelf given the gracious and amiable name of (*e*) Sons. We are by Nature the Sons of *Adam*. When God created *Adam*, he created us; and as many as are deſcended from *Adam*, have in themſelves the Root, out of which they ſpring. The Sons of God we neither are all, nor any one of us, otherwiſe than only by grace and favour. The Sons of God have God's own Natural Son, as a *ſecond *Adam* from Heaven, whoſe Race and Progeny they are by Spiritual and Heavenly Birth. God therefore loving eternally his Son, he muſt needs eternally (*f*) in him have loved and preferred before all others, them which are ſpiritually ſithence deſcended and ſprung out of him. Theſe were in God as in their Saviour, and not as in their Creator only. It was the purpoſe of his *ſaving* Goodneſs, his *ſaving* Wiſdom, and his *ſaving* Power, which inclined it-ſelf towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admiſſion to life, have, by vocation or adoption, God actually now in them, as the Artificer is in the Work, which his hand doth preſently frame. Life, as all other gifts and benefits, groweth originally from the Father, and cometh not to us but (*g*) by the Son; nor by the Son to any of us in particular, but (*h*) through the Spirit. For this cauſe the Apoſtle wiſheth to the Church of *Corinth*, (*i*) the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Love of God, and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt. Which three St. *Peter* comprehendeth in one, †*The participation of Divine Nature*. We are therefore in God through Chriſt eternally, according to that intent and purpoſe, whereby we are choſen to be made his in this preſent World, before the World it-ſelf was made: We are in God, through the knowledge which is had of us, and the love which is borne towards us from everlaſting. But in God we actually are, no longer than only from the time of our actual Adoption into the Body of his true Church, into the Fellowſhip of his Children. For his Church he knoweth and loveth; ſo that they which are in the Church, are thereby known to be in him. Our being in Chriſt by Eternal fore-knowledge ſaveth us not, without our Actual and Real Adoption into the Fellowſhip of his Saints in this preſent World. For in him we actually are, by our actual (*k*) incorporation into that Society which hath him for their Head; and doth make together with him one Body, (he and they in that reſpect having (*l*) one name) for which cauſe by virtue of this Myſtical Conjunction, we are of him, and in him, even (*m*) as though our very fleſh and bones ſhould be made continuate with his. We are in Chriſt, becauſe he (*n*) knoweth and loveth us, even as parts of himſelf. No Man actually is in him, but they (*o*) in whom he actually is. For he which hath not the Son of God, hath not Life: (*p*) *I am the Vine, and ye are the Branches: He which abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much Fruit*; but the Branch ſevered from the Vine, withereth. We are therefore adopted Sons of God to Eternal Life, by Participation of the only-begotten Son of God, whoſe Life is the (*q*) Well-ſpring and cauſe of ours. It is too cold an interpretation, whereby ſome Men expound our being in Chriſt to import nothing elſe, but only that the ſelf-ſame Nature which maketh us to be Men, is in him, and maketh him Man as we are. For what Man in the World is there, which hath not ſo far forth communion with Jeſus Chriſt? It is not this that can ſuſtain the weight of ſuch ſentences as ſpeak of the Myſtery of our (*r*) Coherence with Jeſus Chriſt. The Church is in Chriſt, as *Eve* was in *Adam*. Yea, by Grace we are every of us in Chriſt, and in his Church, as by Nature we were in thoſe our firſt Parents. God made *Eve* of the Rib of *Adam*: And his Church he frameth out of the very Fleſh, the very wounded and bleeding ſide of the Son of Man. His Body crucified and his Blood ſhed for the Life of the World, are the true Elements of that Heavenly Being, which maketh us (*ſ*) ſuch as himſelf is of whom we come. For which cauſe the words of *Adam* may be fitly the

(*a*) Wiſd. 7. 23.
(*b*) Heb. 1. 3.
(*c*) John 14. 23.
(*d*) Acts. 17. 28, 29. John 1. 4. & 1. 10. Iſai. 40. 26
(*e*) 1 John 3. 1.
*1 Cor. 15. 47.
(*f*) Epheſ. 1. 3, 4.
(*g*) 1 John 5. 11.
(*h*) Rom. 8. 10.
(*i*) 2 Cor. 13. 13.
†2 Pet. 1. 4.
(*k*) Col. 2. 10.
(*l*) 1 Cor. 12. 12.
(*m*) Epheſ. 5. 30.
(*n*) John 15. 9.
(*o*) 1 John 5. 12.
(*p*) John 15. 5, 6.
(*q*) John 14. 19. Epheſ. 5. 23.
(*r*) John 14. 20. & 15. 4.
(*ſ*) 1 Cor. 15. 48.

the words of Chriſt concerning his Church, *Fleſh of my Fleſh, and Bone of my Bones*; a true native extract out of my own Body. So that in him, even according to his Manhood, we, according to our Heavenly Being, are as Branches in that Root out of which they grow. To (*a*) all things he is Life, and to Men Light, *as the Son of God*; to the Church both Life and Light (*b*) Eternal, by being made the Son of Man for us, and by being in us a Saviour, whether we reſpect him as God, or as Man. *Adam* is in us as an original cauſe of our Nature, and of that corruption of Nature which cauſeth death; Chriſt as the (*c*) cauſe original of Reſtoration to Life. The perſon of *Adam* is not in us, but his nature, and the corruption of his nature derived into all Men by Propagation; Chriſt having *Adam's* nature, as we have, but incorrupt, deriveth not nature but incorruption, and that immediately from his own Perſon, into all that belong unto him. As therefore we are really partakers of the body of Sin and Death received from *Adam*; ſo except we be truly partakers of Chriſt, and as really poſſeſſed of his Spirit, all we ſpeak of Eternal Life is but a dream. That which (*d*) quickneth us, is the Spirit of the Second *Adam*, and his Fleſh that wherewith he quickneth. That which in him made our Nature incorrupt, was the Union of his Deity with our Nature. And in that reſpect the ſentence of Death and Condemnation, which only taketh hold upon ſinful fleſh, could no way poſſibly extend unto him. This cauſed his voluntary death for others to prevail with God, and to have the force of an Expiatory Sacrifice. The Blood of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, doth therefore take away ſin, becauſe *through the Eternal Spirit he offered himſelf unto God without ſpot*. That which ſanctified our Nature in Chriſt, that which made it a Sacrifice available to take away ſin, is the ſame which quickneth it, raiſed it out of the Grave after Death, and exalted it unto Glory. Seeing therefore that Chriſt is in us as a quickning Spirit, the firſt degree of Communion with Chriſt muſt needs conſiſt in the Participation of his Spirit, which *Cyprian* in that reſpect well termeth *Germaniſſimam Societatem*, the higheſt and trueſt Soiety that can be between Man and him, which is both God and Man in one. Theſe things St. *Cyril* duly conſidering reproveth their ſpeeches which taught, that only the Deity of Chriſt is the Vine, whereupon we by Faith do depend as Branches, and that neither his Fleſh nor our Bodies are compriſed in this reſemblance. For doth any Man doubt, but that ven from the Fleſh of Chriſt our very Bodies do receive that Life, which ſhall make them glorious at the latter day, and for which they are already accounted parts of his Bleſſed Body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they ſhall live, were it not that here they are joyned with his Body, which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cauſe of mmortality, a cauſe, by removing through the Death and Merit of his own Fleſh that which hindered the life of ours. Chriſt is therefore, both as God and as Man, that true Vine whereof we both ſpiritually and corporally are Branches. The mixture of his Bodiy Subſtance with ours is a thing which the Ancint Fathers (*e*) diſclaim. Yet the mixture of his Fleſh with ours they (*f*) ſpeak of, to ſignifie what ur very bodies, through Myſtical Conjunction, eceive from that vital efficacy which we know to e in his; and from bodily mixtures they borrow ivers Similitudes, rather to declare the Truth, than he manner of (*g*) coherence between his ſacred, nd the ſanctified Bodies of Saints. Thus much o Chriſtian Man will deny, that when Chriſt nctified his own Fleſh, giving as God, and taking as Man, the Holy Ghoſt, he did not is for himſelf only, but for our ſakes, that the Grace of Sanctification and Life, which as firſt received in him, might paſs from him to his whole Race, as Malediction came from *dam* unto all Mankind. Howbeit, becauſe the Work of his Spirit to thoſe effects is in us revented by Sin and Death poſſeſſing us before, it is of neceſſity, that as well our prent Sanctification unto newneſs of life, as the future Reſtauration of our Bodies, ſhould reſuppoſe a participation of the Grace, Efficacy, Merit. or Virtue of his Body and Blood; ithout which Foundation firſt laid, there is no place for thoſe other operations of the Spit of Chriſt to enſue. So that Chriſt imparteth plainly himſelf by degrees. It pleaſeth m in Mercy to account himſelf incomplete and maimed (*h*) without us. But moſt aſured we are, that we all receive of his Fulneſs, becauſe he is in us as a moving and workg Cauſe; from which many bleſſed effects are really found to enſue, and that in ſundry oth kinds and degrees, all tending to eternal happineſs. It muſt be confeſt, that of Chriſt, orking as a Creator, and a Governor of the World by Providence, all are partakers; ot all partakers of that Grace, whereby he inhabiteth whom he ſaveth. Again, as he welleth not by Grace in all, ſo neither doth he equally work in all them in whom he dwelth. (*i*) *Whence is it* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *that ſome be holier than others are, but beuſe God doth dwell in ſome more plentifully than in others?* And becauſe the Divine Subance of Chriſt is equally in all, his Human Subſtance equally diſtant from all; it apeareth, that the participation of Chriſt, wherein there are many degrees and differences, uſt needs conſiſt in ſuch effects, as being derived from both Natures of Chriſt really into s, are made our own; and we by having them in us are truly ſaid to have him from hom they come, Chriſt alſo more or leſs to inhabit and impart himſelf, as the Graces e fewer or more, greater or ſmaller, which really flow into us from Chriſt. Chriſt is whole

(*a*) John 1.
(*b*) John 6. 57
(*c*) Heb. 5. 9.
(*d*) 1 Cor. 15. 45. 22.
Heb. 9. 14.
Cypr. de Cœna Dom. cap. 6.
Cyril in Joan. lib. 10. cap. 13.
(*h*) Eph. 1. 23. *Eccleſia complementum ejus qui implet omnia in omnibus.* Τὸ πλήρωμα τȣ͂ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρȣμένȣ.
(*i*) *Aug. Ep. 57.*

(*e*) *Noſtra quippe & ipſius conjunctio nec miſcet perſonas nec unit ſubſtantias, ſed affectus conſociat & confœderat voluntates.* Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. (*f*) *Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, & non percipere vitam, quæ à corpore Domini & ſanguine alitur?* Iren. lib. 4. Adverſ. Hæreſ. cap. 34 (*g*) *Unde conſiderandum eſt non ſolum* σχέσει *ſeu conformitate affectionum Chriſtum in nobis eſſe, verum etiam participatione naturali (id eſt, reali & vera:) quemadmodum ſi quis igne liquifactam ceram alii ceræ ſimiliter liquifactæ ita miſcuerit ut unum quid ex utriſque factum videatur; ſic Communicatione Corporis & Sanguinis Chriſti ipſe in nobis eſt, & nos in ipſo.* Cyril. in Johan. lib. 10. cap. 13.

whole with the whole Church, and whole with every part of the Church, as touching his Perſon, which can no way divide it-ſelf, or be poſſeſs'd by degrees and portions. But the Participation of Chriſt importeth, beſides the Preſence of Chriſt's Perſon, and beſides the Myſtical Copulation thereof with the Parts and Members of his whole Church, a true actual influence of Grace, whereby the (*a*) life which we live according to godlineſs is his; and from him we receive thoſe perfections, wherein our eternal happineſs conſiſteth. Thus we participate Chriſt, partly by imputation, as when thoſe things which (*b*) he did and ſuffered for us are imputed unto us for Righteouſneſs: Partly by habitual and real infuſion, as when Grace is inwardly beſtowed while we are on Earth, and afterwards more fully both our Souls and Bodies made like unto his in Glory. The firſt thing of his ſo infuſed into our hearts in this life, is the (*c*) Spirit of Chriſt; whereupon, becauſe the reſt, of what kind ſoever, do all both neceſſarily depend and infallibly alſo enſue; therefore the Apoſtles term it, ſometime the (*d*) Seed of God, ſometime the (*e*) Pledge of our Heavenly Inheritance, ſometime the (*f*) Hanſel or Earneſt of that which is to come. From hence it is, that they which belong to the Myſtical Body of our Saviour Chriſt, and be in number as the Stars of Heaven, divided ſucceſſively, by reaſon of their mortal condition, into many Generations, are notwithſtanding coupled (*g*) every one to Chriſt their Head, and (*h*) all unto every particular perſon amongſt themſelves, in as much as the ſame Spirit, which anointed the Bleſſed Soul of our Saviour Chriſt, doth ſo formalize, unite and actuate his whole Race, as if both he and they were ſo many Limbs compacted into one Body, by being quickned all with one and the ſame Soul. That wherein we are Partakers of Jeſus Chriſt by Imputation, agreeth equally unto all that have it. For it conſiſteth in ſuch Acts and Deeds of his, as could not have longer continuance, than while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong unto any other, but to him from whom they come; and therefore how Men, either then, or before, or ſithence, ſhould be made Partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but only by Imputation. Again, a Deed muſt either not be imputed to any, but reſt altogether in him, whoſe it is; or if at all it be imputed, they which have it by Imputation muſt have it ſuch as it is, whole. So that degrees being neither in the Perſonal Preſence of Chriſt, nor in the Participation of thoſe effects which are ours by Imputation only; it reſteth, that we wholly apply them to the Participation of Chriſt's infuſed Grace; although, even in this kind alſo, the firſt beginning of Life, the Seed of God, the Firſt-fruits of Chriſt's Spirit, be without latitude. For we have hereby only the being of the Sons of God, in which number how far ſoever one may ſeem to excel another, yet touching this that all are Sons, they are all equals, ſome happily better Sons than the reſt are, but none any more a Son than another. Thus therefore we ſee, how the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; how they both are in all things, and all things in them; what Communion Chriſt hath with his Church, how his Church and every Member thereof is in him by original derivation, and he perſonally in them by way of Myſtical Aſſociation wrought through the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, which they that are his receive from him, and together with the ſame, what benefit ſoever the vital force of his Body and Blood may yield; yea, by ſteps and degrees they receive the compleat meaſure of all ſuch Divine Grace as doth ſanctifie and ſave throughout, till the day of their Final Exaltation to a ſtate of Fellowſhip in glory with him, whoſe partakers they are now in thoſe things that tend to glory. As for any mixture of the Subſtance of his Fleſh with ours, the Participation which we have of Chriſt includeth no ſuch kind of groſs ſurmiſe.

(*a*) Gal. 2. 20.
(*b*) Iſai. 53. 5. Epheſ. 1. 7.
(*c*) Rom 8. 9. Gal. 4. 6.
(*d*) 1 John 3. 9.
(*e*) Epheſ. 1. 14.
(*f*) Rom. 8. 23.
(*g*) 1 Cor. 12. 27. Epheſ. 4. 15.
(*h*) Rom 12. 5. Epheſ. 4 25.

The neceſſity of Sacraments unto the Participation of Chriſt.

57. It greatly offendeth, that ſome, when they labour to ſhew the uſe of the holy Sacraments, aſſign unto them no end but only *to teach* the mind, by other ſenſes, that which the Word doth teach by Hearing. Whereupon, how eaſily neglect and careleſs regard of ſo Heavenly Myſteries may follow, we ſee in part by ſome experience had of thoſe Men, with whom that opinion is moſt ſtrong. For where the Word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more Expedition, and more full Explications, any thing we have to learn; if all the benefit we reap by Sacraments be inſtruction, they which at all times have opportunity of uſing the better mean to that purpoſe, will ſurely hold the worſe in leſs eſtimation. And unto Infants which are not capable of inſtruction, who would not think it a meer ſuperfluity, that any Sacrament is adminiſtred, if to adminiſter the Sacraments be but to teach receivers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore, undoubtedly, ſome other more excellent and heavenly uſe. Sacraments, by reaſon of their mixt Nature, are more diverſly interpreted and diſputed of, than any other part of Religion beſides; for that in ſo great ſtore of Properties belonging to the ſelf-ſame thing, as every Man's wit hath taken hold of ſome eſpecial conſideration above the reſt, ſo they have accordingly ſeemed one to croſs another, as touching their ſeveral opinions about the neceſſity of Sacraments; whereas in truth their diſagreement is not great. For, let reſpect be had to the duty which every Communicant doth undertake, and we may well determine concerning the uſe of Sacraments, that they ſerve as Bonds of Obedience to God, ſtrict Obligations to the mutual exerciſe of Chriſtian Charity, Provocations to Godlineſs, Preſervations from Sin, Memorials of the Principal benefits of Chriſt; reſpect the time of their Inſtitution, and it thereby appeareth, that God hath annexed them for ever unto the New-Teſtament, as other Rites were before with the Old; regard the weakneſs which is in us, and they are war-

rants for the more ſecurity of our belief: Compare the receivers of them with ſuch as receive them not, and Sacraments are marks of diſtinction to ſeparate God's own from ſtrangers, ſo that in all theſe reſpects they are found to be moſt neceſſary. But their chiefeſt force and virtue conſiſteth not herein ſo much, as in that they are Heavenly Ceremonies, which God hath ſanctified and ordained to be adminiſtred in his Church: Firſt, as Marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or ſaving Grace of Chriſt unto all that are capable thereof; and ſecondly, as Means conditional, which God requireth in them, unto whom he imparteth Grace. For, ſith God in himſelf is inviſible, and cannot by us be diſcerned working; therefore when it ſeemeth good in the eyes of his Heavenly Wiſdom, that Men for ſome ſpecial intent and purpoſe ſhould take notice of his glorious Preſence, he giveth them ſome plain and ſenſible token whereby to know what they cannot ſee. For *Moſes* to ſee God and live was impoſſible, yet *Moſes* by fire knew where the glory of God extraordinarily was preſent. The Angel, by whom God endued the Waters of the Pool, called *Betheſda*, with Supernatural Virtue to Heal, was not ſeen of any; yet the time of the Angels preſence known by the troubled motions of the Waters themſelves. The Apoſtles by Fiery Tongues which they ſaw, were admoniſhed when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was upon them: In like manner it is with us. Chriſt and his holy Spirit with all their bleſſed Effects, though entring into the Soul of Man, we are not able to apprehend or expreſs how, do notwithſtanding give notice of the times when they uſe to make their acceſs, becauſe it pleaſeth Almighty God to communicate by ſenſible means thoſe Bleſſings which are incomprehenſible. Seeing therefore, that Grace is a conſequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which they have received from God himſelf, the Author of Sacraments, and not from any other Natural or Supernatural Quality in them; it may be hereby both underſtood, That Sacraments are neceſſary, and that the manner of their neceſſity to Life Supernatural, is not in all reſpects as food unto Natural Life, becauſe they contain *in themſelves* no vital force or efficacy; they are not Phyſical, but *Moral Inſtruments* of Salvation; duties of Service and Worſhip, which unleſs we perform as the Author of Grace requireth, they are unprofitable. For all receive not the Grace of God, which receive the Sacraments of his Grace. Neither is it *ordinarily* his Will to beſtow the Grace of Sacraments on any, but by the Sacraments; which Grace alſo they that receive by Sacraments or with Sacraments, receive it from him, and not from them. For of Sacraments the very ſame is true which *Solomons* Wiſdom obſerveth in the Brazen Serpent, (a) *He that turned towards it, was not healed by the thing he ſaw, but by thee, O Saviour of all.* This is therefore the neceſſity of Sacraments. That ſaving Grace which Chriſt originally is, or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by Sacraments he ſeverally deriveth into every member thereof. Sacraments ſerve as the Inſtruments of God to that end and purpoſe, Moral Inſtruments, the uſe whereof is in our own hands, the effect in his; for the uſe, we have his expreſs Commandment; for the effect, his Conditional Promiſe: So that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparent aſſurance; as contrariwiſe, where the Signs and Sacraments of his Grace are not either through contempt unreceived, or received with contempt, we are not to doubt, but that they really give what they promiſe, and are what they ſignifie. For we take not Baptiſm, nor the Euchariſt, for bare *reſemblances* or memorials of things abſent, neither for *naked ſigns* and teſtimonies aſſuring us of Grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the Sacraments, delivereth into our hands that Grace available unto Eternal Life, which Grace the Sacraments (b) repreſent or ſignifie. There have grown in the Doctrine concerning Sacraments many difficulties for want of diſtinct Explication, what kind or degree of Grace doth belong unto each Sacrament. For by this it hath come to paſs, that the true immediate cauſe why Baptiſm, and why the Supper of our Lord is neceſſary, few do rightly and diſtinctly conſider. It cannot be denied, but ſundry the ſame effects and benefits which grow unto Men by the one Sacrament, may rightly be attributed unto the other. Yet then doth Baptiſm challenge to it-ſelf but the inchoation of thoſe Graces, the conſummation whereof dependeth on Myſteries enſuing. We receive Chriſt Jeſus in Baptiſm once, as the firſt beginner; in the Euchariſt often, as being by continual degrees the finiſher of our Life. By Baptiſm therefore we receive Chriſt Jeſus, and from him that ſaving Grace which is proper unto Baptiſm. By the other Sacrament we receive him alſo, imparting therein himſelf, and that Grace which the Euchariſt properly beſtoweth. So that each Sacrament having both that which is general or common, and that alſo which is peculiar unto it-ſelf, we may hereby gather, that the Participation of Chriſt, which properly belongeth to any one Sacrament, is not otherwiſe to be obtained, but by the Sacrament whereunto it is proper.

Exod. 3. 2.

John 5. 4.

Acts 2. 3.

(a) Wiſd. 16. 17.

Spiritus Sancti munus eſt gratiam implere myſterii. Ambr. in Luc. cap. 3.

Sanctificant Elementis effectum non propria ipſarum natura præbet, ſed virtus divina potentius operatur. Cypr. de Chriſm.

58. Now even as the Soul doth Organize the Body, and give unto every Member thereof that ſubſtance, quantity and ſhape which Nature ſeeth moſt expedient; ſo the inward Grace of Sacraments may teach what ſerveth beſt for their outward form; a thing in no part of Chriſtian Religion, much leſs here, to be neglected. Grace intended by Sacraments, was a cauſe of the choice, and is a reaſon of the fitneſs of the Elements themſelves. Furthermore, ſeeing that the Grace which here we receive, doth no way depend upon the Natural force of that which we preſently behold, it was of neceſſity, That words of expreſs Declaration taken from

The Subſtance of Baptiſm, the Rites or Solemnities thereunto belonging; and that the Subſtance thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſm may give place to neceſſity.

(b) *Dum homini bonum inviſibile redditur, foris ei ejuſdem ſignificatio per ſpecies viſibiles adhibetur: ut foris excitetur & intus reparet. In ipſa vaſis ſpecie virtus exprimitur medicinæ.* Hugo de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 3. *Si ergo vaſa ſunt ſpiritualis gratiæ ſacramenta, non ex ſuo ſanant, quia vaſa ægrotum non curant, ſed medicina.* Idem, lib. 1. cap. 4.

the very mouth of our Lord himſelf ſhould be added unto viſible Elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do moſt aſſuredly bring to paſs. In writing and ſpeaking of the Bleſſed Sacrament, we (*a*) uſe for the moſt part under the name of their *Subſtance*, not only to compriſe that, whereof they outwardly and ſenſibly conſiſt, but alſo the ſecret Grace which they ſignifie and exhibit. This is the reaſon wherefore commonly in (*b*) definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or ſtricter to abridge the number of Sacraments, we find Grace expreſly mentioned as their true Eſſential Form, Elements as the matter whereunto that Form doth adjoyn it-ſelf. But if that be ſeparated, which is ſecret, and that conſidered alone, which is ſeen, as of neceſſity it muſt in all thoſe ſpeeches that make diſtinction of Sacraments from Sacramental Grace; the name of a Sacrament, in ſuch ſpeeches, can imply no more than what the *outward ſubſtance* thereof doth comprehend. And to make compleat the outward ſubſtance of a Sacrament, there is required an outward Form, which Form Sacramental Elements receive from Sacramental words. Hereupon it groweth, that (*c*) many times there are three things ſaid to make up the Subſtance of a Sacrament; namely, the Grace which is thereby offered, the Element which ſhadoweth or ſignifieth Grace, and the Word which expreſſeth what is done by the Element. So that whether we conſider the outward by it-ſelf alone, or both the outward and inward ſubſtance of any Sacraments, there are in the one reſpect but two eſſential parts, and in the other but three that concur to give Sacraments their full being. Furthermore, becauſe definitions are to expreſs but the moſt immediate and neareſt parts of Nature, whereas other principles farther off, although not ſpecified in defining, are notwithſtanding in Nature implied and preſuppoſed, we muſt note, that in as much as Sacraments are actions religious and myſtical, which Nature they have not unleſs they proceed from a ſerious meaning; and what every Mans private mind is, as we cannot know, ſo neither are we bound to examine: Therefore always in theſe caſes the known intent of the Church generally doth ſuffice, and where the contrary is not (*d*) manifeſt, we may preſume, that he which outwardly doth the work hath inwardly the purpoſe of the Church of God. Concerning all other Orders, Rites, Prayers, Leſſons, Sermons, Actions, and their Circumſtances whatſoever, they are to the outward Subſtance of Baptiſm but things acceſſory, which the wiſdom of the Church of Chriſt is to order according to the exigence of that which is principal. Again, conſidering that ſuch Ordinances have been made to adorn the Sacrament, (*e*) not the Sacrament to depend upon them; ſeeing alſo, that they are not of the Subſtance of Baptiſm, and that Baptiſm is far more neceſſary than any ſuch incident rite or ſolemnity ordained for the better adminiſtration thereof; (*f*) if the caſe be ſuch as permitteth not Baptiſm to have decent Complements of Baptiſm, better it were to enjoy the Body without his Furniture, than to wait for this, till the opportunity of that for which we deſire it be loſt. Which Premiſes ſtanding, it ſeemeth to have been no abſurd Collection, that in caſes of neceſſity, which will not ſuffer delay till Baptiſm be adminiſtred with uſual ſolemnities, (to ſpeak the leaſt) it may be tolerably given without them, rather than any Man without it ſhould be ſuffered to depart this life.

59. They which deny that any ſuch caſe of neceſſity can fall, in regard whereof the Church ſhould tolerate Baptiſm, without the decent Rites and Solemnities thereunto belonging, pretend that ſuch Tolerations have riſen from a falſe interpretation which *certain Men* have made of the Scripture, grounding a neceſſity of External Baptiſm upon the words of our Saviour Chriſt: *Unleſs a Man be born again of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* For by *Water and the Spirit*, we are in that place to underſtand (as they imagine) no more than if the Spirit alone had been mentioned, and Water not ſpoken of. Which they think is plain, becauſe elſewhere it is not improbable, that *the Holy Ghoſt and Fire* do but ſignifie the Holy Ghoſt in operation reſembling Fire. Whereupon they conclude, That ſeeing Fire in one place may be, therefore Water in another place is, but a Metaphor, Spirit, the interpretation thereof; and ſo the words do only mean, *That unleſs a Man be born again of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* I hold it for a moſt infallible rule in Expoſitions of Sacred Scripture, that where a literal conſtruction will ſtand, the fartheſt from the Letter is commonly the worſt. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding Art, which changeth the meaning of words, as Alchymie doth or would do the ſubſtance of Metals, maketh of any thing what it liſteth, and bringeth in the end all Truth to nothing. Or howſoever ſuch voluntary exerciſe of wit might be borne with otherwiſe; yet in places which uſually ſerve, as this doth, concerning Regeneration by Water and the Holy Ghoſt, to be alledged for Grounds and Principles, leſs is permitted. To hide the general conſent of Antiquity,

(*a*) *Euchariſtia duabus ex rebus conſtat, terrena & cœleſti.* Iren. Adverſ. Hæreſ. lib 4. cap. 34 *Arcanarum rerum ſymbola non nudis ſignis, ſed ſignis ſimul & rebus conſtant.* Helvet. Confeſ. Prior Art. 2. (*b*) *Sacramentum eſt, cum res geſta viſibilis longè aliud inviſibile intus operatur.* Iſid. Etym. lib. 1. *Sacramentum eſt per quod ſub tegumento rerum viſibilium divina virtus ſalutem ſecretiùs operatur.* Greg Mag. *Sacramentum eſt ſignum ſignificans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum.* Occa. Sent. lib. 4. d. 1. *Sacramentum propriè non eſt ſignum cujuſlibet rei ſacræ, ſed tantùm rei ſacræ ſanctificantis homines.* Tho 12. q. 101 4. & q. 102. 5. *Sacramentum eſt ſignum Paſſionis Chriſti, gratiæ & gloriæ. Ideo eſt commemoratio præteriti, demonſtratio præſentis, & prognoſticon futuri* Tho. 3. q. 60. 3. *Sacramenta ſunt ſigna & ſymbola viſibilia rerum internarum & inviſibilium, per quæ, ſeu per media, Deus virtute Spiritus ſancti in nobis agit.* Conf. Belg. Art. 33 *Item.* Bohem. Conf. cap. 11.

(*c*) *Sacramenta conſtant verbo, ſignis, & rebus ſignificatis* Confeſs. Helvet. Poſt. c 19.

(*d*) *Si aliquid Miniſtri agere intendant, puta ſacris illudere myſteriis, vel aliud quod Eccleſiæ non conſentiat, nihil agitur; ſine fide enim ſpiritualis poteſtas exerceri quidem poteſt, ſine Eccleſiæ intentione non poteſt.* Lancel. Inſt. Jur. Can. lib. 2. Tit. 2. 5. Hoc tamen.

(*e*) *Acceſſorium non regulat Principale ſed ab eo regulatur.* 42. De Regul. Jur. in Sext. lib 3. ff. quod juſſu.

(*f*) *Etſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolennibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poſcit, ſubveniendum eſt.* Lib. 183. de Reg. Jur.

The Grounds in Scripture, whereupon a neceſſity of outward Baptiſm hath been built.

T. C. l. 1. p. 143. Private Baptiſm firſt roſe upon a falſe interpretation of the place of Saint *John* chap. 3. 5. *Unleſs a Man be born again of Water, and of the Spirit,* &c. where certain do interpret the word *Water* for the Material and Elemental Water, when as our Saviour Chriſt taketh Water there by a borrowed ſpeech, for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it ſhadoweth out. For even as in another place, *Matth.* 3. 11. By *Fire and the Spirit*, he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the Fire doth: So in this place, by Water and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing elſe but the Spirit of God which cleanſeth the filth of Sin, and cooleth the boiling heat of an unquiet Conſcience; as Water waſheth the thing which is foul, and quencheth the heat of the Fire.

agreeing in the literal interpretation, they cunningly affirm, That *certain* have taken thoſe words as meant of Material Water, when they know, that of all the Ancients there is not one to be named, that ever did otherwiſe, either expound or alledge the place, than as implying External Baptiſm. Shall that which hath always (*a*) received this, and no other conſtruction, be now diſguiſed with a toy of Novelty? Muſt we needs at the only ſhew of a critical conceit, without any more deliberation, utterly condemn them of Error, which will not admit that Fire in the words of *John*, is quenched with the Name of the Holy Ghoſt; or, with the name of the Spirit, Water dried up in the words of Chriſt? When the Letter of the Law hath two things plainly and expreſly ſpecified, Water and the Spirit; Water as a duty required on our parts, the Spirit as a Gift which God beſtoweth: There is danger in preſuming ſo to interpret it, as if the clauſe which concerneth our ſelves were more than needeth. We may by ſuch rare Expoſitions attain perhaps in the end to be thought witty, but with ill advice. Finally, if at (*b*) the time, when that Baptiſm which was meant by *John*, came to be really and truly performed by Chriſt himſelf, we find the Apoſtles, that had been, as we are, before Baptized, new Baptized with the Holy Ghoſt; and in this their later Baptiſm as well a (*c*) viſible deſcent of Fire, as a ſecret miraculous infuſion of the Spirit; if on us he accompliſh likewiſe the Heavenly work of our New birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with Water thereunto adjoyned; ſith the faithfulleſt Expounders of his words are his own Deeds, let that which his hand hath manifeſtly wrought, declare what his ſpeech did doubtfully utter.

(*a*) *Minimè ſunt mutanda, quæ interpretationem certam ſemper habuerunt.* D. lib. 1. tit. 2. lib. 23.

(*b*) Acts 1. 3. *John Baptized with Water, but you ſhall within few days be Baptized with the Holy Ghoſt.*

(*c*) Acts 2 3.

60. To this they add, That as we err by following a wrong conſtruction of the place before alledged; ſo our ſecond over-ſight is, that we thereupon infer a neceſſity over-rigorous and extream. The true neceſſity of Baptiſm, a few Propoſitions conſidered will ſoon decide. All things which either are known (*d*) *Cauſes* or ſet *Means*, whereby any great Good is uſually procured, or Men delivered from grievous evil, the ſame we muſt needs confeſs neceſſary. And if *Regeneration* were not in this very ſenſe a thing neceſſary to Eternal life, would Chriſt himſelf have taught *Nicodemus*, that to ſee the Kingdom of God is (*e*) impoſſible, ſaving only for thoſe Men which are born from above? His words following in the next Sentence are a proof ſufficient, that to our Regeneration *his Spirit* is no leſs (*f*) neceſſary, than Regeneration it-ſelf neceſſary unto Life. Thirdly, Unleſs as the Spirit is a neceſſary inward cauſe, ſo *Water* were a neceſſary outward mean to our Regeneration, what conſtruction ſhould we give unto thoſe words wherein we are ſaid to be new born, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, even of *Water*? Why are we taught, that (*g*) with Water God doth purifie and cleanſe his Church? Wherefore do the Apoſtles of Chriſt term Baptiſm (*h*) a Bath of Regeneration? What purpoſe had they in giving Men advice to receive outward Baptiſm, and in perſwading them it did avail (*i*) to remiſſion of ſins? If outward Baptiſm were a cauſe in it-ſelf poſſeſſed of that power, either Natural or Supernatural, without the preſent operation whereof no ſuch effect could poſſibly grow; it muſt then follow, That ſeeing effects do never prevent the neceſſary cauſes out of which they ſpring, no Man could ever receive Grace before Baptiſm: Which being apparently both known, and alſo confeſt to be otherwiſe in many particulars, although in the reſt we make not Baptiſm a cauſe of Grace; yet the Grace which is given them with their (*k*) Baptiſm, doth ſo far-forth depend on the very outward Sacrament, that God will have it embraced, not only as a ſign or token what we receive; but alſo as an Inſtrument or Mean whereby we receive Grace, becauſe Baptiſm is a Sacrament which God hath inſtituted in his Church, to the end that they which receive the ſame might thereby be (*l*) incorporated into Chriſt; and ſo through his moſt precious Merit obtain, as well that ſaving Grace of Imputation, which taketh away (*m*) all former guiltineſs, as alſo that (*n*) infuſed Divine Virtue of the Holy Ghoſt, which giveth to the Powers of the Soul their firſt diſpoſition towards future newneſs of life. There are that elevate too much the ordinary and immediate means of life, relying wholly upon the bare conceit of that Eternal Election, which notwithſtanding includeth a ſubordination of means, without which we are not actually brought to enjoy what God ſecretly did intend; and therefore to build upon God's Election, if we keep not our ſelves to the ways which he hath appointed for Men to walk in, is but a ſelf-deceiving vanity. When the Apoſtle ſaw Men called to the participation of Jeſus Chriſt, after the Goſpel of God embraced, and the Sacrament of Life received, he feareth not (*o*) then to put them in the number of Elect Saints; he (*p*) then accounteth them delivered from death, and clean purged from all ſin. Till then, notwith-

What kind of neceſſity in outward Baptiſm hath been gathered by the words

(*d*) Ἀναγκαῖον λέγεται οὗ ἄνευ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ζῆν ὡς συναιτίου: καὶ ὧν ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γένεσθαι, ἤ τι κακὸν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢ στερηθῆναι. *Neceſſarium id dicitur ſine quo ut concauſa fieri non poteſt, ut vivatur: Et ea ſine quibus fieri nequit ut bonum aut ſit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoveatur, aut non adſit.* Ariſt. Metaph 5. cap. 5.

(*e*) John 3. 3.

(*f*) Verſ. 5.

(*g*) Epheſ 5. 26.

(*h*) Tit. 3. 5.

(*i*) Acts 2 38.

(*k*) *Fideles ſalutem ex iſtis Elementis non quærunt, etiamſi in iſtis quærunt. Non enim iſta tribuunt quod per iſta tribuitur.* Hugo de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 3.

(*l*) *Suſceptus à Chriſto Chriſtumque ſuſcipiens, non idem fit poſt lavacrum qui ante Baptiſmum fuit; ſed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi.* Leo. Serm. 4 de Paſ Dom.

---

of our Saviour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſity thereof indeed is. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 143. Secondly, This Error (of Private Baptiſm) came by
a falſe and unneceſſary concluſion drawn from that place. For although the Scripture ſhould ſay, that none can be ſaved, but thoſe which
have the Spirit of God, and are Baptized with Material and Elemental Water; yet ought it to be underſtood of thoſe which can conveniently
and orderly be brought to Baptiſm; as the Scripture, ſaying, That whoſo doth not believe the Goſpel, is condemned already, *Joh* 3. 18.
meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can hear the Goſpel, and have diſcretion to underſtand it when they hear it; and cannot here ſhut
under this condemnation, either thoſe that be born deaf and ſo remain, or little Infants, or natural Fools that have no wit to conceive
what is Preached.

(*m*) *Caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur.* Tert. de Carn. Reſur. *Homo per aquam Baptiſmi licet à foris idem eſſe videatur, intus tamen alter efficitur; cum peccato natus, ſine peccato renaſcitur; prioribus perit, ſuccedentibus proficit; deterioribus exuitur, in meliora innovatur; perſona tingitur, & natura mutatur.* Euſeb. Emiſ. de Epiphan. Homil. 3. Τρισσὴν γέννησιν ἡμῖν οἶδεν ὁ λόγος, τὴν ἐκ σώματος, τὴν ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τὴν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Αὕτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δύναμις οὐ κόσμου κατακλυσμὸν ὡς πάλαι, τῆς δὲ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ἁμαρτίας κάθαρσιν ἔχουσα. Greg. Homil. de Sanct. Bapt. (*n*) *Unde genitalis auxilio ſuperioris ævi labe deterſa in expiatum pectus ac purum deſuper ſe lumen infundit.* Cypr. Epiſt. ad Donat. Οὐ μόνον τῶν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεῖται τὴν ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἐντίθησιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως καθίστησι κοινωνούς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τὴν μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. Theod. Epito. Divin. Dogmat. *Baptizari, eſt purgari à ſordibus peccatorum, & donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam novam & innocentem.* Confeſſ. Helvet. cap. 20. (*o*) Eph. 1. 1. (*p*) Eph. 5. 8.

ſtanding their preordination unto life, which none could know of, ſaving God; what were they in the Apoſtles own (*a*) account, but Children of Wrath, as well as others, plain Aliens, altogether without hope, ſtrangers, utterly without God in this preſent World? So that by Sacraments, and other ſenſible tokens of Grace, we may boldly gather, that he, whoſe Mercy vouchſafeth now to beſtow the means, hath alſo long ſithence intended us that whereunto they lead. But let us never think it ſafe to preſume of our own laſt end, by bare conjectural Collections of his firſt intent and purpoſe, the means failing that ſhould come between. Predeſtination bringeth not to life, without the Grace of External (*b*) Vocation, wherein our Baptiſm is implied. For, as we are not Naturally Men without birth, ſo neither are we Chriſtian Men in the eye of the Church of God, but by New birth; nor according to the manifeſt ordinary courſe of Divine Diſpenſation new-born, but by that Baptiſm which both declareth and maketh us Chriſtians. In which reſpect, we juſtly hold it to be the Door of our Actual Entrance into God's Houſe, the firſt apparent (*c*) beginning of Life, a Seal perhaps to the (*d*) Grace of *Election* before received; but to our Sanctification here, a ſtep that hath not any before it. There were of the old *Valentinian* Hereticks, ſome which had Knowledge in ſuch admiration, that to it they aſcribed all, and ſo deſpiſed the Sacraments of Chriſt, pretending, That as Ignorance had made us ſubject to all miſery, ſo the full Redemption of the Inward Man, and the Work of our Reſtauration, muſt needs belong unto (*e*) *Knowledge only.* They draw very near unto this Error, who fixing wholly their minds on the known neceſſity of Faith, (*f*) imagine, that nothing but Faith is neceſſary for the attainment of all Grace. Yet is it a Branch of Belief, that Sacraments are in their place no leſs required than Belief it-ſelf. For when our Lord and Saviour promiſeth Eternal Life, is it any otherwiſe, than as he promiſeth Reſtitution of health unto *Naaman* the *Syrian*, namely, with this condition, (*g*) *Waſh and be clean*? or as to them which were ſtung of Serpents, health by (*h*) beholding the Brazen Serpent? If Chriſt himſelf which giveth Salvation do (*i*) require Baptiſm; it is not for us that look for Salvation, to ſound and examine him, whether unbaptized Men may be ſaved; but ſeriouſly to (*k*) do that which is required, and religiouſly to fear the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Chriſt only declared his Will to have all Men Baptized, and not acquainted us with any cauſe why Baptiſm is neceſſary, our ignorance in the reaſon of that he enjoyneth, might perhaps have hindred ſomewhat the forwardneſs of our Obedience thereunto: Whereas now being taught, that Baptiſm is neceſſary to take away ſin, how have we the fear of God in our hearts, if care of delivering Mens Souls from Sin, do not move us to uſe all means for their Baptiſm? (*l*) *Pelagius* which denied utterly the guilt of Original ſin, and *in that reſpect* the neceſſity of Baptiſm, did notwithſtanding both Baptize Infants, and acknowledge their Baptiſm neceſſary for *entrance into the Kingdom of God.* Now the Law of Chriſt, which in theſe conſiderations maketh Baptiſm neceſſary, muſt be conſtrued and underſtood according to Rules of (*m*) Natural Equity. Which Rules, if they themſelves did not follow in expounding the Law of God, would they ever be able to prove, that (*n*) the Scripture, in ſaying, *Whoſo believeth not the Goſpel of Chriſt, is condemned already, meaneth this Sentence of thoſe which can hear the Goſpel, and have diſcretion when they hear to underſtand it; neither ought it to be applied unto Infants, Deaf men, and Fools?* That which teacheth them thus to interpret the Law of Chriſt, is Natural Equity. And (becauſe Equity ſo teacheth, it is on all parts gladly confeſt, *that there may be in divers caſes* Life by virtue of inward Baptiſm, even where outward is not found. So that if any queſtion be made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this poſſibility. For example, to think that a Man whoſe Baptiſm the Crown of Martyrdom preventeth, doth loſe, in that caſe, the happineſs which ſo many thouſands enjoy, that only have had the Grace to Believe, and not the Honour to ſeal the teſtimony thereof with Death, were almoſt barbarous. Again, when (*o*) ſome certain opinionative Men in St. *Bernards* time began privately to hold that, becauſe our Lord hath ſaid, *Unleſs a Man be born again of Water*, therefore life, without either Actual Baptiſm, or *Martyrdom* inſtead of Baptiſm, cannot *poſſibly* be obtained at the hands of God; *Bernard* conſidering, that the ſame equity which had moved them to think the neceſſity of Baptiſm no Bar againſt the happy eſtate of Unbaptized Martyrs, is as forcible for the warrant of their Salvation, in whom, although there be not the Sufferings of holy Martyrs, there are the Virtues which ſanctified thoſe Sufferings, and made them precious in God's ſight, profeſſed himſelf an enemy to that ſeverity and ſtrictneſs which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs only. For, ſaith he, if a Man deſirous of Baptiſm, be ſuddenly cut off by Death, in whom there wanted neither ſound Faith, devout Hope, nor ſincere Charity (God be merciful unto me and pardon me, if I err) but verily of ſuch a ones Salvation, in whom there is no other defect beſides his faultleſs lack of Baptiſm, deſpair I cannot, nor induce my mind to think his Faith void, his Hope confounded, and his Charity faln to nothing, only becauſe he hath not that which not contempt but impoſſibility with-holdeth. *Tell me, I beſeech you,* (ſaith *Ambroſe*) *what there is in any of us, more than to will, and to ſeek for our own good. Thy Servant* Valentinian, *O Lord, did both.* (For *Valentinian* the Emperor died before his purpoſe to receive Baptiſm could take effect.) *And is it poſſible, that he which had purpoſely thy Spirit given him to deſire Grace, ſhould not receive thy Grace, which that Spirit did deſire? Doth it move you, that the outward accuſtomed Solemnities were not done? As though Converts that ſuffer Martyrdom before Baptiſm, did thereby for-*

(*a*) Eph. 2. 3. 12.

(*b*) Rom. 8. 30.

(*c*) Ἀρχή μοι ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. *Baſil. de Spir. Sanct. cap.* 10.

(*d*) *T.C. lib.* 3. *pag.* 134. He which is not a Chriſtian before he come to receive Baptiſm, cannot be made a Chriſtian by Baptiſm; which is only the Seal of the Grace of God before received.

(*e*) Iren contra Hæreſ. l. 1. c. 18.

(*f*) *Hic ſceleſtiſſimi illi provocant quæſtiones. Adeo dicunt, Baptiſmus non eſt neceſſarius quibus fides ſatis eſt.* Tert. de Baptiſ. *Huic nulla proderit fides, qui, cum poſſit, non percipit Sacramentum.* Bern. Epiſt. 70. ad Hugon.

(*g*) 2 Kings 5. 14.

(*h*) Numb. 21. 8.

(*i*) Mark 16. 16.

(*k*) *Inſtitutio Sacramentorum quantum ad Deum Authorem, diſpenſationis eſt; quantum vero ad hominem obedientem, neceſſitatis. Quoniam in poteſtate Dei eſt præter iſta hominem ſalvare, ſed in poteſtate hominis non eſt ſine iſtis ad ſalutem pervenire.* Hugo. de Sacra. lib. 1. cap. 5.

(*l*) *Pelagius aſſerere arrepta impietate præſumit non propter vitam, ſed propter regnum Cælorum Baptiſmum parvulis conferendum.* Euſeb. Emiſſ. Hom. 5. de Paſch.

(*m*) *Benignius leges interpretandæ ſunt, quo voluntas earum conſervetur.* L. Benign. D. de legib. & Senatuſc. (*n*) *T. C. lib.* 1 *pag.* 143. (*o*) *Bern. Epiſt* 70. *ad Hugonem.*

feit their right to the Crown of Eternal Glory in the Kingdom of Heaven. If the Blood of Martyrs in that caſe be their Baptiſm, ſurely his religious deſire of Baptiſm ſtandeth him in the ſame ſtead. It hath been therefore conſtantly held as well touching other Believers, as Martyrs, That Baptiſm, taken away by neceſſity, is ſupplyed by deſire of Baptiſm, becauſe with Equity this opinion doth beſt ſtand. Touching Infants which die unbaptized, ſith they neither have the Sacrament it-ſelf, nor any ſenſe or conceit thereof, the judgment of many hath gone hard againſt them. But yet ſeeing Grace is not abſolutely tied unto Sacraments; and beſides, ſuch is the lenity of God, that unto things altogether impoſſible, he bindeth no Man; but where we cannot do what is enjoyned us, accepteth our will to do inſtead of the deed it-ſelf. Again, for as much as there is in their Chriſtian Parents, and in the Church of God, a preſumed deſire, That the Sacrament of Baptiſm might be given them, yea, a purpoſe alſo that it ſhall be given; remorſe of Equity hath moved divers of the * School-Divines in theſe conſiderations, ingenuouſly to grant, That God all-merciful to ſuch as are not in themſelves able to deſire Baptiſm, imputeth the ſecret deſire that others have in their behalf, and accepteth the ſame as theirs, rather than caſteth away their Souls, for that which no Man is able to help. And of the will of God to impart his Grace unto Infants without Baptiſm, in that caſe, the very circumſtance of their Natural Birth may ſerve as a juſt Argument; whereupon it is not to be miſliked, that Men in charitable preſumption do gather a great likelyhood of their Salvation, to whom the benefit of Chriſtian Parentage being given, the reſt that ſhould follow, is prevented by ſome ſuch caſualty, as Man hath himſelf no power to avoid. For, we are plainly taught of God; † That the ſeed of Faithful Parentage is holy from the very Birth. Which albeit we may not ſo underſtand, as if the Children of Believing Parents were without Sin, or Grace from Baptized Parents derived by Propagation, or God by Covenant and Promiſe tyed to ſave any in meer regard of their Parents Belief: Yet ſeeing that to all profeſſors of the Name of Chriſt this preheminence above Infidels is freely given, the fruit of their Bodies bringeth into the World with it a preſent intereſt and right to thoſe means, wherewith the Ordinance of Chriſt is that his Church ſhall be ſanctified; it is not to be thought, that he which, as it were, from Heaven, hath nominated and deſigned them unto Holineſs by ſpecial priviledge of their very Birth, will himſelf deprive them of Regeneration and Inward Grace, only becauſe neceſſity depriveth them of outward Sacraments. In which caſe, it were the part of Charity to hope, and to make Men rather partial than cruel judges, if we had not thoſe fair appearances which here we have. Wherefore a neceſſity there is of Receiving, and a neceſſity of Adminiſtring the Sacrament of Baptiſm; the one peradventure not ſo abſolute as ſome have thought, but out of all peradventure the other more ſtraight and narrow, than that the Church which is by office a Mother unto ſuch as crave at her Hands the ſacred Myſtery of their new Birth, ſhoulp repel them; and ſee them die unſatisfied of theſe their Ghoſtly deſires, rather than give them their Souls Rights, with omiſſion of thoſe things which ſerve but only for the more convenient and orderly Adminiſtration thereof. For as on the one ſide we grant, that thoſe ſentences of holy Scripture which make Sacraments moſt neceſſary to eternal life, are no prejudice to their Salvation, that want them by ſome inevitable neceſſity, and without any fault of their own: So it ought in reaſon, to be likewiſe acknowledged that for as much as our Lord himſelf maketh Baptiſm neceſſary, neceſſary whether we reſpect the good received by Baptiſm, or the Teſtimony thereby yielded unto God of that Humility and meek Obedience, which repoſing wholly it-ſelf on the abſolute Authority of his Commandment, and on the Truth of his Heavenly Promiſe, doubteth not but from Creatures deſpicable in their own condition and ſubſtance, to obtain Grace of ineſtimable value; or rather not from them, but from him, yet by them, as by his appointed means. Howſoever he, by the ſecret ways of his own incomprehenſible Mercy, may be thought to ſave without Baptiſm; this cleareth not the Church from guiltineſs of Blood, if through her ſuperfluous ſcrupuloſity, lets and impediments of leſs regard ſhould cauſe a Grace of ſo great moment to be witheld, wherein our mercileſs ſtrictneſs may be our own harm, although not theirs to whom we ſhew it; and we for the hardneſs of our hearts may periſh, albeit they through God's unſpeakable Mercy do live. God which did not afflict that Innocent, whoſe Circumciſion *Moſes* had over-long deferred, took revenge upon *Moſes* himſelf for the Injury which was done through ſo great neglect; giving us thereby to underſtand, that they whom God's own Mercy ſaveth without us, are on our parts notwithſtanding, and as much as in us lieth, even deſtroyed; when under inſufficient pretences we defraud them of ſuch ordinary outward helps, as we ſhould exhibit. We have for Baptiſm no Day ſet, as the Jews had for Circumciſion; neither have we by the Law of God, but only by the Churches diſcretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptiſm therefore, even in the meaning of the Law of Chriſt, belongeth unto Infants capable thereof, from the † very inſtant of their Birth. Which if they have not howſoever, rather than loſe it by being put off, becauſe the time, the place, or ſome ſuch like circumſtance doth not ſolemnly enough concur, the Church, as much as in her lieth, willfuly caſteth away their Souls.

Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria injuriam ſemel dicavit animum in Martyrium mihi videtur impleſſe. Summi ergo meriti eſt ſemel fixiſſe ſententiam, atque ideo, ut dixi, ratio principatum obtinet paſſionis, & ſi ſors perpetiendi deneget facultatem, pertulit tamen cuncta quæ voluit pati. Joſeph. lib. de Imper. Ration.

(*) *Gerſ. Serm. in Nativit. Beatæ Mar. Cajetan. in 3. Tho. 9. 68. Art. 1. & 2. Biel. in 4. Senten. d. 4. q. 2 Tilman. Segeberg. de Sacr. cap. 1. Eliſius Neapol. in Clyp. Adverſ. Hæreſ. cap de Baptiſ.*

(†) 1 Cor. 7. 12.

T. C l 3. p 218. It is in queſtion, whether there be any ſuch neceſſity of Baptiſm, as that for the Miniſtring thereof, the common decent Orders ſhould be broken.

Exod. 4 24.

† *In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies non ponitur, præſenti die debetur.* Lib. 14. D. de Reg. Jur.

61. The Ancients it may be were too ſevere, and made the neceſſity of Baptiſm more abſolute than Reaſon would, as touching Infants. But will (*a*) any Man ſay that they, notwithſtanding their two much rigour herein, did not in that reſpect ſuſtain and tolerate defects of

What things in Baptiſm have been diſpenced with by the Fathers, reſpecting neceſſity.

(*a*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 146. The Authors themſelves of that Error, that they cannot be ſaved which are not baptized, did never ſeek a remedy of the Miſchief in Womens or Private Baptiſm. *T. C l.* 3. *p.* 219. What plainer Teſtimony can there be than that of *Auguſtine*; which noteth the uſe of the Church to have been, to come to the Church with their Children in danger of death, and that when ſome had opinion, that their Children could not be ſaved, if they were not Baptized, *Cont. Lit. Parm. lib.* 2. *cap.* 13. I

would

Local, or of Perſonal Solemnities, belonging to the Sacrament of Baptiſm ? the Apoſtles themſelves did neither uſe nor appoint for Baptiſm, any certain time. The Church for general Baptiſm heretofore made choice of two chief Days in the Year, the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, and the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*. Which Cuſtom, when certain Churches in *Sicily* began to violate without cauſe, they were by (*a*) *Leo*, Biſhop of *Rome*, adviſed rather to conform themſelves to the reſt of the World in things ſo reaſonable, than to offend Men's minds through needleſs ſingularity: Howbeit always providing, that nevertheleſs in apparent peril of death, danger of ſiege, ſtreights of perſecution, fear of ſhipwrack, and the like exigents; no reſpect of time ſhould cauſe this ſingular defence of true ſafety to be denied unto any. This of *Leo* did but confirm that ſentence, which (*b*) *Victor* had many years before given, extending the ſame exception, as well unto places as times. That which St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh of Women, haſting to bring their Children to the Church when they ſaw danger, is a weak proof, *That when neceſſity did not leave them ſo much time*, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their own home. Which anſwer diſchargeth likewiſe their example of a ſick Jew, carried in a Bed to the place of Baptiſm, and not Baptized at home in private. The cauſe why ſuch kind of Baptiſm barred Men afterwards from entring into holy Orders, the reaſon wherefore it was objected againſt *Novatian*, in what reſpect, and how far forth it did diſable, may be gathered by the Twelfth Canon, ſet down in the Council of *Neocæſarea*, after this manner. *A Man which hath been Baptized in Sickneſs, is not after to be ordained Prieſt.* For it may be thought, *That ſuch do rather at that time, becauſe they ſee no other remedy, than of a voluntary mind, lay hold on the Chriſtian Faith, unleſs their true and ſincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifeſt, or elſe the ſcarcity of others enforce the Church to admit them.* They bring in *Juſtinians* Imperial Conſtitution, but to what purpoſe ? ſeeing it only forbiddeth Men to have the Myſteries of God adminiſtred in their private Chappels, leſt under that pretence, Hereticks ſhould do ſecretly thoſe things which were unlawful? In which conſideration he therefore commandeth, that if they would uſe thoſe private Oratories otherwiſe than only for their private Prayers the Biſhop ſhould appoint them a Clerk, whom they might entertain for that purpoſe. This is plain by later Conſtitutions made in the time of *Leo*: *It was thought good* (ſaith the Emperor) *in their judgment which have gone before, that in private Chappels none ſhould celebrate the holy Communion, but Prieſts belonging unto greater Churches. Which order they took as it ſeemeth for the cuſtody of Religion leſt Men ſhould ſecretly receive from Hereticks, inſtead of the food, the bane of their Souls, pollution in place of Expiation.* Again, *whereas a ſacred Canon of the Sixth Reverend Synod requireth Baptiſm, as others have likewiſe the holy Sacrifices and Myſteries, to be celebrated only in Temples hallowed for publick uſe, and not in private Oratories; which ſtrict Decrees appear to have been made heretofore in regard of Hereticks, which entred cloſely into ſuch Mens Houſes as favoured their opinions, whom under colour of performing with them ſuch Religious Offices, they drew from the ſoundneſs of true Religion: Now that perverſe Opinions, through the Grace of Almighty God, are extinct and gone, the cauſe of former reſtraints being taken away, we ſee no reaſon but that private Oratories may henceforward enjoy that liberty, which to have granted them heretofore had not been ſafe.* In ſum, all theſe things alledged are nothing, nor will it ever be proved while the World doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in caſes of extream neceſſity, hath made for private Baptiſm always more than againſt it. Yea, *Baptiſm by any Man in the caſe of neceſſity*, was the (*c*) voice of the whole World heretofore. Neither is *Tertullian, Epiphanius, Auguſtine*, or any other of the Ancients againſt it. The boldneſs of ſuch, as pretending *Teclaes* example took openly upon them both Baptiſm, and all other Publick Functions of Prieſthood, *Tertullian* ſeverely controlleth, ſaying, (*d*) *To give Baptiſm is in Truth the Biſhops Right. After him it belongeth unto Prieſts and Deacons; but not to them without authority from him received; for ſo the Honour of the Church requireth, which being kept preſerveth peace. Were it not in this reſpect, the Laity might do the ſame; all ſorts might give, even as all ſorts receive.* But becauſe Emulation is the Mother of Schiſms, *Let it content thee* (which art of the order of Lay-Men) *to do it in neceſſity, when the ſtate of time, or place, or Perſon thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldneſs priviledged that help, when the circumſtance of other Mens dangers craveth it.* What he granteth generally to Lay-perſons of the Houſe of God, the ſame we cannot ſuppoſe he denieth to any ſort or ſex contained under that name, unleſs himſelf did reſtrain the limits of his own ſpeech; eſpecially ſeeing that *Tertullian's* rule of interpretation is (*e*) elſewhere, *Specialities are ſignified under that which is general, becauſe they are therein comprehended.* All which *Tertullian* doth (*f*) deny, is, That Women may be called to bear, or publickly take upon them to execute Offices of Eccleſiaſtical Order, whereof none but Men are capable. As for *Epiphanius*, he ſtriketh on the very ſelf-ſame Anvil with *Tertullian*. And in neceſſity if St. *Auguſtine* alloweth as much unto Lay-men, as *Tertullian* doth, his *not mentioning* of Women, is but a ſlender proof that his meaning was to exclude Women, finally the Council of *Carthage* likewiſe, although it make no expreſs ſubmiſſion, may be very well preſumed willing to

(*a*) *Leo. Epiſt.* 4. *ad Epiſc. Sicil.*

(*b*) *Vict. Epiſt. ad Theoph. Alexand. in Pontif. Damaſ.*

Leo. Conſt. 4.

Idem, Conſt. 15.

(*c*) *T. C. lib.* 1. *page.* 145. To allow of Womens Baptizing, is not only contrary to the learned Writers now, but alſo contrary to all learned Antiquity, and contrary to the practice of the Church whileſt there was any tolerable eſtate. *Tertul.*] *de Virgin veland.* & *lib. de Baptiſ. Epipha. lib.* 1. & *lib.* 2. *cont. Hæreſ.* St. *Auguſtine* although he ſeem to allow of a Layman's Baptiſm in time of neceſſity, *Cont. Epiſt. Parmen. lib.* 2. *cap.* 13. Yet there he mentioneth not Womens Baptiſm; and in the fourth Council of *Carthage, cap.* 100. It is ſimply, without exception decreed, that a Woman ought not to Baptize.

---

would alſo know of him what he will anſwer to that, which is noted of a Chriſtian Jew deſperately ſick of the Palſie, that was with his Bed carried to the place of Baptiſm, *Socr. lib.* 7. *c.* 4. What he will anſwer to this, that thoſe which are Baptized in their Beds, were thereby made unapt to have any place amongſt the Clergy (as they call them?) doth it not leave a note of infamy in thoſe, which had procured that Baptiſm ſhould be miniſtred in private Houſes ? *Euſeb. lib.* 6. *cap.* 43. What unto the Emperors Decree, which upon authority of the ancient Laws, and of the Apoſtles, forbiddeth, That the holy things ſhould be adminiſtred in any Man's Houſe ? *Juſt. Novel.* 57.

(*d*) *Tertul de Baptiſ.* (*e*) *Subjectum eſt generali ſpeciale. In ipſo ſignificatur, quia in ipſo continetur.* Tertul. de Veland. Virg. *Poſito genere, ſupponitur ſpecies.* Azo. in lib. 2. cap. de Tranſact. (*f*) *Non permittitur mulieri in eccleſia loqui, ſed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris nedum ſacerdotalis officii ſortem ſibi vendicare.* Tertul. de Veland. Virg.

ſtoop, as other Poſitive ordinances do, to the countermands of neceſſity. Judge therefore what the Ancients would have thought, if in their Days it had been heard, which is publiſhed in ours, (*a*) that becauſe, *The Subſtance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the Inſtitution of God, which is the form, and as it were the life of the Sacrament*; therefore firſt, *If the whole Inſtitution be not kept, it is no Sacrament*; and ſecondly, If Baptiſm be private, his Inſtitution is broken, in as much as *according to the orders which he hath ſet for Baptiſm, it ſhould be done in the Congregation*; from whoſe Ordinance in this Point *we ought not to ſwerve, although we knew that Infants ſhould be aſſuredly damned without Baptiſm*. O Sir, you that would ſpurn thus at ſuch, as in caſe of ſo dreadful extremity ſhould lie proſtrate before your Feet; you that would turn away your Face from them at the Hour of their moſt need; you that would dam up your Ears, and harden your Hearts as Iron, againſt the irreſiſtable cries of Supplicants, calling upon you for mercy with terms of ſuch invocation, as that moſt dreadful perplexity might Miniſter, if God by miracle did open the Mouths of Infants, to expreſs their ſuppoſed neceſſity, ſhould firſt imagine your ſelf in their caſe, and them in yours. This done, let their Supplications proceed out of your Mouth, and your anſwer out of theirs. Would you then contentedly hear, *My Son, the Rites and Solemnities of Baptiſm muſt be kept; we may not* (*) *do ill, that good may come of it; neither are Souls to be delivered from eternal death and condemnation, by breaking Orders which Chriſt hath ſet*: Would you in their caſe your ſelf be ſhaken off with theſe anſwers, and not rather embrace incloſed with both your Arms a ſentence, which now is no Goſpel unto you, (†) *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*? To acknowledge Chriſt's Inſtitution the ground of both Sacraments, I ſuppoſe no Chriſtian Man will refuſe: For it giveth them their very Nature, it appointeth the matter whereof they conſiſt, the Form of their Adminiſtration it teacheth; and it bleſſeth them with that Grace, whereby to us they are both Pledges and Inſtruments of life. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing Chriſt's Inſtitution containeth, beſides that which maketh compleat the Eſſence or Nature, other things that only are parts, as it were, of the Furniture of Sacraments; the difference between theſe two muſt unfold that which the general terms of indefinite ſpeech would confound. If the place appointed for Baptiſm be a part of Chriſt's Inſtitution, it is but his Inſtitution as *Sacrifice*, Baptiſm his Inſtitution as *Mercy*, in this caſe. He which requireth both Mercy and Sacrifice, rejecteth his own Inſtitution of Sacrifice, where the Offering of Sacrifice would hinder Mercy from being ſhewed: External Circumſtances even in the holieſt and higheſt actions, are but the *leſſer things of the Law*, whereunto thoſe actions themſelves being compared, are *the greater*; and therefore as the greater are of ſuch importance, that they *muſt be done*; ſo in that extremity before ſuppoſed, if our account of the leſſer which are *not to be omitted*, ſhould cauſe omiſſion of that which is more to be accounted of, were not this our ſtrict obedience to Chriſt's Inſtitution touching *Mint* and *Cumin*, a diſobedience to his Inſtitution concerning Love? But ſith no Inſtitution of Chriſt hath ſo ſtrictly tied Baptiſm to publick Aſſemblies, as it hath done all Men unto Baptiſm; away with theſe mercileſs and bloody ſentences, let them never be found ſtanding in the Books and Writings of a Chriſtian Man; they ſavour not of Chriſt, nor of his moſt gracious and meek Spirit, but under colour of exact obedience they nouriſh cruelty and hardneſs of heart.

(*a*) *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 144. The ſubſtance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the Inſtitution and Word of God, which is the Form, and as it were the Life of the Sacrament. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 144. Although part of the Inſtitution be obſerved, yet if the whole Inſtitution be not, it is no Sacrament. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 146. The Orders which God hath ſet, are, That it ſhould be done in the Congregation, and by the Miniſter. *T C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 146. And I will further ſay, That although the Infants which die without Baptiſm, ſhould be aſſuredly damned (which is moſt falſe,) yet ought not the orders which God hath ſet in his Church be broken after this ſort.

(*) *Noſtro peccato alterius ſaluti conſulere non debemus.* Aug. lib. cont. Menda. cap. 17.

(†) Matth. 9. 13.

Matth. 23. 23.

62. To leave Private Baptiſm therefore, and to come unto Baptiſm by Women, which they ſay (*b*), is no more a Sacrament, than any other ordinary Waſhing or Bathing of a Man's Body: The reaſon whereupon they ground their opinion herein is ſuch as making Baptiſm by Women void, becauſe Women are no Miniſters in the Church of God, muſt needs generally annihilate the Baptiſm of all unto whom their Conceit ſhall apply this exception, Whether it be in regard of Sex, of Quality, of Inſufficiency, or whatſoever. For if want of Calling do fruſtrate Baptiſm, they that Baptize without Calling do nothing, be they Women or Men. To make Women Teachers in the Houſe of God were a groſs abſurdity, ſeeing the Apoſtle hath ſaid, (*c*) *I permit not a Woman to teach*. And again, (*d*) *Let your Women in Churches be ſilent*. Thoſe extraordinary gifts of ſpeaking with Tongues and Prophecying, which God at that time did not only beſtow upon Men, but on Women alſo, made it the harder to hold them confined with private bounds. Whereupon the Apoſtles Ordinance was neceſſary againſt Womens publick Admiſſion to teach. And becauſe, when Law hath begun ſome one thing or other well, it giveth good occaſion, either to draw by Judicious Expoſition out of the very Law it-ſelf, or to annex to the Law by Authority and Juriſdiction, things of like conveniency; therefore *Clement* extendeth this Apoſtolick Conſtitution to Baptiſm. For (ſaith he) *If we have denied them leave to teach, how ſhould any Man diſpence with Nature, and make them Miniſters of holy things; ſeeing this unskilfulneſs is a part of the Grecians impiety, which for the ſervice of Women-Goddeſſes, have Women-Prieſts*? I ſomewhat marvel, that Men which would not willingly be thought to ſpeak or write but with good Conſcience, dare hereupon openly avouch *Clement* for a witneſs, That, *as when the Church began not only to decline, but to fall away from the ſincerity of Religion, it borrowed a number of other prophanations of the Heathens; ſo it borrowed this, and would needs have Women-*

Whether Baptiſm by Women be true Baptiſm, good and effectual to them that receive it. (*b*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 144. On this point, whether he be a Miniſter or no, dependeth not only the dignity, but alſo the being of the Sacrament. So that I take the Baptiſm of Women to be no more the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm, than any other daily or ordinary waſhing of the Child.

(*c*) 1 Tim. 2. 12.

(*d*) 1 Tim. 14. 34.

Clem. Conſt. Apoſtol. lib. 3. *cap.* 9.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 144.

Prieſts, as the Heathens had; and that this was one occaſion of bringing Baptiſm by Women into the Church of God. Is it not plain in their own eyes, that firſt by an evidence which forbiddeth Women to be Miniſters of Baptiſm, they endeavour to ſhew how Women were admitted unto that Function in the wane and declination of Chriſtian Piety. Secondly, that by an evidence, rejecting the Heathens, and condemning them of Impiety, they would prove ſuch affection towards Heathens, as ordereth the Affairs of the Church by the pattern of their example: And thirdly, That out of an evidence which nameth the Heathens, as being in ſome part a reaſon why the Church had no Women-Prieſts, they gather the Heathens to have been one of the firſt occaſions why it had. So that throughout every branch of this teſtimony, their iſſue is, *Yea*; and their evidence directly, *No*. But to Womens Baptiſm in private, by occaſion of urgent neceſſity, the reaſons that only concern ordinary Baptiſm in publick, are no juſt prejudice; neither can we by force thereof diſprove the practice of thoſe Churches, which (neceſſity requiring) allow Baptiſm in private to be adminiſtred by Women. We may not from Laws that prohibit any thing with reſtraint, conclude abſolute and unlimitted prohibitions: Although we deny not, but they which utterly forbid ſuch Baptiſm, may have perhaps wherewith to juſtifie their orders againſt it. For, even things lawful are well prohibited, when there is fear leaſt they make the way too unlawful more eaſie. And it may be, the Liberty of Baptiſm by Women at ſuch times, doth ſometimes embolden the raſher ſort to do it where no ſuch neceſſity is. But whether of Permiſſion beſides Law, or in Preſumption againſt Law they do it, is it thereby altogether fruſtrate, void, and as though it were never given? They which have not at the firſt their right Baptiſm, muſt of neceſſity be Rebaptized, becauſe the Law of Chriſt tieth all Men to receive Baptiſm. Iteration of Baptiſm once given, hath been always thought a manifeſt contempt of that Ancient Apoſtolick Aphoriſm, *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptiſm*: Baptiſm not only one, in as much it hath every where the ſame ſubſtance, and offereth unto all Men the ſame Grace; but one alſo, for that it ought not to be received by any one Man above once. We ſerve that Lord which is but one, becauſe no other can be joyned with him: We embrace that Faith which is but one, becauſe it admitteth no innovation: That Baptiſm we receive which is but one, becauſe it cannot be received often. For how ſhould we practice Iteration of Baptiſm; and yet teach, that we are by Baptiſm born anew: That by Baptiſm we are admitted unto the Heavenly Society of Saints, that thoſe things be really and effectually done by Baptiſm, which are no more poſſible to be often done, (a) than a Man can naturally be often born, or civilly be often adopted into any ones Stock and Family? This alſo is the cauſe, why they that preſent us unto Baptiſm, are entituled for ever after our Parents in God; and the reaſon why there we receive new names, in token that by Baptiſm we are made new Creatures. As Chriſt hath therefore died, and riſen from the dead, but once; ſo that Sacrament, which both extinguiſheth in him our former ſin, and beginneth in us a new condition of Life, is by one only Actual Adminiſtration for ever available, according to that in the *Nicene* Creed, *I believe one Baptiſm for remiſſion of Sins*. And becauſe ſecond Baptiſm was ever (b) abhorred in the Church of God, as a kind of inceſtuous Birth, they that iterate Baptiſm, are driven under ſome pretence or other to make the former Baptiſm void. (c) *Tertullian* the firſt that propoſed to the Church, (d) *Agrippinus* the firſt in the Church that accepted, and againſt the uſe of the Church *Novatianus* the firſt that publickly began to practice Rebaptization, did it therefore upon theſe two grounds; a true perſwaſion, that Baptiſm is neceſſary; and a falſe, that the Baptiſm which others Adminiſtred was no Baptiſm. *Novatianus* his conceit was, that none can Adminiſter true Baptiſm, but the true Church of Jeſus Chriſt; that he and his followers alone were the Church; and for the reſt, he accounted them wicked and prophane Perſons, ſuch as by Baptiſm could cleanſe no Man, unleſs they firſt did purifie themſelves and reform the faults wherewith he charged them. At which time St. *Cyprian* with the greateſt part of *African* Biſhops, becauſe they likewiſe thought, that none but only the true Church of God can Baptize; and were of nothing more certainly perſwaded, than that Hereticks are as rotten Branches cut off from the Life and Body of the true Church, gathered hereby, That the Church of God both may with good conſideration, and ought to reverſe that Baptiſm which is given by Hereticks. Theſe held and practiſed their own opinion, yet with great Proteſtations often made, that they neither loved a whit the leſs, nor thought in any reſpect the worſe of them that were of a contrary mind. In requital of which ingenuous moderation, the reſt that withſtood them, did it in a peaceable ſort, with very good regard had of them, as of Men in Error, but not in Hereſie. The Biſhop of *Rome* againſt their Novelties, upheld, as beſeemed him, the ancient and true Apoſtolick Cuſtoms, till they which unadviſedly before had erred became in a manner all (e) reconciled Friends unto Truth, and ſaw that Hereſie in the Miniſters of Baptiſm, could no way evacuate the force thereof: (f) Such Hereſie alone excepted, as by reaſon of unſoundneſs in the higheſt Articles of Chriſtian Faith, preſumed to change,

Licita prohibentur, ne, ſi permitterentur, eorum occaſione perveniatur ad illicita. l. neque tamen. Juſt. de Aſuth Tut. l. Officium. D. de rei Vind.

Epheſ 4. 5.

(b) *Auguſt. de Bapt. cont. Don. lib. 2. cap.* 14.

(c) *Tert. de Bapt.*

(d) *Cypr. Epiſt.* 71.

Euſeb. lib. 7. *cap.* 1, 2, 3. *Cypr. Epiſt.* 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76.

(a) *Una eſt Nativitas de terrâ, alia de cœlo; una de carne, alia de Spiritu; Una de æternitate, alia de mortalitate; una de maſculo & fœmina, alia de Deo & Eccleſia. Sed ipſæ duæ ſingulares ſunt. Quo modo enim uterus non poteſt repeti, ſic nec Baptiſmus iterari.* Proſp. Senten. 331. *Eja fratres lacteum genitalis fontis ad laticem convolate, ut ſemper vobis aqua ſufficiat, hoc ante omnia ſcientes quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rurſus haurire* Zeno. Invit. ad Font.

(e) *Illi ipſi Epiſcopi qui Rebaptizandes Hæreticos cum* Cypriano *ſtatuerant, ad antiquam conſuetudinem revoluti novum emiſêre decretum.* Hieron. cont. Lucifer. Vide & Auguſt. contr. Creſcon. lib. 3. cap. 2. 3. & Epiſt. 48. (f) *Dixiſti fieri non poſſe ut in falſo Baptiſmate inquinatus abluat, immundus emundet, ſupplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus abſolvat. Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad ſolos Hæreticos pertinere, qui falſaverunt Symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos, cum Deus unus ſit, alter Patrem vult in perſona Filii cognoſci, alter carnem ſubducens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus eſt mundus: Et cæteri hujuſmodi, qui à Sacramentis Catholicis alieni noſcuntur.* Optat. lib. 1.

and by changing to maim the ſubſtance, the form of Baptiſm. In which reſpect the Church did neither ſimply diſannul, nor abſolutely ratifie Baptiſm by Hereticks. For the Baptiſm which *Novatianiſts* gave ſtood firm; whereas they whom (*a*) *Samoſatenians* had Baptized, were rebaptized. It was likewiſe ordered in the Council of *Arles* (*b*), That if any *Arian* did reconcile himſelf to the Church, they ſhould admit him without new Baptiſm, unleſs by examination they found him not Baptized in the Name of the Trinity. *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria* (*c*), maketh report, how there lived under him a Man of good reputation, and of very ancient continuance in that Church, who being preſent at the Rites of Baptiſm, and obſerving with better conſideration than ever before what was there done, came, and with weeping ſubmiſſion craved of his Biſhop, not to deny him Baptiſm, the due of all which profeſs Chriſt, ſeeing it had been ſo long ſithence his evil hap to be deceived by the Fraud of Hereticks, and at their Hands (which till now he never throughly and duly weighed) to take a Baptiſm full fraught with blaſphemous impieties, a Baptiſm in nothing like unto that which the true Church of Chriſt uſeth. The Biſhop was greatly moved thereat, yet durſt not adventure to Rebaptize, but did the beſt he could to put him in good comfort, uſing much perſwaſion with him not to trouble himſelf with things that are paſt and gone, nor after ſo long continuance in the Fellowſhip of God's People to call now in queſtion his firſt entrance. The Poor Man that ſaw himſelf in this ſort anſwered, but not ſatisfied, ſpent afterwards his life in continual perplexity, whereof the Biſhop remained fearful to give releaſe; perhaps too fearful, if the Baptiſm were ſuch as his own Declaration importeth. For that, the ſubſtance whereof was rotten at the very firſt, is never by tract of time able to recover ſoundneſs. And where true Baptiſm was not before given, the caſe of Rebaptization is clear. But by this it appeareth that Baptiſm is not void in regard of Hereſie, and therefore much leſs through any *other Moral* defect in the Miniſter thereof. Under which ſecond pretence, *Donatiſts* notwithſtanding took upon them to make fruſtrate the Churches Baptiſm, and themſelves to Rebaptize their own fry. For whereas ſome forty years after the Martyrdom of bleſſed *Cyprian*, the Emperor *Diocleſian* began to (*d*) perſecute the Church of Chriſt, and for the ſpeedier aboliſhment of their Religion, to burn up their ſacred Books; there were in the Church it-ſelf *Traditors*, content to deliver up the Books of God by compoſition, to the end their own lives might be ſpared. Which Men growing thereby odious to the reſt, whoſe conſtancy was greater, it fortuned that after, when one *Cæcilian* was ordained Biſhop in the Church of *Carthage*, whom others endeavoured in vain to defeat by exception againſt him as a *Traditor*, they whoſe accuſations could not prevail, deſperately joyned themſelves in one, and made a Biſhop of their own crue, accounting from that Day forward their Faction the only true and ſincere Church. The firſt Biſhop on that part was *Majorinus*, whoſe Succeſſor *Donatus* being the firſt that wrote in defence of their Schiſm, the Birds that were hatched before by others, have their names from him. *Arians* and *Donatiſts* began both about one time. Which Hereſies according to the different ſtrength of their own ſinews, wrought as hope of ſucceſs led them; the one with the choiceſt wits, the other with the multitude, ſo far, that after long and troubleſome experience, the perfecteſt view Men could take of both was hardly able to induce any certain determinate reſolution, whether Error may do more by the curious ſubtilty of ſharp Diſcourſe, or elſe by the meer appearance of zeal and devout affection; the latter of which two aids gave *Donatiſts* beyond all Mens expectation, as great a ſway as ever any Schiſm or Hereſie had within that reach of the Chriſtian World, where it bred and grew; the rather perhaps, becauſe the Church which neither greatly feared them, and beſides had neceſſary cauſe to bend it-ſelf againſt others that aimed directly at a far higher mark, the Deity of Chriſt, was contented to let *Donatiſts* have their courſe, by the ſpace of Threeſcore years and above, even from Ten years before *Conſtantine*, till the time that (*e*) *Optatus*, Biſhop of *Milevis*, publiſhed his Books againſt *Parmenian*. During which term and the ſpace of that Schiſms continuance afterwards, they had, beſides many other Secular and Worldly means to help them forward, theſe ſpecial advantages. Firſt the very occaſion of their breach with the Church of God, a juſt hatred and diſlike of *Traditors*, ſeemed plauſible; they eaſily perſwaded their hearers, that ſuch Men could not be holy as held communion and fellowſhip with them that betrayed Religion. Again, when to dazle the Eyes of the ſimple, and to prove that it can be no Church which is not holy, they had in ſhew and ſound of words the glorious pretence of the Creed Apoſtolick, *I believe the holy Catholick Church*: We need not think it any ſtrange thing that with the multitude they gained credit. And avouching that ſuch as are not of the true Church can adminiſter no true Baptiſm, they had for this point whole Volumns of St. *Cyprians* own writing, together with the judgment of divers *African* Synods, whoſe ſentence was the ſame with his. Whereupon, the Fathers were likewiſe in defence of their juſt cauſe very greatly prejudiced, both for that they could not inforce the duty of Men's communion with the Church, confeſt to be in many things blame-worthy, unleſs they ſhould oftentimes ſeem to ſpeak as half-defenders of the faults themſelves, or at the leaſt not ſo vehement accuſers thereof as their adverſaries; and to withſtand iteration of Baptiſm, the other branch of the *Donatiſts* Hereſie, was impoſſible, without manifeſt and profeſt rejection of *Cyprian*, whom the World univerſally did in his life time admire as the greateſt among Prelates, and now honour as not the loweſt in the Kingdom of Heaven. So true we find it by experience of all ages in the Church of God, that the Teachers error is the Peoples tryal, harder and heavier by ſo much to bear, as he is in worth and regard greater, that miſperſwadeth them. Although there was odds between *Cyprian's* cauſe and theirs, he differing from others of ſounder underſtanding in that point, but not dividing

(*a*) *Synod. Nicæ. cap.* 19.

(*b*) *Synod.* 1. *Arelat. cap.* 8.

(*c*) *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 7. *cap.* 8.

(*d*) *Circa An.* 300.

(*e*) *Circa An.* 370.

himſelf from the Body of the Church by Schiſm, as did the Donatiſts. For which cauſe ſaith *Vincentius, Of one and the ſame opinion we judge (which may ſeem ſtrange) the Authors Catholick, and the followers Heretical; we acquit the Maſters, and condemn the Scholars, they are Heirs of Heaven which have written thoſe Books, the defenders whereof are trodden down to the pit of Hell.* The Invectives of Catholick Writers therefore againſt them are ſharp; the Words of (*a*) Imperial Edicts by *Honorius* and *Theodoſius* made to bridle them very bitter, the puniſhments ſevere in revenge of their folly. Howbeit, for fear as (we may conjecture) leſt much ſhould be derogated from the Baptiſm of the Church, and Baptiſm by Donatiſts be more eſteemed than was meet, if on the one ſide that which Hereticks had done ill ſhould ſtand as good, on the other ſide that be reverſed which the Catholick Church had well and religiouſly done; divers better minded than adviſed Men, thought it fitteſt to meet with this inconvenience, by Rebaptizing Donatiſts, as well as they Rebaptized Catholicks. For ſtay whereof, the (*b*) ſame Emperors ſaw it meet to give their Law a double edge, whereby it might equally on both ſides cut off, not only Hereticks which Rebaptized whom they could pervert; but alſo Catholick and Chriſtian Prieſts which did the like unto ſuch as before had taken Baptiſm at the Hands of Hereticks, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatiſts were therefore, in proceſs of time though with much ado, wearied, and at the length worn out by the conſtancy of that Truth which teacheth, that evil Miniſters of Good things are as Torches, a Light to others, a Waſte to none but themſelves only; and that the foulneſs of their Hands can neither any whit impair the Virtue, nor ſtain the Glory of the Myſteries of Chriſt. Now that which was done amiſs by virtuous and good Men, as *Cyprian* carried aſide with hatred againſt Hereſie; and was ſecondly followed by Donatiſts, whom Envy and Rancor, covered with ſhew of Godlineſs, and made obſtinate to cancel whatſoever the Church did in the Sacrament of Baptiſm; hath of latter Days, in another reſpect far different from both the former, been brought freſhly again into practice. For the Anabaptiſt Rebaptizeth, becauſe in his eſtimation the Baptiſm of the Church is fruſtrate, for that we give it unto Infants which have not Faith; whereas, according unto Chriſt's inſtitution, as they conceive it, true Baptiſm ſhould always preſuppoſe Actual Belief in receivers, and is otherwiſe no Baptiſm. Of theſe three Errors, there is not any but hath been able at the leaſt to alledge in defence of it-ſelf many fair probabilities. Notwithſtanding, ſith the Church of God hath hitherto always conſtantly maintained, that to Rebaptize them which are known to have received true Baptiſm is unlawful; that if Baptiſm ſeriouſly be adminiſtred in the ſame Element, and with the ſame form of words which Chriſt's Inſtitution teacheth, there is no other defect in the World that can make it fruſtrate, or deprive it of the Nature of a true Sacrament: And laſtly, that Baptiſm is only then to be re-adminiſtred, when the firſt delivery thereof is void, in regard of the fore-alledged imperfections, and no other: Shall we now in the caſe of Baptiſm, which having both for matter and form the ſubſtance of Chriſt's inſtitution, is by a fourth ſort of Men voided, for the only defect of Eccleſiaſtical Authority in the Miniſter, think it enough, that they blow away the force thereof, with the bare ſtrength of their very breath, by ſaying, *We take ſuch Baptiſm to be no more the Sacrament of Baptiſm, than any other ordinary Bathing to be a Sacrament?* * It behoveth generally all ſorts of Men to keep themſelves within the limits of their own vocation: And ſeeing God, from whom Mens ſeveral degrees and pre-eminences do proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whoſe Hands his pleaſure is, that we ſhould receive both Baptiſm and all other publick medicinable helps of Soul, perhaps thereby the more to ſettle our Hearts in the love of our Ghoſtly ſuperiours; they have ſmall cauſe to hope that with him their voluntary ſervices will be accepted, who thruſt themſelves into functions, either above their capacity, or beſides their place, and over-boldly intermeddle with Duties, whereof no charge was ever given them. They that in any thing exceed the compaſs of their own order, do as much as in them lieth to diſſolve that Order which is the Harmony of God's Church. Suppoſe therefore, that in theſe and the like conſiderations the Law did utterly prohibit Baptiſm to be adminiſtred by any other, than Perſons thereunto ſolemnly conſecrated, what neceſſity ſoever happen; Are not † many things firm being done, although in part done otherwiſe than poſitive rigour and ſtrictneſs did require? Nature, as much as is poſſible, inclineth unto validities and preſervations. Diſſolutions and Nullities of things done are not only not favoured, but hated, when either urged without cauſe, or extended beyond their reach: If therefore at any time it come to paſs, that in teaching publickly or privately, in delivering this bleſſed Sacrament of Regeneration ſome unſanctified Hand, contrary to Chriſt's ſuppoſed Ordinance, do intrude it-ſelf to execute that, whereunto the Laws of God and his Church have deputed others, Which of theſe two opinions ſeemeth more agreeable with equity, ours that diſallow what is done amiſs, yet make not the force of the Word and Sacraments, much leſs their nature and very ſubſtance to depend on the Miniſters authority and calling, or elſe (*c*) theirs which defeat, diſannul, and annihilate both, in reſpect of that one only Perſonal defect, there being not any Law of God, which ſaith that if the Miniſter be incompetent, his Word ſhall be no Word, his Baptiſm no Baptiſm? He which teacheth, and is not ſent, loſeth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a Teacher: His uſurped actions have in him the ſame nature which they have in others, although they yield him not the ſame comfort. And if theſe two caſes be Peers, the caſe of

---

Vincent. Lirin. Adverſ. Hæreſ. cap. 11.

(*a*) *Vide C. Theo. lib.* 16. *tit.* 6. *l. Adverſarios & l. Nullus circa An.* 405.

(*b*) *Si quis C. Ne. ſanct. Baptiſ. circa. An.* 413.

* Numb. 16. 10. Levit. 10. 1. 1 Sam. 13. 11. 2 Sam. 6. 6. 2 Chro. 26. 16. Heb. 5. 4.

(†) *Seq.* 306. *Lugdunenſis. c. ex literis Decret.* de Matrim. contract. Damaſ. Burchard. Reg. 109. *Prohibita fieri ſi fiant non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res favorabiles, contrarium obtinet.*

(*c*) *T. C. lib.* 1. *page* 144. As St *Paul* ſaith, *That a Man cannot Preach which is not ſent.* Rom. 10. 15. No not although he ſpeak the Words of the Scripture and interpret them: So I cannot ſee how a Man can Baptize unleſs he be ſent to that end, although he pour Water and rehearſe Words [illegible] the Miniſtry of Baptiſm, Doctrine, and the caſe of Baptiſm, both alike; ſith no defect in their vocation that teach the Truth is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, Wherefore ſhould the want of a Lawful calling in them that Baptize, make Baptiſm to be vain? (a) They grant, that the Matter and the Form in Sacraments are the only parts of Subſtance, and that if theſe two be retained, albeit other things beſides be uſed which are inconvenient, the Sacrament notwithſtanding is adminiſtred, but not ſincerely. Why perſiſt they not in this opinion? When by theſe fair ſpeeches they have put us in hope of agreement, wherefore ſup they up their words again, interlacing ſuch frivolous Interpretations and Gloſſes as diſgrace their Sentence? What ſhould move them, having named the *Matter* and the *Form* of the Sacrament, to give us preſently warning, that they mean by *the Form* of the Sacrament, *the Inſtitution*; which Expoſition darkneth whatſoever was before plain? For whereas in common underſtanding that *Form*, which added to the Element doth make a Sacrament and is of the outward ſubſtance thereof, containeth only the words of uſual Application, they ſet it down (leſt common Dictionaries ſhould deceive us) that *the Form* doth ſignifie in their Language *the Inſtitution*, which Inſtitution in truth comprehendeth both Form and Matter. Such are their fumbling ſhifts to incloſe the Miniſters vocation within the compaſs of ſome eſſential part of the Sacrament. A thing that can never ſtand with ſound and ſincere conſtruction. For what if the (b) Miniſter be *no circumſtance, but a ſubordinate efficient cauſe in the work of Baptiſm*? What if the Miniſters Vocation be a Matter * *of perpetual neceſſity, and not a Ceremony variable as times and occaſions require? What if his calling be a principal part of the Inſtitution of Chriſt?* Doth it therefore follow, that the Miniſters authority is (c) *of the Subſtance of the Sacrament*, and as incident into the nature thereof, as the Matter and the Form it-ſelf, yea, more incident? For whereas in caſe of neceſſity, the greateſt amongſt them profeſſeth the change of the Element of Water lawful, and others which like not ſo well this opinion could be better content, that voluntarily the *words* of Chriſt's Inſtitution were altered, and Men baptized in *the Name of Chriſt*, without either mention made of the Father, or of the Holy Ghoſt; nevertheleſs, in denying that Baptiſm adminiſtred by private perſons ought to be reckoned of as a Sacrament, they both agree. It may therefore pleaſe them both to conſider, That Baptiſm is an Action in part Moral, in part Eccleſiaſtical, and in part Myſtical: Moral, as being a duty which Men perform towards God: Eccleſiaſtical, in that it belongeth unto God's Church as a publick duty: Finally Myſtical, if we reſpect what God doth thereby intend to work. The greateſt Moral perfection of Baptiſm conſiſteth in Mens devout obedience to the Law of God, which Law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and alſo that Religious affection which God doth ſo much regard, that without it whatſoever we do is hateful in his ſight, who therefore is ſaid to reſpect *Adverbs* more than *Verbs*, becauſe the end of his Law, in appointing what we ſhall do, is our own Perfection; which Perfection conſiſteth chiefly in the virtuous diſpoſition of the Mind, and approveth it-ſelf to him, not by *doing*, but by doing *well*. Wherein appeareth alſo the difference between Human and Divine Laws, the one of which two are content with *Opus operatum*; the other require *Opus operantis*; the one do but claim the Deed, the other eſpecially the Mind. So that according to Laws which principally reſpect the heart of Men, Works of Religion being not religiouſly performed, cannot Morally be perfect. Baptiſm as an Eccleſiaſtical work, is for the manner of performance ordered by divers Eccleſiaſtical Laws providing, That as the Sacrament it-ſelf is a gift of no mean worth, ſo the Miniſtry thereof might in all circumſtances appear to be a Function of no ſmall regard. All that belongeth to the Myſtical Perfection of Baptiſm outwardly is the Element, the Word, and the ſerious Application of both unto him which receiveth both; whereunto if we add that ſecret reference which this action hath to life and remiſſion of ſins, by virtue of Chriſt's own compact ſolemnly made with his Church, to accompliſh fully the Sacrament of Baptiſm there is not any thing more required. Now put the Queſtion, Whether Baptiſm Adminiſtred to Infants without any Spiritual Calling, be unto them both a true Sacrament and an effectual inſtrument of Grace, or elſe an act of no more account than the ordinary Waſhings are. The ſum of all that can be ſaid to defeat ſuch Baptiſm is, That thoſe things which have no Being, can work nothing; and that Baptiſm, without the power of Ordination, is, as a Judgment without ſufficient Juriſdiction, void, fruſtrate, and of no effect. But to this we anſwer, That the Fruit of Baptiſm dependeth only upon the Covenant which God hath made: That God by Covenant requireth in the elder ſort, Faith and Baptiſm; in Children, the Sacrament of Baptiſm alone, whereunto he hath alſo given them right by ſpecial priviledge of Birth, within the boſom of the holy Church: That Infants therefore, which have received Baptiſm compleat as touching the Myſtical Perfection thereof, are by virtue of his own Covenant and Promiſe cleanſed from all ſin; for as much as all other Laws, concerning that which in Baptiſm is either Moral or Eccleſiaſtical, do bind the Church which giveth Baptiſm, and not the Infant which receiveth it of the Church. So that if any thing be therein amiſs, the harm which groweth by violation of holy Ordinances muſt altogether reſt, where the Bonds of ſuch Ordinances hold. For that in actions of this nature it fareth not as in Juriſdictions, may ſomewhat appear by the very opinion which Men have of them. The nullity of that which a Judge doth by way of Authority without Au-

(a) *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 165. If either the Matter of the Sacrament, or the Form of it, which is the Inſtitution (which things are only ſubſtantial parts) were wanting, there ſhould then have been no Sacrament at all miniſtred. But they being retained, and yet other things uſed which are not convenient, the Sacrament is miniſtred, but not ſincerely.

(b) *T. C. lib.* 3. *pag.* 117. * *T. C. lib.* 3. *pag.* 121.

(c) *T. C. lib.* 3. *p.* 135. The Miniſter is of the Subſtance of the Sacrament, conſidering that it is a principal part of Chriſt's Inſtitution. Beza, Epiſt. 2. *Deſit aqua, & tamen Baptiſmus alicujus differri cum ædificatione non poſſit nec debeat, ego certe quovis alio liquore non minus ritè quàm aqua Baptiſarim.* *T. C. lib* 3 *pag.* 138. Shew me why the breach of the Inſtitution in the Form ſhould make the Sacrament unavailable, and not the breach of this part (which concerneth the Miniſter) *T. C. ibid* Howſoever ſome learned and godly give ſome liberty in the change of the Elements of the holy Sacrament; yet I do not ſee how that can ſtand, *Idem, pag.* 137. I would rather judge him baptized, who is baptized into the Name of Chriſt, without adding the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, when the Element of Water is added, than when the other words being duly kept, ſome other liquor is uſed.

thority, is known to all Men, and agreed upon with full conſent of the whole World, every Man receiveth it as a general Edict of Nature; whereas the nullity of Baptiſm, in regard of the like defect, is only a few Mens new ungrounded and as yet unapproved imagination. Which difference, of generality in Mens perſwaſions on the one ſide, and their paucity whoſe conceit leadeth them the other way, hath riſen from a difference eaſie to obſerve in the things themſelves. The exerciſe of unauthoriſed Juriſdiction is a grievance unto them that are under it, whereas they that without Authority preſume to baptize, offer nothing but that which to all Men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food, and the Miniſters thereof as Parents or as Nurſes; at whoſe hands when there is neceſſity, but no poſſibility of receiving it, if that which they are not preſent to do in right of their Office, be of pity and compaſſion done by others, ſhall this be thought to turn Celeſtial Bread into Gravel, or the Medicine of Souls into Poyſon? Juriſdiction is a yoke, which Law hath impoſed on the necks of Men in ſuch ſort, that they muſt endure it for the good of others, how contrary ſoever it be to their own particular appetites and inclinations, Juriſdiction bridleth Men againſt their wills, that which a Judge doth, prevails by virtue of his very Power; and therefore, not without great reaſon, except the Law hath given him Authority, whatſoever he doth, vaniſheth. Baptiſm on the other ſide being a favour which it pleaſeth God to beſtow, a benefit of Soul to us that receive it, and a Grace, which they that deliver are but as meer Veſſels, either appointed by others or offered of their own accord to this Service; of which two, if they be the one, it is but their own honour, their own offence to be the other: Can it poſſibly ſtand with * Equity and Right, That the faultineſs of their preſumption in giving Baptiſm ſhould be able to prejudice us, who by taking Baptiſm have no way offended? I know there are many Sentences found in the Books and Writings of the Ancient Fathers, to prove both Eccleſiaſtical and alſo Moral defects in the Miniſter of Baptiſm, a bar to the Heavenly benefit thereof. Which Sentences we always ſo underſtand, as † St. *Auguſtine* underſtood in a caſe of like nature the words of St. *Cyprian*. When Infants baptized were after their Parents revolt carried by them in arms to the Stews of Idols, thoſe wretched Creatures, as St. *Cyprian* thought, were not only their own ruin, but their Childrens alſo: *Their Children,* whom this their Apoſtaſie prophaned, *did loſe what Chriſtian Baptiſm had given them being newly born. They loſt* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *the Grace of Baptiſm, if we conſider to what their Parents impiety did tend*; although the Mercy of God preſerved them, and will alſo in that dreadful day of account give them favourable audience, pleading in their own behalf, *The harm of other Mens perfidiouſneſs, it lay not in us to avoid.* After the ſame manner, whatſoever we read written, if it ſound to the prejudice of Baptiſm through any either Moral or Eccleſiaſtical defect therein, we conſtrue it, as Equity and Reaſon teacheth, with reſtraint to the offender only; which doth, as far as concerneth himſelf and them which wittingly concur with him, make the Sacrament of God fruitleſs. (*a*) St. *Auguſtines doubtfulneſs*, Whether Baptiſm by a Lay-Man may ſtand, or ought to be re-adminiſtred, ſhould not be mentioned by them which preſume to define peremptorily of that, wherein he was content to profeſs himſelf unreſolved. Albeit, in very truth, his opinion is plain enough; but the manner of delivering his judgment being modeſt, they make of a virtue, an imbecillity, and impute his calmneſs of ſpeech to an irreſolution of mind. His diſputation in that place is againſt *Parmenian,* which held, That a Biſhop or a Prieſt, if they fall into any Hereſie, do thereby loſe the Power which they had before to Baptize, and that therefore Baptiſm by Hereticks is meerly void. For anſwer whereof he firſt denieth, That Hereſie can more deprive Men of power to Baptize others, than it is of force to take from them their own Baptiſm: And in the ſecond place he farther addeth, That if Hereticks did loſe the power which before was given them by Ordination, and did therefore unlawfully uſurp as oft as they took upon them to give the Sacrament of Baptiſm, it followeth not, That Baptiſm, by them adminiſtred without Authority, is no Baptiſm. For then, what ſhould we think of Baptiſm by Lay-men, to whom Authority was never given? I doubt (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) whether any Man which carrieth a virtuous and godly mind will affirm, That the Baptiſm which Lay-men do in caſe of neceſſity adminiſter, ſhould be iterated, *For to do it unneceſſarily, is to execute another Mans office; neceſſity urging, to do it is then either no fault at all* (much leſs ſo grievous a crime, that it ſhould deſerve to be termed by the name of (*b*) Sacrilege,) *or if any, a very pardonable fault. But ſuppoſe it even of very purpoſe uſurped and given unto any Man by every Man that liſteth, yet that which is given cannot poſſibly be denied to have been given, how truly ſoever we may ſay, it hath not been given lawfully. Unlawful Uſurpation, a penitent Affection muſt redreſs. If not, the thing that was given ſhall remain to the hurt and detriment of him, which unlawfully either adminiſtred or received the ſame; yet ſo, that in this reſpect it ought not to be reputed, as if it had not at all been given.* Whereby we may plainly perceive, that St. *Auguſtine* was not himſelf uncertain what to think, but doubtful, Whether any well-minded Man in the whole World could think otherwiſe than he did. Their (*c*) Argument taken from a ſtoln Seal, may return to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cauſe nothing. That which Men give or grant to others, muſt appear to have proceeded of their own accord. This being manifeſt, their Gifts and Grants are thereby

* *Factum alterius alii nocere non debet.* Ulp l. de Pupillo, ſect. Si Plurimum. Item Alphon. l. Pater familias De Hære. Inſtit. *Maleficia tenent Authores ſuos, non alios.* l. Sancimus 22. C. de. Pœn.

† *Auguſt. Epiſt.* 23.

(*b*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 116. The Sacrilege of Private Perſons, Women eſpecially, in Adminiſtring the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm.

(*a*) *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 136. *Auguſtine* ſtandeth in doubt, whether Baptiſm by a Lay-man be available, or no. *Cont. lit. Parmen. lib.* 2 *cap.* 13. Where by all likelihood he was out of doubt, that that which was miniſtred by a Woman, whoſe unaptneſs herein is double to that of a Lay-man, was of no effect.

(*c*) *T. C. lib.* 3. *pag.* 139. As by the Seal which the Prince hath ſet apart to Seal his Grants with, when it is ſtoln and ſet to by him that hath no authority, there groweth no aſſurance to the party that hath it: So if it were poſſible to be the Seal of God, which a Woman ſhould ſet to, yet for that ſhe hath ſtoln it, and put it to; not only without, but contrary to the Commandment of God: I ſee not how any can take any aſſurance by reaſon thereof.

thereby made effectual, both to bar themſelves from revocation, and to aſſecure the right they have given. Wherein, for further prevention of miſchiefs that otherwiſe might grow by the malice, treachery and fraud of Men, it is both equal and meet, that the ſtrength of Mens Deeds, and the Inſtruments which declare the ſame, ſhould ſtrictly depend upon divers Solemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reaſon in things that paſs between God and us; becauſe ſith we need not doubt, leſt the Treaſures of his Heavenly Grace ſhould without his conſent be paſt by forged conveyances; nor leſt he ſhould deny at any time his own acts, and ſeek to revoke what hath been conſented unto before: As there is no ſuch fear of danger through deceit and falſhood in this caſe, ſo neither hath the circumſtance of Mens perſons that weight in Baptiſm, which for good and juſt conſiderations in the cuſtody of Seals of Office it ought to have. The Grace of Baptiſm cometh by Donation from God alone. That God hath committed the Miniſtry of Baptiſm unto ſpecial Men, it is for orders ſake in his Church, and not to the end that their Authority might give being, or add force to the Sacrament it-ſelf. That Infants have right to the Sacrament in Baptiſm, we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot, as guileful and wrongful poſſeſſors of that, whereunto they have right by the manifeſt will of the Donor, and are not parties unto any defect or diſorder in the manner of receiving the ſame. And if any ſuch diſorder be, we have ſufficiently before declared, That *delictum cum capite ſemper ambulat*, Mens own faults are their own harms. Wherefore, to countervail this and the like miſchoſen reſemblances, with that which more truly and plainly agreeth; the Ordinance of God, concerning their Vocation that miniſter Baptiſm, wherein the Myſtery of our Regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the ſame Analogy, which Laws of Wedlock have to our firſt Nativity and Birth: So that if Nature do effect procreation, notwithſtanding the wicked violation and breach even of Natures Law made that the entrance of all mankind into this preſent World might be without blemiſh; may we not juſtly preſume, that Grace doth accompliſh the other, although there be faultineſs in them that tranſgreſs the Order, which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in his Church? Some Light may be borrowed from Circumciſion, for Explication of what is true in this queſtion of Baptiſm. Seeing then that even they which condemn *Zipporah* the Wife of *Moſes*, for taking upon her to Circumciſe her ſon, a thing neceſſary at that time for her to do, and as I think very hard to reprove in her, conſidering how *Moſes*, becauſe himſelf had not done it ſooner, was therefore ſtricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremity perform the Office; whereupon, for the ſtay of God's indignation, there was no choice, but the action muſt needs fall into her hands; whoſe fact therein whether we interpret, as ſome have done, that being a *Midianite*, and as yet not ſo throughly acquainted with the Jewiſh Rites, it much diſcontented her, to ſee her ſelf, through her Husbands overſight in a Matter of his own Religion, brought unto theſe perplexities and ſtreights; that either ſhe muſt now endure him periſhing before her eyes, or elſe wound the fleſh of her own Child; which ſhe could not do, but with ſome indignation ſhewed, in that ſhe fumingly, both threw down the foreskin at his feet, and upbraided him with the cruelty of his Religion: Or, if we better like to follow their more judicious Expoſition, which are not inclinable to think, that *Moſes* was matched like *Socrates*, nor that Circumciſion could now in *Eleazar* be ſtrange unto her, having had *Gerſom* her elder ſon before circumciſed; nor that any occaſion of choler could riſe from a ſpectacle of ſuch miſery, as doth (*a*) naturally move Compaſſion, and not Wrath; nor that *Zipporah* was ſo impious, as in the viſible preſence of God's deſerved Anger to ſtorm at the Ordinance and Law of God; nor that the words of the Hiſtory it-ſelf can inforce any ſuch affection, but do only declare how after the act performed ſhe *touched* the feet of *Moſes*, ſaying, (*b*) *Sponſus tu mihi es ſanguinum, Thou art unto me an Husband of Blood*; which might be very well, the one done, and the other ſpoken, even out of the flowing abundance of commiſeration and love, to ſignifie, with hands laid under his feet, That her tender affection towards him, had cauſed her thus to forget Womanhood, to lay all Motherly affection aſide, and to redeem her Husband out of the hands of Death, with effuſion of Blood: The ſequel thereof, take it which way you will, is a plain Argument, That God was ſatiſfied with that ſhe did, as may appear by his own Teſtimony, declaring, How there followed in the perſon of *Moſes* preſent releaſe of his grievous puniſhment, upon her ſpeedy diſcharge of that duty, which by him neglected had offended God; even as after execution of Juſtice by the hands of *Phineas*, the Plague was immediately taken away, which former impunity of ſin had cauſed: In which ſo manifeſt and plain caſes, not to make that a reaſon of the event, which God himſelf hath ſet down as a reaſon, were falſly to accuſe whom he doth juſtifie, and without any cauſe to traduce what we ſhould allow; yet ſeeing they which will have it a breach of the Law of God for her to circumciſe in that neceſſity, are not able to deny, but Circumciſion being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent Child which received it, true Circumciſion;

Exod. 4. 24. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 144. I ſay that the unlawfulneſs of that fact doth appear ſufficiently, in that ſhe did it before her Husband *Moſes*, which was a Prophet of the Lord, to whom that Office of Circumciſion did appertain. Beſides, that ſhe did cut off the Foreskin of the Infant, not of mind to obey the Commandment of God, or for the Salvation of the Child; but in a choler only, to the end, that her Husband might be eaſed, and have releaſe: Which mind appeareth in her, both by her words, and by caſting away in anger the Fore-skin which ſhe had cut off. And if it be ſaid, That the event declared, that the act pleaſed God, becauſe that *Moſes* forthwith waxed better, and was recovered of his Sickneſs; I have ſhewed before, That if we meaſure things by the event, we ſhall oftentimes juſtifie the wicked, and take the righteouſneſs of the righteous from them.

(*a*) *Mala paſſis non iraſcimur, ſed compatimur*, Boet. de Conſol.

(*b*) Where the uſual Tranſlation hath, *Exod.* 4. 25. She cut away the Fore-skin of her ſon, and caſt it at his feet, and ſaid, Thou art indeed a bloody Husband unto me. So he departed from him. Then ſhe ſaid, O bloody Husband, becauſe of the Circumciſion. The words as they lie in the original, are rather thus to be interpreted: And ſhe cut off the Fore-skin of her ſon. Which being done, ſhe touched his Feet (the Feet of *Moſes*) and ſaid, Thou art to me an Husband of Blood (in the Plural number, thereby ſignifying Effuſion of Blood.) And the Lord withdrew from him at the very time, when ſhe ſaid, A Husband of Blood, in regard of Circumciſion.

Pſal. 106. 30.

cumciſion; why ſhould that defect, whereby Circumciſion was ſo little weakned, be to Baptiſm a deadly wound? Theſe Premiſes therefore remaining, as hitherto they have been laid, becauſe the Commandment of our Saviour Chriſt, which committeth (*a*) joyntly to Publick Miniſters both Doctrine and Baptiſm, doth no more, by linking them together, import, That the Nature of the Sacrament dependeth on the Miniſters Authority and Power to Preach the Word, than the force and virtue of the Word doth on Licence to give the Sacrament; and conſidering, that the Work of External Miniſtry in Baptiſm is only a pre-eminence of honour, which they that take to themſelves, and are not thereunto called as *Aaron* was, do but themſelves in their own perſons, by means of ſuch uſurpation, incur the juſt blame of diſobedience to the Law of God; farther alſo, in as much as it ſtandeth with no reaſon, That Errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of other Mens Deeds, ſhould make fruſtrate whatſoever is miſconceived; and that Baptiſm by Women ſhould ceaſe to be Baptiſm, as oft as any Man will thereby gather, That Children which die unbaptized are damned; which opinion if the Act of Baptiſm adminiſtred in ſuch manner did inforce, it might be ſufficient cauſe of diſliking the ſame, but none of defeating or making it altogether void: Laſt of all, whereas general and full conſent of the godly-learned in all ages doth make for Validity of Baptiſm, yea, albeit adminiſtred in private, and even by Women; which kind of Baptiſm, in caſe of neceſſity, divers Reformed Churches do both allow and defend, ſome others which do not defend, tolerate; few, in compariſon, and they without any juſt cauſe, do utterly diſannul and annihilate: Surely howſoever through defect on either ſide the Sacrament may be without Fruit, as well in ſome caſes to him which receiveth, as to him which giveth it; yet no diſability of either part can ſo far make it fruſtrate and without effect, as to deprive it of the very Nature of true Baptiſm, having all things elſe which the Ordinance of Chriſt requireth. Whereupon we may conſequently infer, That the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament by private perſons, be it lawful or unlawful, appeareth not as yet to be meerly void.

(*a*) T. C. l. 3 p. 142. Seeing they only are bidden in the Scripture to adminiſter the Sacraments, which are bidden to Preach the Word, and that the publick Miniſters have only this charge of the Word; and ſeeing that the Adminiſtration of both theſe are ſo linked together, that the denial of licence to do one, is a denial to do the other; as of the contrary part, licence to one, is licence to the other; conſidering alſo that to miniſter the Sacraments is an honour in the Church, which none can take unto him, but he which is called unto it, as was *Aaron*: and further, for as much as the Baptizing by private perſons, and by Women eſpecially, confirmeth the dangerous Error of the Condemnation of young Children which die without Baptiſm: Laſt of all, ſeeing we have the conſent of the godly learned of all times againſt the Baptiſm by Women, and of the Reformed Churches now, againſt the Baptiſm by private Men; we conclude, That the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament by private perſons, and eſpecially by Women, is meerly both unlawful and void.

Interrogatories in Baptiſm touching Faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.

63. All that are of the Race of Chriſt, the Scripture nameth them, *Children of the Promiſe*, which God hath made. The Promiſe of Eternal Life is the Seed of the Church of God. And becauſe there is no attainment of life, but through the only-begotten Son of God, nor by him otherwiſe than being ſuch as the Creed Apoſtolick deſcribeth; it followeth, That the Articles thereof are Principles neceſſary for all Men to ſubſcribe unto, whom by Baptiſm the Church receiveth into Chriſt's School. All Points of Chriſtian Doctrine are either demonſtrable Concluſions, or demonſtrative Principles. Concluſions have ſtrong and invincible Proofs, as well in the School of Jeſus Chriſt, as elſewhere. And Principles be Grounds, which require no Proof in any kind of Science, becauſe it ſufficeth, if either their certainty be evident in it-ſelf, or evident by the light of ſome higher knowledge, and in it-ſelf ſuch as no Mans knowledge is ever able to overthrow. Now the principles whereupon we do build our ſouls, have their evidence where they had their original; and as received from thence, we adore them, we hold them in reverend admiration, we neither argue nor diſpute about them, we give unto them that aſſent which the Oracles of God require. We are not therefore aſhamed of the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe miſcreants in ſcorn have upbraided us, That the higheſt point of our Wiſdom is, (*a*) *Believe*. That which is true, and neither can be diſcerned by Senſe, nor concluded by meer Natural Principles, muſt have Principles of revealed Truth whereupon to build it-ſelf, and an habit of Faith in us, wherewith Principles of that kind are apprehended. * The Myſteries of our Religion are above the reach of our Underſtanding, above diſcourſe of Mans Reaſon, above all that any Creature can comprehend. Therefore the firſt thing required of him, which ſtandeth for admiſſion into Chriſt's Family, is Belief. Which Belief conſiſteth not ſo much in knowledge, as in acknowledgment of all things that Heavenly Wiſdom revealeth; the Affection of Faith is above her reach, her Love to God-ward above the comprehenſion which ſhe hath of God. And becauſe only for Believers all things may be done, he which is Goodneſs it-ſelf loveth them above all. Deſerve we then the love of God, becauſe we believe in the Son of God? What more oppoſite than Faith and Pride? When God had created all things, he looked upon them, and loved them, becauſe they were all as himſelf had made them. So the true Reaſon wherefore Chriſt doth love Believers is, Becauſe their belief is the (*b*) gift of God, a gift than which fleſh and blood in this World cannot poſſibly receive a greater. And as to love them, of whom we receive goods things, is Duty, becauſe they ſatisfie our deſires in that which elſe we ſhould want; ſo to love them on whom we beſtow, is Nature, becauſe in them we behold the effects of our own virtue. Seeing therefore no Religion enjoyeth Sacraments, the ſigns of God's love, unleſs it have alſo that Faith whereupon the Sacraments are built, could there be any thing more convenient than that our firſt admittance to the Actual Receipt of his Grace in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, ſhould be (*c*) conſecrated with Profeſſion of Belief; which is to the Kingdom of God as a Key, the want whereof excludeth Infidels, both from that and from all other ſaving grace: We find by experience, that although Faith be an Intellectual Habit of the Mind, and have her Seat in the Underſtanding; yet an evil Moral Diſpoſition, obſtinately wedded to the love of darkneſs, dampeth the very Light

(*a*) *Apoſtatæ maledictum.* Οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τὸ πίϛευσον τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐϛὶ σοφίας. *Naz. Orat. 1. contr. Julia.*

* ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ὑπὲρ λόγον, ὑπὲρ κατάληψιν κτιϛῆς φύσεως τὰ ἡμέτερα. *Juſt. Mart. Expoſ. Fid.*

(*b*) Matth. 16. 17. John 1. 12.

(*c*) *Spiritus Sanctus habitator ejus Templi non efficitur, quod Antiſtitem non habet veram Fidem.* Hieron. adv. Lucifer, cap. 4.

Light of Heavenly Illumination, and permitteth not the mind to ſee what doth ſhine before it. Men are lovers of Pleaſure, more than lovers of God. Their aſſent to his ſaving Truth is many times with-held from it, not that the Truth is too weak to perſwade, but becauſe the ſtream of corrupt Affection carrieth them a clean contrary way. That the mind therefore may abide in the Light of Faith, there muſt abide in the will as conſtant a reſolution to have no Fellowſhip at all with the vanities and works of Darkneſs. Two Covenants there are which Chriſtian Men (ſaith (*a*) *Iſidore*) do make in Baptiſm, the one concerning relinquiſhment of Satan, the other touching Obedience to the Faith of Chriſt. In like ſort (*b*) St. *Ambroſe*, *He which is Baptized, forſaketh the intellectual Pharaoh the Prince of this World*, ſaying, *Abrenuncio*; *Thee, O Satan, and thy Angels, thy Works and thy mandates, I forſake utterly.* (*c*) *Tertullian* having ſpeech of wicked Spirits: *Theſe* (ſaith he) *are the Angels which we in Baptiſm renounce.* The Declaration of (*d*) *Juſtin* the Martyr concerning Baptiſm, ſheweth how ſuch as the Church in thoſe days did Baptize made profeſſion of Chriſtian belief, and undertook to live accordingly. Neither do I think it a matter eaſie for any Man to prove, that ever Baptiſm did uſe to be adminiſtred without Interrogatories of theſe two kinds. Whereunto (*e*) St. *Peter* (as it may be thought) alluding hath ſaid, That the Baptiſm *which ſaveth us*, is not (as Legal Purifications were) a cleanſing of the Fleſh from outward impurity, but ἐπερώτημα, *an Interrogative tryal of a good conſcience towards God.*

(*a*) *Iſid de Offic. Eccleſ. lib.* 2. *cap.* 24.
(*b*) *Ambroſ. Hexam lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.
(*c*) *Tertul. de Spectac.*
(*d*) Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ἀφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνεγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται. *Juſtin. apol.* (*e*) 1 Pet 3. 21.

64. Now the fault which they find with us concerning Interrogatories, is our moving of theſe Queſtions unto Infants which cannot anſwer them, and the anſwering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptiſt hath many pretences to ſcorn at the Baptiſm of Children: Firſt, Becauſe the Scriptures he ſaith do no where give Commandment to Baptize Infants: Secondly, For that as there is no Commandment, ſo neither any manifeſt example, ſhewing it to have been done either by Chriſt, or his Apoſtles: Thirdly, In as much as the Word Preached and the Sacraments muſt go together; they which are not capable of the one, are not fit receivers of the other: Laſt of all, ſith the Order of Baptiſm continued from the firſt beginning hath in it thoſe things which are unfit to be applyed unto Sucking Children, it followeth in their conceit, that the Baptiſm of ſuch is no Baptiſm, but plain mockery. They with whom we contend, are no enemies to the Baptiſm of Infants; it is not their deſire, that the Church ſhould hazard ſo many Souls, by letting them run on till they come to ripeneſs of underſtanding, that ſo they may be converted, and then Baptized, as infidels heretofore have been; they bear not towards God ſo unthankful minds, as not to acknowledge it even amongſt the greateſt of his endleſs mercies, that by making us his own poſſeſſion ſo ſoon, many advantages which Satan otherwiſe might take are prevented, and (which ſhould be eſteemed a part of no ſmall happineſs) the firſt thing whereof we have occaſion to take notice is, How much hath been done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge: The Baptiſm of Infants they eſteem as an ordinance which Chriſt hath inſtituted, even in ſpecial love and favour to his own People; they deny not the practice thereof accordingly to have been kept, as derived from the Hands, and continued from the Days of the Apoſtles themſelves unto this preſent; only it pleaſeth them not, that to Infants there ſhould be Interrogatories propoſed in Baptiſm. This they condemn as fooliſh, toyiſh and prophane mockery: But are they able to ſhew, that ever the Church of Chriſt had any publick Form of Baptiſm without Interrogatories; or that the Church did ever uſe at the Solemn Baptiſm of Infants to omit thoſe Queſtions as needleſs in this caſe? (*e*) *Boniface*, a Biſhop in St. *Auguſtine*'s time, knowing that the Church did Univerſally uſe this cuſtom of Baptizing Infants with Interrogatories, was deſirous to learn from St. *Auguſtine* the true cauſe and reaſon thereof. *If* (ſaith he) *I ſhould ſet before thee a young Infant, and ſhould ask of thee, whether that Infant when he cometh unto riper age, will be honeſt and juſt, or no; thou wouldſt anſwer,* (*I know*) *that to tell in theſe things what ſhall come to paſs is not in the power of mortal Man. If I ſhould ask, what good or evil ſuch an Infant thinketh, thine anſwer hereunto muſt needs be again with the like uncertainty. If thou neither canſt promiſe for the time to come, nor for the preſent pronounce any thing in this caſe; How is it, that when ſuch are brought unto Baptiſm, their Parents there undertake what the Child ſhall afterwards do? Yea, they are not doubtful to ſay, It doth that which is impoſſible to be done by Infants. At the leaſt there is no Man preciſely able to affirm it done. Vouchſafe me hereunto ſome ſhort anſwer, ſuch as not only may preſs me with the bare Authority of Cuſtom, but alſo inſtruct me in the cauſe thereof.* Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly be ſaid for Infants at the time of their Baptiſm, that they do believe; the effect of St. *Auguſtines* anſwer is, Yea; but with this diſtinction, (*f*) a preſent *Actual habit of Faith there is not in them*; there is delivered unto them that Sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof conſiſting in anſwering to the Articles of Faith, *becauſe* the habit of Faith, which afterwards doth come with years, is but *a farther* building up of the ſame edifice, *the firſt foundation whereof was laid by the Sacrament of Baptiſm.* For that which there we profeſſed without any underſtanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do we any thing elſe, but only bring unto ripeneſs the very Seed that was ſown before? We are *then Believers*, becauſe *then we begin to be* that which proceſs of time doth make perfect. And till we come to Actual Belief, the very Sacrament of Faith is a ſhield as ſtrong as after this the Faith of the Sacrament againſt all contrary Infernal Powers. Which whoſoever doth think impoſſible, is undoubtedly farther off from Chriſtian belief, though he be Baptized,

Interrogatories propoſed unto Infants in Baptiſm, and anſwered as in their Names by God-fathers. They prophane holy Baptiſm in toying fooliſhly; for that they ask Queſtions of an Infant which cannot anſwer, and ſpeak unto them, as was wont to be ſpoken unto Men, and unto ſuch as being converted anſwered for themſelves, and were Baptized. Which is but a mockery of God, and therefore againſt the holy Scriptures, *Gal.* 6. 7. Admonition to the Parlaiment. The ſame defended in *T. C. lib.* 1. *page* 168

(*e*) *Aug. Epiſt.* 23.

(*f*) *Sicut credere reſpondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipſa mente annuendo, ſed ipſius rei Sacramentum percipiendo.* Aug.

than are theſe Innocents, which at their Baptiſm, albeit they have no conceit or cogitation of Faith, are notwithſtanding pure and free from all oppoſite cogitations, whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any fear or ſcruple we may account them and term them Believers only for their outward profeſſions ſake, which inwardly are farther from Faith than Infants, Why not Infants much more at the time of their ſolemn Initiation by Baptiſm, the Sacrament of Faith, whereunto they not only conceive nothing oppoſite, but have alſo that (a) Grace given them, which is the firſt and moſt effectual cauſe out of which our belief groweth? In ſum, the whole Church is a multitude of Believers, all honoured with that title, even Hypocrites for their Profeſſions ſake, as well as Saints becauſe of their inward ſincere perſwaſion, and *Infants, as being in the Firſt degree of their ghoſtly motion towards the actual habit of Faith*; the firſt ſort are faithful in the Eye of the World; the ſecond faithful in the ſight of God; the laſt in the ready direct way to become both, if all things after be ſuitable to theſe their preſent beginnings. *This* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *would not haply content ſuch Perſons as are uncapable or unquiet; but to them which having knowledge are not troubleſome, it may ſuffice: Wherein I have not for eaſe of my-ſelf objected againſt you that cuſtom only, than which nothing is more firm; but of a cuſtom moſt profitable, I have done that little which I could, to yield you a reaſonable cauſe.* Were St. *Auguſtine* now living, there are which would tell him for his better inſtruction, that to ſay (b) of a Child, *It is elect*, and to ſay, It doth believe, are all one; for which cauſe, ſith no Man is able preciſely to affirm the one of any Infant in particular, it followeth, that *preciſely* and *abſolutely* we ought not to ſay the other. Which *preciſe* and *abſolute* terms are needleſs in this caſe. We ſpeak of Infants, *as the rule of piety* alloweth both to ſpeak and think. They that can take to themſelves in ordinary talk a charitable kind of liberty to name Men of their own ſort *God's dear children* (notwithſtanding the large reign of Hypocriſie) ſhould not methinks be ſo ſtrict and rigorous againſt the Church for preſuming as it doth, of a Chriſtian Innocent. For when we know how Chriſt in general hath ſaid, that *of ſuch* is the Kingdom of Heaven, which Kingdom is the Inheritance of God's Elect; and do withal behold, how his providence hath called them unto the firſt beginnings of Eternal Life, and preſented them at the Well-ſpring of new birth, wherein original ſin is purged; beſides which ſin there is no hindrance of their Salvation known to us, as themſelves will grant; hard it were, that having ſo many fair inducements whereupon to ground, we ſhould not be thought to utter, at the leaſt, a truth as probable and allowable in terming any ſuch particular Infant an elect Babe, as in preſuming (c) the like of others, whoſe ſafety nevertheleſs we are not *abſolutely* able to warrant. If any troubled with theſe ſcruples be only for Inſtructions ſake deſirous to know yet ſome farther reaſon, why Interrogatories ſhould be miniſtred to Infants in Baptiſm, and be anſwered unto by others, as in their names; they may conſider, that Baptiſm implieth a Covenant or League between God and Man, wherein as God doth beſtow preſently remiſſion of ſins and the Holy Ghoſt, binding alſo himſelf to add in proceſs of time, what Grace ſoever ſhall be farther neceſſary for the attainment of Everlaſting Life; ſo every Baptized Soul receiving the ſame Grace at the hands of God, tieth likewiſe it-ſelf for ever to the obſervation of his Law, no leſs than the Jews (d) by Circumciſion bound themſelves to the Law of *Moſes*. The Law of Chriſt requiring therefore Faith and newneſs of life in all Men, by virtne of the Covenant which they make in Baptiſm, Is it toyiſh, that the Church in Baptiſm exacteth at every Mans hands an expreſs Profeſſion of Faith, and an irrevocable promiſe of obedience by way of * ſolemn ſtipulation? That Infants may contract and covenant with God, † the Law is plain. Neither is the reaſon of the Law obſcure: For ſith it tendeth, we cannot ſufficiently expreſs how much, to their own good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to begin the race of their lives herewith; they are, as equity requireth, admitted hereunto, and in favour of their tender years, ſuch formal complements of ſtipulation, as being requiſite are impoſſible by themſelves in their own perſons to be performed, leave is given that they may * ſufficiently diſcharge by others. Albeit therefore, neither deaf, nor dumb Men, neither furious perſons, nor Children, can receive any civil ſtipulation; yet this kind of Ghoſtly ſtipulation they may through his indulgence, who reſpecting the ſingular benefit thereof, accepteth Children brought unto him for that end, entreth into Articles of Covenant with them, and in tender commiſeration granteth that other Mens Profeſſions and Promiſes in Baptiſm made for them ſhall avail no leſs, than if they had been themſelves able to have made their own. None more fit to undertake this office in their behalf, than ſuch as preſent them unto Baptiſm. A wrong conceit, that none may receive the Sacrament of Baptiſm, but they whoſe Parents, at the leaſt the one of them, are by the ſoundneſs of their Religion, and by their virtuous demeanor, known to be Men of God, hath cauſed (e) ſome to repel Children whoſoever bring them, if their Parents be miſ-perſwaded in Religion, or for other miſ-deſerts excommunicated; ſome likewiſe for that cauſe to with-hold Baptiſm, unleſs the Father, albeit no ſuch exception can juſtly be taken againſt him, do notwithſtanding make Profeſſion of his Faith, and avouch the Child to be his own. Thus whereas God hath appointed them Miniſters of holy things, they make themſelves inquiſitors of Mens perſons, a great deal farther than need is. They ſhould conſider, that God hath ordained Baptiſm in favour of mankind. To reſtrain favours is an odious thing; to enlarge them, acceptable both to God and Man: Whereas therefore the Civil Law gave divers Immunities to them that were Fathers of three Children, and had them living; thoſe Immunities they held, although their Children were all Dead, if War had conſumed them, becauſe it ſeemed in that caſe not againſt reaſon, to repute them by a courteous conſtruction of Law as live Men, in that the honour of their ſervice done to the Common-wealth would remain always. Can it hurt us, in exhibiting the Graces which God doth beſtow on Men, or can it prejudice his Glory, if the ſelf-ſame equity guide and direct our Hands? When God made his covenant with ſuch as had *Abraham* to their Father, was only *Abraham's* immediate iſſue, or only his lineal Poſterity according to the Fleſh, included in that Covenant? Were not Proſelytes as well as Jews, always taken for the Sons of *Abraham*? Yea becauſe the very Heads of Families are Fathers in ſome ſort, as touching providence and care for the meaneſt that belong unto them; the ſervants which *Abraham* had bought with Money, were as capable of Circumciſion, being newly born, as any natural Child that *Abraham* himſelf begat. Be it then, that Baptiſm belongeth to none, but ſuch as either believe preſently, or elſe being Infants are the Children of *Believing Parents*. In caſe the Church do bring Children to the holy Font, whoſe Natural Parents are either unknown, or known to be ſuch as the Church accurſeth, but yet forgetteth not in that ſeverity to take compaſſion upon their Off-ſpring, (for (*a*) it is the Church which doth offer them to Baptiſm by the Miniſtry of Preſenters) were it not againſt both equity and duty to refuſe the Mother of Believers herſelf, and not to take her in this caſe for a Faithful Parent? It is not the virtue of our Fathers, nor the Faith of any other, that can give us the true holineſs which we have by virtue of our New Birth. Yet even through the common Faith and Spirit of God's Church (a thing which no quality of Parents can prejudice) I ſay through the Faith of the Church of God, undertaking the Motherly care of our Souls, ſo far forth we may be, and are in our Infancy ſanctified, as to be thereby made ſufficiently capable of Baptiſm, and to be intereſſed in the Rites of our New Birth for their Pieties ſake that offer us thereunto. *It cometh ſometime to paſs* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *that the Children of Bond-ſlaves are brought to Baptiſm by their Lord; ſometime, the Parents being dead, the Friends alive undertake that office; ſometime Strangers or Virgins conſecrated unto God, which neither have, nor can have Children of their own, take up Infants in the open Streets, and ſo offer them unto Baptiſm, whom the cruelty of unnatural Parents caſteth out, and leaveth to the adventure of uncertain Pity.* As therefore he which did the part of a Neighbour was a Neighbour to that wounded Man whom the Parable of the Goſpel deſcribeth, ſo they are Fathers although Strangers, that bring Infants to him which maketh them the Sons of God. In the phraſe of ſome kind of Men they uſe to be termed *Witneſſes*, as if they came but to ſee and teſtifie what is done. It ſavoureth more of Piety to give them their old accuſtomed name of Fathers and Mothers in God, whereby they are well put in mind what affection they ought to bear towards thoſe innocents, for whoſe religious education the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their own duty: But becauſe the anſwer which they make to the uſual demand of ſtipulations propoſed in Baptiſm, is not their own; the Church doth beſt to receive it of them, in that form which beſt ſheweth whoſe the Act is. That which a Guardian doth in the name of his Guard or Pupil, ſtandeth by natural equity forceable for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge. And ſhall we judge it a thing unreaſonable, or in any reſpect unfit, That Infants by words which others utter, ſhould, though unwittingly, yet truly and forceably, bind themſelves to that whereby their Eſtate is ſo aſſuredly bettered? Herewith *Neſtorius* (*b*) the Heretick was charged, as having faln from his firſt Profeſſion, and broken the promiſe which he made to God in the Arms of others. Of ſuch as prophaned themſelves, being Chriſtians, with irreligious delight in the Enſigns of Idolatry, Heatheniſh Spectacles, Shows and Stage-plays, (*c*) *Tertullian*, to ſtrike them the more deep, claimeth the Promiſe which they made in Baptiſm. Why were they dumb, being thus challenged? Wherefore ſtood they not up to anſwer in their own defence, that ſuch Profeſſions and Promiſes made in their names, were frivolous, that all which others undertook for them, was but mockery and profanation? That which no Heretick, no wicked liver, no impious deſpiſer of God, no miſcreant or malefactor, which had himſelf been Baptized, was ever ſo deſperate as to diſgorge in contempt of ſo fruitfully received Cuſtoms, is now their voice that reſtore, as they ſay, *The ancient Purity of Religion.*

(a) *Multum mirabilis res eſt, quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoſcentium Deum ſit inhabitator Deus; & quorundam cognoſcentium, non ſit. Nec illi enim ad Templum Dei pertinent qui cognoſcentes Deum non ſicut Deum glorificaverunt: & ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli ſanctificati Sacramento Chriſti, regenerati Spiritu Sancto, qui per ætatem nondum poſſunt cognoſcere Deum. Unde quem potuerunt illi noſſe nec habere, iſti potuerunt habere antequam noſſe.* Aug. Epiſt. 57.

(b) *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 169. If Children could have Faith, yet they that preſent the Child cannot preciſely tell whether that particular Child hath Faith, or no; we are to think chartitably, and to hope it is one of the Church, but it can be no more preciſely ſaid, that it hath Faith, than it may be ſaid preciſely elected.

(c) 2 John 1.

(d) Gal. 5. 3.

(*) *Stipulatio eſt verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur daturum facturumve ſe quod interrogatus eſt reſpondet.* l. 5. Sect. 1. ff. de Oblig. & Act. *in hac re olim talia verba tradita ſunt. Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide jubes? Fide jubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam.* Inſtit. de verb. Oblig. lib. 3. tit. 15.

† Gen. 17. 14.

* *Accommodat illis mater Eccleſia aliorum pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur ut quoniam quod ægri ſunt alio peccante prægravantur, ſic cum ſani fiant alio pro eis confitente ſalventur.* Aug. Serm. 10. de Verb. Apoſt.

(e) *T. C. lib.* 1. *p.* 172.

Hi enim qui pro Rep ceciderunt, in perpetuum per gloriam vivere intelliguntur. Inſtit. lib. 2. tit. 25. ſect. 1.

(*a*) *Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam ſpiritualem gratiam, non tam ab eis quorum geſtantur manibus, quamvis & ab ipſis ſi & ipſi boni & fideles ſint, quàm ab univerſa ſocietate ſanctorum atque fidelium.* Aug. in Epiſt. 23.

Ἀξιοῦνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ Βαπτίσματι. *Juſtin. Reſp. ad Orthod.*

Of the Croſs in Baptiſm.

65. In Baptiſm many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and clean aboliſhed; for that the Virtue and Grace of this Sacrament had been therewith overſhadowed, as fruit with too great abundance of leaves. Notwithſtanding to them, which think that always imperfect Reformation, that doth but ſhear and not flay, our retaining certain of thoſe former Rites, eſpecially the *dangerous* Sign of the Croſs, hath ſeemed almoſt an impardonable overſight. *The Croſs* (they ſay) *ſith it is but a meer invention of Man, ſhould not therefore at all have been added to the Sacrament of Baptiſm. To Sign Childrens Fore-heads with a Croſs, in token that here-*

after

(*b*) *Si Arianæ aut Sabellianæ hæreſeos adſertor eſſes, & non tuo ipſius ſymbolo tecum uterer, convincerem te tamen teſtimoniorum ſacrorum auctoritate, quid tandem ſi ſic apud te agerem, quid diceres? quid reſponderes? nonne obſecro illud, in eo te Baptizatum, in eo te renatum eſſe? Et verè, in negotio quamvis improbo non importuna defenſio, & quæ non abſurdè cauſam erroris diceres, ſi pertinaciam non ſociares errori. Nunc autem cùm in Catholica urbe natus, Catholica Fide inſtitutus, Catholico Baptiſmate regeneratus ſis, nunquid agere tecum quaſi cum Ariano aut Sabelliano poſſim? Quod utinam fuiſſes. Minus dolerem in malis editum quàm de bonis lapſum, minus Fidem non habitam quàm amiſſam. Non iniquum autem, Hæretice, non iniquum aut grave aliquid poſtulo. Hoc fac in Catholica Fide editus, quod fueras pro perverſitate facturus.* Caſſian. de Incarn lib. 6. cap. 5.

(*c*) *Tertul. lib. de Spectac.*

after they ſhall not be aſhamed to make Profeſſion of the Faith of Chriſt, is to bring into the Church a new Word, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church, but our Saviour Chriſt. That reaſon which moved the Fathers to uſe, ſhould move us not to uſe the Sign of the Croſs. They lived with Heathens that had the Croſs of Chriſt in contempt, we with ſuch as adore the Croſs; and therefore we ought to abandon it, even as, in like conſideration, Hezekiah *did of old the Brazen Serpent.* Theſe are the cauſes of diſpleaſure conceived againſt the Croſs; a Ceremony, the uſe whereof hath been profitable, although we obſerve it not as the Ordinance of God, but of Man. *For* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *if of this and the like Cuſtoms, thou ſhouldſt require ſome Commandment to be ſhewed thee out of Scriptures, there is none found.* What reaſon there is to juſtifie Tradition, Uſe or Cuſtom in this behalf, *either thou mayſt of thy ſelf perceive, or elſe learn of ſome other that doth.* Leſt therefore the name of Tradition ſhould be offenſive to any, conſidering how far by ſome it hath been, and is abuſed, we mean by (*a*) Traditions, Ordinances made in the Prime of Chriſtian Religion, eſtabliſhed with that Authority which Chriſt hath left to his Church for matters indifferent, and in that conſideration requiſite to be obſerved, till like authority ſee juſt and reaſonable cauſe to alter them. So that Traditions Eccleſiaſtical are not rudely and in groſs to be ſhaken off, becauſe the Inventors of them were Men. Such as ſay, They allow no (*b*) invention of Man to be mingled with the Outward Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and under that pretence condemn our uſing the Sign of the Croſs, have belike ſome ſpecial Diſpenſation themſelves to violate their own Rules. For neither can they indeed decently, nor do they ever Baptize any without manifeſt breach of this their profound Axiom, *That Mens Inventions ſhould not be mingled with Sacraments and Inſtitutions of God.* They ſeem to like very well in Baptiſm the Cuſtom of God-fathers, (*c*) *becauſe ſo generally the Churches have received it.* Which Cuſtom being of God no more inſtituted than the other (howſoever they pretend the other hurtful, and this profitable) it followeth, That even in their own opinion, if their words do ſhew their minds, there is no neceſſity of ſtripping Sacraments out of all ſuch attire of Ceremonies, as Mans wiſdom hath at any time cloathed them withal; and conſequently, That either they muſt reform their ſpeech as over-general, or elſe condemn their own practice as unlawful. Ceremonies have more in weight than in ſight; they work by commonneſs of uſe much, although in the ſeveral acts of their uſage we ſcarcely diſcern any good they do. And becauſe the uſe which they have for the moſt part is not perfectly underſtood, Superſtition is apt to impute unto them greater virtue than indeed they have. For prevention whereof, when we uſe this Ceremony, we always plainly expreſs the end whereunto it ſerveth, namely, For a Sign of Remembrance to put us in mind of our duty. But by this mean they ſay we make it a great deal (*d*) worſe. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the duty which we owe to Chriſt, our practice with this Expoſition publiſheth a new *Goſpel*, and cauſeth another *Word* to have place in the Church of Chriſt, where no voice ought to be heard but his. By which good reaſon the Authors of thoſe grave admonitions to the Parliament are well holpen up, which held, *That ſitting at* Communions *betokeneth reſt and full accompliſhment of Legal Ceremonies in our Saviour Chriſt.* For although it be the Word of God, That ſuch Ceremonies are expired; yet ſeeing it is not the Word of God, that Men to ſignifie ſo much ſhould ſit at the Table of our Lord; theſe have their doom as well as others, *Guilty of a new-deviſed Goſpel in the Church of Chriſt.* Which ſtrange imagination is begotten of a ſpecial diſlike they have to hear, that Ceremonies now in uſe ſhould be thought ſignificant; whereas in truth, ſuch as are not ſignificant muſt needs be vain. Ceremonies deſtitute of ſignification are no better than the idle geſtures of Men, whoſe broken wits are not Maſters of what they do. For if we look but into Secular and Civil Complements, what other cauſe can there poſſibly be given why to omit them, where of courſe they are looked for? for where they are not ſo due, to uſe them, bringeth Mens ſecret intents oftentimes into great jealouſie: I would know, I ſay, what reaſon we are able to yield, why things ſo light in their own nature ſhould weigh in the opinions of Men ſo much, ſaving only in regard of that which they uſe to ſignifie or betoken. Doth not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt (*e*) himſelf impute the omiſſion of ſome courteous Ceremonies, even in domeſtical entertainment, to a colder degree of loving affection, and take the contrary in better Part, not ſo much reſpecting what was leſs done, as what was ſignified leſs by the one, than by the other? For to that very end he referreth in part thoſe gracious Expoſtulations. *Simon, ſeeſt thou this Woman? ſince I entred into thine houſe, thou gaveſt me no water for my feet; but ſhe hath waſhed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head: Thou gaveſt me no kiſs, but this Woman ſince the time I came in, hath not ceaſed to kiſs my feet: Mine head with oyl thou didſt not anoint, but this Woman hath anointed my feet with oyntment.* Wherefore as the uſual dumb Ceremonies of common life are in requeſt or diſlike, according to that they import; even ſo Religion, having likewiſe her ſilent Rites, the chiefeſt rule whereby to judge of their quality, is that which they mean or betoken. For if they ſignifie good things (as ſomewhat they muſt of neceſſity ſignifie, becauſe it is of their very nature to be ſigns of intimation, preſenting both themſelves unto outward ſenſe, and beſides themſelves ſome other thing to the underſtanding of beholders) unleſs they be either greatly miſchoſen to ſignifie the ſame, or elſe applied where that which they ſignifie, agreeth

not,

Tertul. de Coro. Militis.

(*a*) *Traditiones non ſcriptas, ſi doctrinam reſpiciant, cum doctrina ſcripta convenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales & Eccleſiaſticas attinet, ordinis & ædificationis Eccleſiarum in his ſemper habendæ ratio eſt; inutiles autem & noxias, nempe ineptas & ſuperſtitioſas Patronis ſuis relinquamus.* Goulart. Geneveuſ. Annot. in Epiſt. Cypr. 74.

(*b*) *T. C. l.* 1. *pag.* 171. They ſhould not have been ſo bold as to have brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm; and ſo mingle the Ceremonies and Inventions of Men with the Sacraments and Inſtitutions of God.

(*c*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 170.

(*d*) *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 170. The profitable ſignification of the Croſs maketh the thing a great deal worſe, and bringeth in a new word into the Church; whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church, but only our Saviour Chriſt. For although it be the Word of God, that we ſhould not be aſhamed of the Croſs of Chriſt, yet is it not the Word of God, that we ſhould be kept in remembrance of that, by two lines drawn acroſs one over another in the Childs Forehead.

(*e*) Luke 7.44.

not, there is no cauſe of exception againſt them, as againſt evil and unlawful Ceremonies, much leſs of excepting againſt them, only in that they are not without ſenſe. And if every Religious Ceremony which hath been invented of Men, to ſignifie any thing that God himſelf alloweth, were the publication of another Goſpel in the Church of Chriſt; ſeeing that no Chriſtian Church in the World, is, or can be, without continual uſe of ſome Ceremonies which Men have inſtituted, and that to ſignifie good things (unleſs they be vain and frivolous Ceremonies;) it would follow, That the World hath no Chriſtian Church which doth not daily proclaim new Goſpels; a ſequel, the manifeſt abſurdity whereof argueth the rawneſs of that Suppoſal, out of which it groweth. Now the (*a*) cauſe why Antiquity did the more, *in actions of common life*, honour the Ceremony of the Croſs, might be, for that they lived with Infidels. But that which they did in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, was for the ſelf-ſame good of Believers which is thereby intended ſtill. The Croſs is for us an admonition no leſs neceſſary than for them, to glory in the Service of Jeſus Chriſt, and not to hang down our heads as Men aſhamed thereof, although it procure us reproach and obloquy at the hands of this wretched World. Shame, is a kind of fear to incur diſgrace and ignominy. Now whereas ſome things are worthy of reproach, ſome things ignominious only through a falſe opinion which Men have conceived of them; Nature, that generally feareth opprobrious reprehenſion, muſt by Reaſon and Religion be (*b*) taught what it ſhould be aſhamed of, and what not. But be we never ſo well inſtructed what our duty is in this behalf, without ſome preſent admonition at the very inſtant of practiſe, what we know is many times not called to mind, till that be done whereupon our juſt confuſion enſueth. To ſupply the abſence of ſuch, as that way might do us good, when they ſee us in danger of ſliding; there are (*c*) judicious and wiſe Men, which think we may greatly relieve our ſelves by a bare imagined preſence of ſome, whoſe Authority we fear, and would be loth to offend, if indeed they were preſent with us. Witneſſes at hand are a bridle unto many offences. Let the mind have always ſome whom it feareth, ſome whoſe Authority may keep even ſecret thoughts under awe. Take *Cato*, or, if he be too harſh and rugged, chuſe ſome other of a ſofter metal, whoſe gravity of life and ſpeech thou loveſt, his mind and countenance carry with thee, ſet him always before thine eyes, either as a watch, or as a pattern. That which is crooked we cannot ſtraiten but by ſome ſuch level. If Men of ſo good experience and inſight in the maims of our weak fleſh, have thought theſe fancied remembrances available to awaken ſhamefaſtneſs, that ſo the boldneſs of ſin may be ſtaid e're it look abroad; ſurely, the Wiſdom of the Church of Chriſt, which hath to that uſe converted the Ceremony of the Croſs in Baptiſm, it is no Chriſtian Mans part to deſpiſe; eſpecially ſeeing that by this mean, where Nature doth earneſtly import aid, Religion yieldeth her that ready aſſiſtance, than which there can be no help more forceable, ſerving only to relieve memory, and to bring to our cogitation that, which ſhould moſt make aſhamed of ſin. The mind while we are in this preſent life (*d*), whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howſoever exerciſe it-ſelf, worketh nothing without continual recourſe unto imagination, the only Storehouſe of wit, and peculiar Chair of memory. On this Anvil it ceaſeth not day and night to ſtrike, by means whereof, as the Pulſe declareth how the heart doth work, ſo the very (*e*) thoughts and cogitations of Mans mind, be they good or bad, do no where ſooner bewray themſelves, than through the crevices of that Wall, wherewith Nature hath compaſſed the Cells and Cloſets of Fancy. In the Forehead nothing more plain to be ſeen, than the fear of contumely and diſgrace. For which cauſe, the Scripture (as with great probability it may be thought) deſcribeth them (*f*) marked of God in the Forehead, whom his mercy hath undertaken to keep from final confuſion and ſhame. Not that God doth ſet any corporal mark on his choſen, but to note, that he giveth his Elect ſecurity of preſervation from reproach, the fear whereof doth uſe to ſhew it-ſelf (*g*) in that part. Shall I ſay, that the Sign of the Croſs (as we uſe it) is in ſome ſort a mean to work our * preſervation from reproach? Surely, the mind which as yet hath not hardned it-ſelf in ſin, is ſeldom provoked thereunto in any groſs and grievous manner, but Natures ſecret ſuggeſtion objecteth againſt it ignominy as a bar. Which conceit being entred into that Palace of Mans fancy, the Gates whereof have imprinted in them that holy Sign, which bringeth forthwith to mind whatſoever Chriſt hath wrought, and we vowed againſt ſin; it cometh hereby to paſs, that Chriſtian Men never want a moſt effectual, though a ſilent Teacher, to avoid whatſoever may deſervedly procure ſhame. So that in things which we ſhould be aſhamed of, we are by the Croſs admoniſhed faithfully of our duty, at the very moment when admonition doth moſt need. Other things there are which deſerve honour, and yet do purchaſe many times our diſ-

---

(*a*) *T.C. lib.* 1. *page* 170. It is known to all that have read the Eccleſiaſtical ſtories, That the Heathen did object to Chriſtians in times paſt, in reproach, that the God which they believed on, was hanged upon a Croſs. And they thought good to teſtifie, that they were not aſhamed therefore of the Son of God, by the often uſing of the Sign of the Croſs. Which carefulneſs and good mind to keep amongſt them an open Profeſſion of Chriſt crucified, although it be to be commended, yet is not this means ſo. For they might otherwiſe have kept it, and with leſs danger than by this uſe of croſſing. And as it was brought in upon no good ground, ſo the Lord left a mark of his curſe of it, and whereby it might be perceived to come out of the Forge of Mens Brain, in that it began forthwith, while it was yet in the Swadling Clouts, to be ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed. The Chriſtians had ſuch a Superſtition in it, that they would do nothing without Croſſing: But if it were granted, that upon this conſideration which I have before mentioned, the ancient Chriſtians did well; yet it followeth not, that we ſhould ſo do. For we live not among thoſe Nations, which do caſt us in the teeth, or reproach us with the Croſs of Chriſt. Now that we live amongſt Papiſts, that do not contemn the Croſs of Chriſt, but which eſteem more of the Wooden Croſs, than of the true Croſs, which is his ſufferings; we ought now to do clean contrariwiſe to the old Chriſtians, and aboliſh all uſe of theſe Croſſes. For contrary diſeaſes muſt have contrary remedies. If therefore the old Chriſtians to deliver the Croſs of Chriſt from contempt, did often uſe the Croſs; the Chriſtians now to take away the ſuperſtitious eſtimation of it, ought to take away the uſe of it.

(*b*) Epheſ. 5. 12. Rom. 6 21.

(*c*) *Sen Epiſt.* 11. *lib.* 1.

(*d*) Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας. *Ariſt. de Anim. lib.* 1. *cap* 1. Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει, ἡ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 11 Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδη τὸ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὥρισται αὐτῷ τὸ διωκτὸν καὶ φευκτὸν, καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὂν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων ἦ, κινεῖται. *lib.* 3. *cap.* 8.

(*e*) *Frons hominis triſtitiæ, Hilaritatis, Clementiæ, ſeveritatis index eſt.* Plin. lib. 11.

(*f*) Ezek. 9. 4. Apoc. 7. 3. & 9. 4.

(*g*) Ἐρυθραίνονται γὰρ οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι. *Ariſt. lib.* 4. *c* 9.

* *Caro ſignatur ut & anima muniatur.* Tertul. de Reſur. Car.

grace in this preſent World, as of old the very truth of Religion it-ſelf, till God by his own outſtretched arm made the glory thereof to ſhine over all the Earth. Whereupon St. *Cyprian* exhorting to Martyrdom in times of Heatheniſh perſecution and cruelty, thought it not vain to alledge unto them, with other Arguments, the very Ceremony of that Croſs whereof we ſpeak. Never let that hand offer Sacrifice to Idols, which hath already received the Body of our Saviour Chriſt, and ſhall hereafter the Crown of his Glory; *Arm your Fore-heads* unto all boldneſs, that the *Sign of God* may be kept ſafe. Again, when it pleaſed God, that the fury of their enemies being bridled, the Church had ſome little reſt and quietneſs, (if ſo ſmall a liberty, but only to breathe between troubles, may be termed quietneſs and reſt) to ſuch as fell not away from Chriſt through former perſecutions, he giveth due and deſerved praiſe in the ſelf-ſame manner. *You that were ready to endure impriſonment, and were reſolute to ſuffer death; you that have courageouſly withſtood the World, ye have made your ſelves both a glorious ſpectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the reſt of your Brethren to follow. Thoſe mouths which had ſanctified themſelves with food coming down from Heaven, loathed, after Chriſt's own Body and Blood, to taſte the poyſoned and contagious ſcraps of Idols; thoſe Fore-heads which the Sign of God had purified, kept themſelves to be crowned by him, the touch of the* (*a*) *Garlands of Satan they abhorred.* Thus was the memory of that Sign which they had in Baptiſm, a kind of bar or prevention to keep them even from apoſtaſie, whereunto the frailty of fleſh and blood, over-much fearing to endure ſhame, might peradventure the more eaſily otherwiſe have drawn them. We have not now, through the gracious goodneſs of Almighty God, thoſe extream conflicts which our Fathers had with blaſphemous contumelies, every where offered to the Name of Chriſt, by ſuch as profeſſed themſelves Infidels and Unbelievers. Howbeit, unleſs we be ſtrangers to the age wherein we live, or elſe in ſome partial reſpect diſſemblers of that we hourly both hear and ſee, there is not the ſimpleſt of us, but knoweth with what diſdain and ſcorn Chriſt is diſhonoured far and wide. Is there any burden in the World, more heavy to bear than contempt? Is there any contempt that grieveth as theirs doth, whoſe quality no way making them leſs worthy than others are of reputation, only the ſervice which they do to Chriſt in the daily exerciſe of Religion, treadeth them down? Doth any contumely, which we ſuſtain for Religions ſake, pierce ſo deeply as that which would ſeem of meer Conſcience religiouſly ſpiteful? When they that honour God are deſpiſed, when the chiefeſt ſervice of Honour that Man can do unto him, is the cauſe why they are deſpiſed; when they which pretend to honour him and that with greateſt ſincerity, do with more than Heatheniſh petulany trample under foot almoſt whatſoever, either we, or the whole Church of God, by the ſpace of ſo many ages, have been accuſtomed unto, for the comlier and better exerciſe of our Religion, according to the ſoundeſt Rules that Wiſdom directed by the Word of God, and by long experience confirmed, hath been able with common advice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence, to comprehend; when no Man fighting under Chriſt's Banner can be always exempted from ſeeing or ſuſtaining thoſe indignities, the ſting whereof not to feel, or feeling not to be moved thereat, is a thing impoſſible to fleſh and blood: If this be any object for Patience to work on, the ſtricteſt bond that thereunto tieth us, is our vowed obedience to Chriſt; the ſolemneſt vow that we ever made to obey Chriſt, and to ſuffer willingly all reproaches for his ſake, was made in Baptiſm: And amongſt other memorials to keep us mindful of that vow, we cannot think that the Sign which our new-Baptized Fore-heads did there receive, is either unfit or unforcible, the reaſons hitherto alledged being weighed with indifferent balance. It is not (you will ſay) the Croſs in our Fore-heads, but in our Hearts the Faith of Chriſt, that armeth us with Patience, Conſtancy and Courage. Which as we grant to be moſt true, ſo neither dare we deſpiſe, no not the meaneſt helps that ſerve, though it be but in the very loweſt degree of furtherance, towards the higheſt ſervices that God doth require at our hands. And if any Man deny, that ſuch Ceremonies are available, at the leaſt, as memorials of duty; or do think that himſelf hath no need to be ſo put in mind, what our duties are; it is but reaſonable, that in the one, the publick experience of the World over-weigh ſome few Mens perſwaſion; and in the other, the rare perfection of a few condeſcend unto common imbecillity. Seeing therefore, that to fear ſhame, which doth worthily follow ſin, and to bear undeſerved reproach conſtantly, is the general duty of all Men profeſſing Chriſtianity; ſeeing alſo, that our weakneſs, while we are in this preſent World, doth need towards Spiritual duties the help even of corporal furtherance; and that by reaſon of natural intercourſe between the higheſt and the loweſt powers of Mans mind in all actions, his fancy or imagination, carrying in it that ſpecial note of Remembrance, than which, there is nothing more forceable, where either too weak, or too ſtrong a conceit of infamy and diſgrace might do great harm, ſtandeth always ready to put forth a kind of neceſſary helping hand; we are in that reſpect to acknowledge the (*b*) good and profitable uſe of this Ceremony, and not to think it ſuperfluous, that Chriſt hath his mark applied (*c*) unto that part where baſhfulneſs appeareth, in token that they which are Chriſtians ſhould be at no time aſhamed of his ignominy. But to prevent ſome inconveniencies which might enſue, if the over-ordinary uſe thereof (as it fareth with ſuch Rites, when they are too common) ſhould cauſe it to be of leſs obſervation or regard, where it moſt availeth; we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it ſo vulgar, as the Cuſtom heretofore hath been: Although to condemn the whole Church of God, when it

---

Cypr. Epiſt. 56. ad Thibaritanos.

Cypr. de Lapſ.

(*a*) *Erant enim ſupplices coronarii.* Tert. lib. de Coro. Mil. In the ſervice of Idols, the Doors of their Temples, the Sacrifices, the Altars, the Prieſts, and the Supplicants that were preſent, wore Garlands.

(*b*) Ἔϛω δὴ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ Φυλακτικὸν τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ᾧ ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ τὰ Φθαρτικά. *Ariſt. Rhet. l.* 1. *c.* 6.

(*c*) *Ozias Rex lepræ varietate in fronte maculatus eſt, ea parte corporis notatus offenſo Domino, ubi ſignantur qui Dominum promerentur.* Cypr. de unit. Eccleſ. cap. 16.

moſt flouriſhed in zeal and piety, to mark that age with the brand of Error and Superſtition, only becauſe they had this Ceremony more in uſe than we now think needful; boldly to affirm, That this their practice grew ſo ſoon, through a fearful malediction of God upon the Ceremony of the Croſs, as if we knew, that his purpoſe was thereby to make it manifeſt in all Mens eyes, how execrable thoſe things are in his ſight which have proceeded from human invention, is, as we take it, a cenſure of greater zeal than knowledge. Men whoſe judgments in theſe caſes are grown more moderate, although they retain not as we do the uſe of this Ceremony, perceive notwithſtanding very well ſuch cenſures to be out of ſquare; and do therefore not only (*a*) acquit the Fathers from ſuperſtition therein, but alſo think it ſufficient to anſwer in excuſe of themſelves, (*b*) *This Ceremony which was but a thing indifferent even of old, we judge not at this day a matter neceſſary for all Chriſtian Men to obſerve.* As for their laſt upſhot of all towards this Mark, they are of opinion, that if the ancient Chriſtians, to deliver the Croſs of Chriſt from contempt, did well and with good conſideration uſe often the Sign of the Croſs, in teſtimony of their Faith and Profeſſion, before Infidels which upbraided them with Chriſt's ſufferings; now that we live with ſuch as contrariwiſe adore the Sign of the Croſs (becauſe contrary diſeaſes ſhould always have contrary remedies) we ought to take away all uſe thereof. In which conceit, they both ways greatly ſeduce themſelves; firſt, for that they imagine the Fathers to have had no uſe of the Croſs, but with reference unto Infidels, which miſperſwaſion we have before diſcovered at large; and ſecondly, by reaſon that they think there is not any other way beſides Univerſal Extirpation to reform ſuperſtitious abuſes of the Croſs. Wherein becauſe there are that ſtand very much upon the example of ***Hezekiah***, as if his (*c*) *breaking to pieces that Serpent* of Braſs, whereunto the Children of *Iſrael* had *burnt Incenſe*, did enforce the utter abolition of this Ceremony, the fact of that virtuous Prince is by ſo much the more attentively to be conſidered. Our lives in this World, are partly guided by Rules, and partly directed by Examples. To conclude out of general Rules and Axioms by diſcourſe of Wit our duties in every particular action, is both troubleſome and many times ſo full of difficulty, that it maketh deliberations hard and tedious to the wiſeſt Men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to obſerve examples, to mark what others have done before us, and in favour of our own eaſe rather to follow them, than to enter into new conſultation, if in regard of their Virtue and Wiſdom we may but probably think they have waded without Error. So that the willingneſs of Men to be led by example of others, both diſcovereth and helpeth the imbecillity of our judgment. Becauſe it doth the one, therefore inſolent and proud Wits would always ſeem to be their own Guides, and becauſe it doth the other, we ſee how hardly the vulgar ſort is drawn unto any thing, for which there are not as well Examples as Reaſons alledged. Reaſons proving that which is more particular by things more general and farther from Senſe, are with the ſimpler ſort of Men leſs truſted; for that they doubt of their own judgment in thoſe things; but of Examples, which prove unto them one doubtful particular by another more familiarly and ſenſibly known, they eaſily perceive in themſelves ſome better ability to judge. The force of Examples therefore is great, when in matter of action being doubtful what to do, we are informed what others have commendably done, whoſe deliberations were like. But whoſoever doth perſwade by example, muſt as well reſpect the fitneſs, as the goodneſs of that he alledgeth. To ***Hezekiah*** God himſelf in this fact giveth teſtimony of well-doing. So that nothing is here queſtionable, but only whether the example alledged be pertinent, pregnant and ſtrong. The Serpent ſpoken of was firſt erected for the extraordinary and *miraculous cure* of the *Iſraelites* in the Deſart. This uſe having preſently an end, when the cauſe for which God ordained it was once removed, the thing it-ſelf they notwithſtanding kept for *a Monument of God's Mercy*, as in like conſideration they did the Pot of Manna, the Rod of *Aaron*, and the Sword which *David* took from *Goliah*. In proceſs of time, they made of a Monument of Divine Power a plain Idol, they burnt Incenſe before it contrary to the Law of God, and did it the ſervices of honour due unto God only. Which groſs and grievous abuſe continued, till ***Hezekiah*** reſtoring the purity of ſound Religion deſtroyed utterly that which had been ſo long and ſo generally a ſnare unto them. It is not amiſs, which the Canon Law hereupon concludeth, namely, That *if our Predeceſſors have done ſome things which at that time might be without fault, and afterward be turned to Error and Superſtition, we are taught by* Hezekiah *breaking the Brazen Serpent, that Poſterity may deſtroy them without any delay, and with great Authority.* But may it be ſimply and without exception hereby gathered, that Poſterity *is bound to deſtroy* whatſoever hath been, either at the firſt invented, or but afterwards turned to like Superſtition and Error? No, it cannot be. The Serpent therefore, and the Sign of the Croſs, although ſeeming equal in this point, That Superſtition hath abuſed both; yet being herein alſo unequal, that neither they have been both ſubject to the like degree of abuſe, nor were in hardneſs of redreſs alike, it may be, That even as the one for abuſe was religiouſly taken away, ſo now when Religion hath taken away abuſe from the other, we ſhould by utter abolition thereof deſerve hardly his commendation, whoſe example there is offered us no ſuch neceſſary cauſe to follow. For by the words of ***Hezekiah***, in terming the Serpent but *A lump of Braſs*, to ſhew, that the beſt thing in it now was the Metal or Matter whereof it conſiſted, we may probably conjecture, that the People whoſe Error is therein controlled had the ſelf-ſame opinion of it which the Heathens had of Idols. They thought that the Power of Deity was with it; and when they ſaw it diſſolved, haply they might, to comfort themſelves, imagine as *Olympius* the Sophiſter did, beholding the diſſipation of Idols, *Shapes and counterfeits they were, faſhioned of matter ſubject unto corruption, therefore to grind them to duſt*

(*a*) Goulart. Annot. in Cypr. lib. ad Demetr. cap. 19. *Quamvis veteres Chriſtiani externo ſigno crucis uſi ſunt, id tamen fuit ſine ſuperſtitione, & doctrina de Chriſti merito ab errore qui poſtea irrepſit pios ſervavit immunes.*

(*b*) *Idem Annot in Cypr. Epiſt.* 56 *c.* 7.

(*c*) 2 King. 18 3.

Diſt. 63. *cap. Quia.*

Sozom. lib. 7. *cap.* 15.

was eaſie; but thoſe Celeſtial Powers which dwelt and reſided in them, are aſcended into Heaven. Some difference there is between thoſe opinions of palpable Idolatry, and that which the Schools in Speculation have boulted out concerning the Croſs. Notwithſtanding, for as much as the Church of *Rome* hath hitherto practiſed, and doth profeſs the ſame Adoration to the Sign of the Croſs, and neither leſs nor other than is due unto Chriſt himſelf; howſoever they varniſh and qualifie their ſentence, pretending, That the Croſs, which to outward ſenſe preſenteth viſibly it-ſelf alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath, in their ſecret ſurmiſe or conceit, a reference to the Perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that the honour which they joyntly do to both, reſpecteth principally his Perſon, and the Croſs but only for his Perſons ſake; the people not accuſtomed to trouble their wits with ſo nice and ſubtile differences in the exerciſe of Religion, are apparently no leſs enſnared by adoring the Croſs, than the Jews by burning Incenſe to the Brazen Serpent. It is by *Thomas* ingenuouſly granted, That becauſe unto reaſonable Creatures, a kind of reverence is due for the excellency which is in them, and whereby they reſemble God; therefore if reaſonable Creatures, Angels or Men, ſhould receive at our hands holy and divine honour, as the Sign of the Croſs doth at theirs, to pretend, that we honour not them alone, but we honour God with them, would not ſerve the turn, neither would this be able to prevent the Error of Men, or cauſe them always to reſpect God in their adorations, and not to finiſh their intents in the object next before them. But unto this he addeth, That no ſuch error can grow, by adoring in that ſort a dead Image, which every Man knoweth to be void of excellency in it-ſelf, and therefore will eaſily conceive, that the honour done unto it hath an higher reference. Howbeit, ſeeing that we have by over-true experience been taught how often, eſpecially in theſe caſes, the light even of common underſtanding faileth, ſurely their uſual adoration of the Croſs is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kind, we are more to reſpect, what the greateſt part of Men is commonly prone to conceive, than what ſome few Mens wits may deviſe in conſtruction of their own particular meanings. Plain it is, that a falſe opinion of ſome perſonal divine excellency to be in thoſe things, which either Nature or Art hath framed, cauſeth always religious adoration. And as plain, that the like adoration applied unto things ſenſible, argueth to vulgar capacities, yea, leaveth imprinted in them the very ſame opinion of Deity, from whence all idolatrous worſhip groweth. Yea, the meaner and baſer a thing worſhipped is in it-ſelf, the more they incline to think, that every Man which doth adore it knoweth there is in it, or with it, a preſence of divine power. Be it therefore true, That Croſſes purpoſely framed or uſed for receipt of divine honour, be even as ſcandalous as the Brazen Serpent it-ſelf, where they are in ſuch ſort adored; Should we hereupon think our ſelves in the ſight of God and in Conſcience charged to aboliſh utterly the very *Ceremony* of the Croſs, neither meant at the firſt, nor now converted unto any ſuch offenſive purpoſe? Did the Jews which could never be perſwaded to admit in the City of *Jeruſalem*, that (*a*) Image of *Cæſar* which the *Romans* were accuſtomed to (*b*) adore, make any ſcruple of (*c*) *Cæſars* Image in the Coyn, which they knew very well that Men were not wont to worſhip? Between the Croſs which Superſtition honoureth as Chriſt, and that Ceremony of the Croſs which ſerveth only for a Sign of Remembrance, there is as plain and as great a difference, as between thoſe Brazen Images which *Solomon* made to bear up the Ciſtern of the Temple, and (ſith both were of like ſhape, but of unlike uſe) that which the *Iſraelites* in the Wildreneſs did adore; or between the Altars which *Joſias* deſtroyed, becauſe they were inſtruments of meer Idolatry, and that which the Tribe of *Reuben* with others erected near to the River *Jordan*; for which alſo they grew at the firſt into ſome diſlike, and were by the reſt of their Brethren ſuſpected, yea, hardly charged with open breach of the Law of God, accuſed of backwardneſs in Religion, upbraided bitterly with the fact of *Peor*, and the odious example of *Achan*; as if the building of their Altar in that place had given manifeſt ſhew of no better, than intended Apoſtaſie, till by a true Declaration made in their own defence it appeared, that ſuch as miſliked, miſ-underſtood their enterprize, in as much as they had no intent to build any Altar for Sacrifice, which God would have no where offered ſaving in *Jeruſalem* only, but to a far other end and purpoſe, which being opened, ſatisfied all parties, and ſo delivered them from cauſeleſs blame. In this particular ſuppoſe the worſt, imagine that the immaterial Ceremony of the Croſs had been the ſubject of as groſs pollution as any Heatheniſh or prophane Idol. If we think the example of *Hezekiah* a proof, that things which Error and Superſtition hath abuſed, may in no conſideration be tolerated, although we preſently find them not ſubject to ſo vile abuſe, the plain example of *Hezekiah* proveth the contrary. The Temples and Idols, which under *Solomon* had been of very purpoſe framed for the honour of foreign gods, *Hezekiah* deſtroyed not; becauſe they ſtood as forlorn things, and did now no harm, although formerly they had done harm. *Joſias*, for ſome inconvenience afterwards, razed them up. Yet to both there is one commendation given, even from God himſelf, that touching Matter of Religion, they walked in the ſteps of *David*, and did no way diſpleaſe God. Perhaps it ſeemeth, that by force and virtue of this example, although in bare deteſtation and hatred of Idolatry, all things which have been at any time worſhipped, are not neceſſarily to be taken out of the World; nevertheleſs, for remedy and prevention of ſo great offences, Wiſdom ſhould judge it the ſafeſt courſe to remove altogether from the eyes of Men, that which may put them in mind of evil. Some kinds of evil, no doubt, there are very quick in working on

thoſe

Tho p. 3 q. 25. art. 3. Reſp. ad tert.

2 Chro. 4. 3.
Exod. 32. 4.
2 Chro. 34. 7.
Joſh. 22. 10.

1 King. 11. 17.
2 King. 23. 13.
2 King. 18. 3, 6. & 22. 2.

(*a*) *Joſeph. Antiqu. lib.* 17. *cap.* 8. & *lib.* 18. *cap.* 3. & *de Bell. lib.* 2. *cap.* 8. (*b*) Their Eagles their Enſigns, and the Images of their Princes, they carried with them in all their Armies, and had always a kind of Chappel wherein they placed and adored them as their gods. *Dio. lib.* 40. *Herodian. lib.* 4. (*c*) Matth. 22. 20.

thoſe affections that moſt eaſily take fire, which evils ſhould in that reſpect, no oftner than need requireth, be brought in preſence of weak minds. But neither is the Croſs any ſuch evil, not yet the Brazen Serpent it-ſelf ſo ſtrongly poyſoned, that our eyes, ears and thoughts, ought to ſhun them both, for fear of ſome deadly harm to enſue the only repreſentation thereof, by geſture, ſhape, ſound, or ſuch like ſignificant means. And for mine own part, I moſt aſſuredly perſwade my ſelf, that had *Hezekiah* (till the Days of whoſe moſt virtuous Reign they ceaſed not continually to burn Incenſe to the Brazen Serpent) had he found the Serpent, though ſometime adored, yet at that time recovered from the evil of ſo groſs abuſe, and reduced to the ſame that was before in the time of *David*, at which time they eſteemed it only as a Memorial, Sign or Monument of God's miraculous goodneſs towards them, even as we in no other ſort eſteem the Ceremony of the Croſs, the due conſideration of an uſe ſo harmleſs, common to both, might no leſs have wrought their equal preſervation, than different occaſions have procured, notwithſtanding the one's extinguiſhment, the other's lawful continuance. In all perſwaſions, which ground themſelves upon example, we are not ſo much to reſpect what is done, as the cauſes and ſecret inducements leading thereunto. The queſtion being therefore, whether this Ceremony ſuppoſed to have been *ſometimes* ſcandalous and offenſive, ought for that cauſe to be *now* removed; there is no reaſon we ſhould forthwith yield our ſelves to be carried away with example, no not of them, whoſe acts the higheſt judgment approveth for having reformed in that manner any publick evil; But before we either attempt any thing, or reſolve, the ſtate and condition as well of our own affairs as theirs, whoſe example preſſeth us, is adviſedly to be examined; becauſe ſome things are of their own nature ſcandalous, and cannot chuſe but breed offence, as thoſe Sinks of execrable filth which *Joſias* did overwhelm; ſome things albeit not by nature, and of themſelves, are notwithſtanding ſo generally turned to evil, by reaſon of an evil corrupt habit grown, and through long continuance incurable ſetled in the minds of the greateſt part, that no redreſs can be well hoped for, without removal of that wherein they have ruined themſelves, which plainly was the ſtate of the Jewiſh People, and the cauſe why *Hezekiah* did with ſuch ſudden indignation deſtroy what he ſaw worſhipped; finally, ſome things are as the ſign of the Croſs, though ſubject either almoſt or altogether to as great abuſe, yet curable with more facility and eaſe. And to ſpeak as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yield to deſtroy that which may be fruitfully kept, and without any great difficulty clean ſcoured from the ruſt of evil, which by ſome accident hath grown into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this queſtion upon the example of *Hezekiah*, let this ſuffice. When Heathens deſpiſed Chriſtian Religion becauſe of the ſufferings of Jeſus Chriſt, the Fathers, to teſtifie how little ſuch contumelies and contempts prevailed with them, choſe rather the ſign of the Croſs than any other outward mark, whereby the World might moſt eaſily diſcern always what they were. On the contrary ſide now, whereas they which do all profeſs the Chriſtian Religion are divided amongſt themſelves, and the fault of the one part is, that in zeal to the ſufferings of Chriſt they admire too much and over-ſuperſtitiouſly adore the Viſible Sign of his Croſs, if you ask, what we that miſlike them ſhould do, we are here adviſed to cure one contrary by another. Which Art or Method is not yet ſo current as they imagine. For if, as their practice for the moſt part ſheweth, it be their meaning, that the ſcope and drift of Reformation, when things are faulty, ſhould be to *ſettle* the Church in the contrary; it ſtandeth them upon, to beware of this rule, becauſe ſeeing Vices have not only Virtues, but other Vices alſo in Nature oppoſite unto them, it may be dangerous in theſe caſes to ſeek but that which we find contrary to preſent evils. For in ſores and ſickneſſes of the mind, we are not ſimply to meaſure good by diſtance from evil, becauſe one Vice may in ſome reſpect be more oppoſite to another, than either of them to that Virtue which holdeth the mean between them both. Liberality and Covetouſneſs, the one a Virtue and the other a Vice, are not ſo contrary as the Vices of Covetouſneſs and Prodigality: Religion and Superſtition have more affiance, though the one be Light and the other Darkneſs, than Superſtition and Prophaneſs, which both are vicious extremities. By means whereof it cometh alſo to paſs, that the mean, which is Virtue, ſeemeth in the Eyes of each extream an extremity; the liberal-hearted Man is by the opinion of the prodigal miſerable, and by the judgment of the miſerable laviſh: Impiety for the moſt part upbraideth Religion as Superſtitious, which Superſtition often accuſeth as impious; both ſo conceiving thereof, becauſe it doth ſeem more to participate each extream, than one extream doth another, and is by conſequent leſs contrary to either of them, than they mutually between themſelves. Now, if he that ſeeketh to reform Covetouſneſs or Superſtition, ſhould but labour to induce the contrary, it were but to draw Men out of Lime into Cole-duſt: So that their courſe, which will remedy the Superſtitious abuſe of things profitable in the Church, is not ſtill to aboliſh utterly the uſe thereof, becauſe not uſing at all, is moſt oppoſite to ill uſing; but rather, if it may be, to bring them back to a right perfect and religious uſage, which albeit leſs contrary to the preſent ſore, is notwithſtanding the better, and by many degrees the ſounder way of recovery: And unto this effect, that very Precedent it-ſelf, which they propoſe, may be beſt followed. For as the Fathers, when the Croſs of Chriſt was in utter contempt, did not ſuperſtitiouſly adore the ſame, but raather declare, that they ſo eſteemed it as was meet: In like manner, where we find the Croſs to have that honour which is due to Chriſt, is it not lawful for us to retain it, in that eſtimation which it ought to have, and in that uſe which it had of old without offence, as by taking it clean away to ſeem followers of their example, which cure willfuly by abſciſſion that which they might both preſerve and heal? Touching therefore the ſign and ceremony of the Croſs, we

2 King 23. 7.

no way find our-ſelves bound to relinquiſh it; neither becauſe the firſt Inventors thereof were but mortal Men; nor leſt the ſenſe and ſignification we give unto it, ſhould burthen us as Authors of a new Goſpel in the Houſe of God; nor in reſpect of ſome cauſe which the Fathers had more than we had to uſe the ſame; nor finally, for any ſuch offence or ſcandal, as heretofore it hath been ſubject unto by Error, now reformed in the minds of Men.

66. The ancient Cuſtom of the Church was, after they had Baptized, to add thereunto Impoſition of Hands, with effectual Prayer for the * illumination of God's moſt holy Spirit, to confirm and perfect that which the Grace of the ſame Spirit had already begun in Baptiſm. For our means to obtain the Graces which God doth beſtow, are our Prayers. Our Prayers to that intent, are available as well for others, as for our ſelves. To pray for others is *to bleſs* them for whom we pray, becauſe Prayer procureth the bleſſing of God upon them, eſpecially the Prayer of ſuch as God either moſt reſpecteth for their Piety and Zeal that way, or elſe regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them above others unto this duty, as it doth both Natural and Spiritual Fathers. With Prayers of Spiritual and Perſonal Benedictions, the manner hath been in all Ages to uſe *Impoſition of Hands*, as a Ceremony betokening our *reſtrained deſires* to the party, whom we preſent unto God by Prayer. Thus when *Iſrael bleſſed Ephraim* and *Manaſſes, Joſephs* Sons, he *impoſed* upon them his Hands and prayed, *God, in whoſe ſight my Fathers,* Abraham *and* Iſaac, *did walk; God, which hath fed me all my life long unto this day, and the Angel which hath delivered me from all evil, bleſs theſe Children.* The Prophets which healed diſeaſes by Prayer, uſed therein the ſelf-ſame Ceremony. And therefore when *Eliſha* willed *Naaman* to waſh himſelf ſeven times in *Jordan* for cure of his foul diſeaſe, it much offended him; *I thought* (ſaith he) *with my ſelf, ſurely the Man will come forth, and ſtand, and call upon the name of the Lord his God, and put his Hand on the place, to the end he may ſo heal the Leproſie.* In Conſecrations and Ordinations of Men unto Rooms of Divine Calling, the like was uſually done from the time of *Moſes* to Chriſt. Their ſuits that came unto Chriſt for help were alſo tendred oftentimes, and are expreſſed in * ſuch forms or phraſes of Speech, as ſhew that he was himſelf an obſerver of the ſame cuſtom. He which with Impoſition of Hands and Prayer did ſo great Works of Mercy for reſtoration of Bodily health, was worthily judged as able to effect the infuſion of Heavenly Grace into them, whoſe age was not yet depraved with that malice, which might be ſuppoſed a bar to the goodneſs of God towards them. They (*a*) brought him therefore young Children to put *his Hands* upon them, and *Pray*. After the Aſcenſion of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that which he had begun continued in the daily practice of his Apoſtles, whoſe Prayer and Impoſition of Hands were a mean, whereby thouſands became partakers of the wonderful Gifts of God. The Church had received from Chriſt a promiſe, that ſuch as believed in him, theſe ſigns and tokens ſhould follow them, *To caſt out Devils, to ſpeak with Tongues, to drive away Serpents, to be free from the harm which any deadly poyſon could work, and to cure diſeaſes by Impoſition of Hands.* Which power common at the firſt in a manner unto *all Believers*, all Believers had not power to derive or communicate unto all other Men; but whoſoever was the inſtrument of God to inſtruct, convert and Baptize them, the † gift of Miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghoſt they had not, but only at the Apoſtles own Hands. For which cauſe *Simon Magus* perceiving that power to be in none but them, and preſuming, that they which had it, might ſell it, ſought to purchaſe it of them with Money. And, as miraculous Graces of the Spirit continued after the Apoſtles times (for ſaith *Irenæus, They which are truly his Diſciples do in his Name, and through Grace received from him, ſuch works for the benefit of other Men, as every of them is by him enabled to work: Some caſt out Devils, in ſo much as they which are delivered from wicked Spirits, have been thereby won unto Chriſt, and do conſtantly perſevere in the Church and Society of Faithful Men: Some excell in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of Viſions from God, and the gifts of Prophetical Prediction: Some by laying on their Hands reſtore them to health, which are grievouſly afflicted with ſickneſs; yea, there are that of dead have been made alive, and have afterwards many years converſed with us. What ſhould I ſay? The gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath inriched his Church throughout the World, and by virtue whereof, in the Name of Chriſt crucified under* Pontius Pilate, *the Church every Day doth many wonders for the good of Nations, neither fraudulently, nor in any reſpect of lucre and gain to her-ſelf, but as freely beſtowing, as God on her hath beſtowed his Divine Graces*) ſo it no where appeareth, that ever any did by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, ſithence the Apoſtles times, make others partakers of the like *miraculous gifts* and graces, as long as it pleaſed God to continue the ſame in his Church, but only Biſhops, the Apoſtles Succeſſors for a time even in that power. (*b*) St. *Auguſtine* acknowledgeth, that ſuch gifts were not permitted to laſt always, leſt Men ſhould wax cold with the commonneſs of that, the ſtrangeneſs whereof at the firſt inflamed them. Which words of St. *Auguſtine*, declaring how the vulgar uſe of theſe Miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the like extraordinary Graces more rarely obſerved in in ſome, either then or of latter Days. Now whereas the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles had but only for a time ſuch power, as by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands to beſtow the Holy Ghoſt, the reaſon wherefore Confirmation nevertheleſs by Prayer and laying on of Hands hath hitherto always continued, is for other very ſpecial benefits which the Church thereby enjoyeth. The Fathers every where impute unto it that gift or grace of the Holy Ghoſt, not which maketh us firſt Chriſtian Men, but, when we are made ſuch, aſſiſteth us in all virtue, armeth us againſt temptation and ſin. For, after Baptiſm adminiſtred, *there followeth* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *Impoſition of Hands, with Invocation and Invitation of the Holy Ghoſt, which willingly com-*

Of Confirmation after Baptiſm.

* *Caro manus Impoſitione adumbratur, ut & anima Spiritu illuminetur.* Tertul. de Reſur. Car.

Gen. 48. 14

2 King 5. 11.

Numb. 27. 18.

*Matth. 9. 18 Mark 5. 23. & 8. 22.

(*a*) Matth. 19 13. Mark 10. 13 Luke 18. 15.

Mark 16. 17.

† Acts 19. 6.

Act. 8. 17, 18.

Iren. lib. 2. cap. 57.

(*b*) *Auguſt. de Vera Relig. cap. 25.*

Tertul. de Baptiſ.

eth down from the Father, to reſt upon the purified and bleſſed Bodies, as it were acknowledging the Waters of Baptiſm a fit Seat. St. *Cyprian* in more particular manner alluding to that effect of the Spirit, which here eſpecially was reſpected, *How great* (ſaith he) *is that power and force wherewith the mind is here* (he meaneth in Baptiſm) *enabled, being not only withdrawn from that pernicious hold which the World before had of it, nor only ſo purified and made clean, that no ſtain or blemiſh of the Enemies invaſion doth remain; but over and beſides* (namely through Prayer and Impoſition of Hands) *becometh yet greater, yet mightier in ſtrength, ſo far as to reign with a kind of Imperial Dominion over the whole Band of that roaming and ſpoiling Adverſary.* As much is ſignified by *Euſebius Emiſenus*, ſaying, *The Holy Ghoſt, which deſcendeth with ſaving influence upon the Waters of Baptiſm, doth there give that fulneſs which ſufficeth for innocency, and afterwards exhibiteth in Confirmation an Augmentation of further Grace.* The Fathers therefore being thus perſwaded, held Confirmation as an (c) Ordinance Apoſtolick *always profitable* in God's Church, although not always accompanied with equal largeneſs of thoſe External Effects, which gave it countenance at the firſt. The cauſe of ſevering Confirmation from Baptiſm (for moſt commonly they went together) was ſometimes in the Miniſter, which being of inferiour degree might Baptize, but not confirm, as in their caſe it came to paſs, whom *Peter* and *John* did confirm, whereas *Philip* had before Baptized them; and in theirs of whom St. *Jerome* hath ſaid, *I deny not but the Cuſtom of the Churches is, that the Biſhop ſhould go abroad, and impoſing his Hands pray for the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt on them, whom Presbyters and Deacons far off in leſſer Cities have already Baptized.* Which ancient cuſtom of the Church St. *Cyprian* groundeth upon the example of *Peter* and *John* in the Eighth of the *Acts* before alledged. *The faithful in* Samaria (ſaith he) *had already obtained Baptiſm; only that which was wanting,* Peter *and* John *ſupplyed by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, to the end the Holy Ghoſt might be poured upon them. Which alſo is done amongſt our ſelves, when they which be already Baptized are brought to the Prelates of the Church, to obtain by our Prayer and Impoſition of Hands the Holy Ghoſt.* By this it appeareth, that when the Miniſters of Baptiſm were Perſons of inferiour degree, the Biſhops did after Confirm whom ſuch had before Baptized. Sometimes they which by force of their Eccleſiaſtical Calling might do as well the one as the other, were notwithſtanding Men whom Hereſy had diſ-joyned from the fellowſhip of true Believers. Whereupon, when any Man by them Baptized and Confirmed came afterwards to ſee and renounce their Error, there grew in ſome Churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting ſuch into the Boſom of the true Church, as hath been declared already in the queſtion of Rebaptization. But the general received cuſtom was only to admit them with Impoſition of Hands and Prayer. Of which Cuſtom, while ſome imagined the reaſon to be, for that Hereticks might give Remiſſion of Sins by Baptiſm, but not the Spirit by Impoſition of Hands, becauſe themſelves had not God's Spirit, and that therefore their Baptiſm might ſtand, but Confirmation muſt be given again. The imbecillity of this ground gave *Cyprian* occaſion to oppoſe himſelf againſt the Practiſe of the Church herein, labouring many ways to prove, That Hereticks could do neither, and conſequently, that their Baptiſm in all reſpects was as fruſtrate as their Chriſm; for the manner of thoſe times was in Confirming to uſe Anointing. On the other ſide, againſt **Luciferians** which ratified only the Baptiſm of Hereticks, but diſannulled their Confirmations and Conſecrations under pretence of the reaſon which hath been before ſpecified, *Hereticks cannot give the Holy Ghoſt*, St. *Jerome* proveth at large, that if Baptiſm by Hereticks be granted available to remiſſion of Sins, which no Man receiveth without the Spirit, it muſt needs follow that the reaſon taken from diſability of beſtowing the Holy Ghoſt, was no reaſon wherefore the Church ſhould admit Converts with any new Impoſition of Hands. Notwithſtanding, becauſe it might be objected, that if the gift of the Holy Ghoſt do always joyn it-ſelf with true Baptiſm, the Church, which thinketh the Biſhops Confirmation after other Men's Baptiſm needful for the obtaining of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould hold an error; St. *Jerome* hereunto maketh anſwer, that the cauſe of this obſervation is not any abſolute impoſſibility of receiving the Holy Ghoſt by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, unleſs a Biſhop add after it the Impoſition of Hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitneſs to honour Prelacy with ſuch pre-eminences, becauſe the ſafety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief Superiors, to whom if ſome eminent Offices of power above others ſhould not be given, there would be in the Church as many Schiſms as Prieſts. By which anſwer it appeareth his opinion was, that the Holy Ghoſt is received in Baptiſm; that Confirmation is only a Sacramental Complement; that the reaſon why Biſhops alone did ordinarily confirm, was not becauſe the benefit, grace and dignity thereof, is greater than of Baptiſm, but rather, for that by the Sacrament of Baptiſm Men being admitted into God's Church, it was both reaſonable and convenient, that if he Baptize them not unto whom the chiefeſt authority and charge of their Souls belongeth, yet for honour's ſake and in token of his Spiritual Superiority over them, becauſe (b) to bleſs, is an Act of Authority, the performance of this annexed Ceremony ſhould be ſought for at his Hands. Now what effect their Impoſition of Hands hath, either after Baptiſm adminiſtred by Hereticks or otherwiſe, St. *Jerome* in that place hath made no mention, becauſe all Men underſtood that in Converts it tendeth to the Fruits of Repentance, and craveth in behalf of the Penitent ſuch grace as *David*, after his fall, deſired at the Hands of God; in others, the fruit and benefit thereof is that which hath been before ſhewed. Finally, ſometime the cauſe of ſevering Confirmation from Baptiſm, was in the Parties that received Baptiſm being Infants, at which age they might be very well admitted to live in the Family; but becauſe to fight in the Army of God,

Cypr. Epiſt. 2. *ad Donat. c.* 2.

Euſeb. Emiſ. Ser. de Pente.

(a) *Aug. de Trin. lib.* 15. *cap* 26.

Heb. 6. 2.

Act. 8 12, 15.

Hier. Adverſ. Lucif. cap 4.

Cypr. Epiſt. 73. *ad Jubajanum.*

(b) Heb. 7. 7

Pſal 51. 10, 11, 12.

to diſcharge the duties of a Chriſtian Man, to bring forth the Fruits, and to do the Works of the Holy Ghoſt, their time of ability was not yet come, (ſo that Baptiſm were not deferred) there could, by ſtay of their Confirmation, no harm enſue, but rather good. For by this means it came to paſs, that Children in expectation thereof were ſeaſoned with the principles of true Religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their minds, a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the courſe of their whole lives, the ſeed of the Church of God was preſerved ſincere and ſound, the Prelates and Fathers of God's Family, to whom the cure of their Souls belonged, ſaw by tryal and examination of them, a part of their own heavy burthen diſcharged, reaped comfort by beholding the firſt beginnings of true Godlineſs in tender years, glorified him whoſe praiſe they found in the Mouths of Infants, and neglected not ſo fit opportunity of giving every one Fatherly encouragement and exhortation. Whereupon Impoſition of Hands, and Prayer being added, our Warrant for the great good effect thereof is the ſame, which Patriarchs, Prophets, Prieſts, Apoſtles, Fathers, and Men of God, have had for ſuch their particular Invocations and Benedictions, as no Man I ſuppoſe profeſſing truth of Religion will eaſily think to have been without fruit. No, there is no cauſe we ſhould doubt of the benefit; but ſurely great cauſe to make complaint of the deep neglect of this Chriſtian duty, almoſt with all them, to whom by right of their place and calling the ſame belongeth. Let them not take it in evil part, the thing is true, their ſmall regard hereunto hath done harm in the Church of God. That which * Error raſhly uttereth in diſgrace of good things, may peradventure be ſpunged out, when the print of thoſe evils, which are grown through neglect, will remain behind. Thus much therefore generally ſpoken may ſerve for anſwer unto their demands, that require us to tell them, *why there ſhould be any ſuch Confirmation* in the Church, ſeeing we are not ignorant, how earneſtly they have proteſted againſt it, and how directly (although untruly, for ſo they are content to acknowledge) it hath by ſome of them been ſaid, *To be firſt brought in by the feigned Decretal Epiſtles of the Popes*; or, why it ſhould not be *utterly abcliſhed, ſeeing that no one title thereof can be once found in the whole Scripture*, except the Epiſtle to the † *Hebrews* be Scripture: And again, ſeeing how free ſoever it be now from abuſe, if we look back to the times paſt, which wiſe Men do always more reſpect than the preſent, it *hath been* abuſed, and is found at the length *no* ſuch *profitable Ceremony* as the whole ſilly Church of Chriſt, for the ſpace of theſe Sixteen-hundred years, hath through want of experience imagined. Laſt of all *ſeeing* alſo beſides the cruelty which is ſhewed towards poor Country People, who are fain ſometimes to let their Ploughs ſtand ſtill, and with incredible weariſome toyl of their feeble bodies to wander over Mountains and through Woods, it may be, now and then little leſs than a whole *half-ſcore of Miles* for a Biſhops Bleſſing, *which, if it were needful, might as well be done at home in their own Pariſhes*, rather than they to purchaſe it with ſo great loſs and ſo intolerable pain. There are, they ſay, in Confirmation beſides this, *Three* terrible *points*. The firſt is, *Laying on of Hands, with pretence that the ſame is done to the example of the Apoſtles*, which is not only, as they ſuppoſe, *a manifeſt untruth*; (for all the World doth know, that the Apoſtles did never after Baptiſm lay Hands on any, and therefore (a) St. *Luke* which ſaith they did, was much deceived:) But rather alſo we thereby teach all Men to think *Impoſition of Hands a Sacrament*, belike, becauſe it is a principle ingrafted by common light of Nature in the minds of Men, that all things done by Apoſtolick example muſt needs be Sacraments. The ſecond high point of danger is, *That by tying Confirmation to the Biſhop alone, there is great cauſe of ſuſpicion given to think, that Baptiſm is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation*: For will any Man think, that a Velvet Coat is of more price than a Linnen Coyf, knowing the one to be an ordinary Garment, the other an Ornament which only Sergeants at Law do wear? Finally, to draw to an end of perils, the laſt and the weightieſt hazard is, where the Book it-ſelf doth ſay, That Children by *Impoſition* of Hands and Prayer may receive *ſtrength* againſt all temptation: Which ſpeech, as a two-edged ſword, doth both ways dangerouſly wound; partly becauſe it aſcribeth Grace to impoſition of Hands, whereby we are able no more to aſſure our ſelves in the warrant of *any promiſe from God*, that his heavenly grace ſhall be given, than the Apoſtle was, that himſelf ſhould obtain Grace by the (b) bowing of his knees to God; and partly, becauſe by uſing the very word *ſtrength*, in this matter a word ſo apt to ſpread infection, we *maintain* with *Popiſh* Evangeliſts an old forlorn *diſtinction* of the Holy Ghoſt, (c) beſtowed upon Chriſt's Apoſtles before his Aſcenſion into Heaven, and (d) *augmented* upon them afterwards; a diſtinction of *Grace* infuſed into Chriſtian Men by degrees, planted in them *at the firſt* by Baptiſm, *after* cheriſhed, watered, and (be it ſpoken without offence) *ſtrengthued*, as by other virtuous Offices, which Piety and true Religion teacheth, even ſo by this very ſpecial Benediction whereof we ſpeak, the Rite or Ceremony of Confirmation.

(a) Acts 8. 15, 17.

(b) Epheſ. 3. 14

(c) John 20. 22.

(d) Acts 1. 8.

---

* *T. C. lib* 1. *page* 199. Tell me why there ſhould be any ſuch Confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the feigned Decretal Epiſtles of the Popes (this is retracted by the ſame *T. C. lib.* 3. *pag.* 232. That it is ancienter than the feigned Decretal Epiſtles, I yield unto) and no one Tittle thereof being once found in the Scripture, and ſeeing that it hath been ſo horribly abuſed, and not neceſſary; why ought it not to be utterly aboliſhed? And thirdly, this Confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The firſt ſtep of Popery, in this Confirmation, is the laying on of Hands upon the Head of the Child, whereby the opinion of it that it is a Sacrament, is confirmed, eſpecially when as the Prayer doth ſay, that it is done according to the example of the Apoſtles, which is a manifeſt untruth, and taken indeed from the Popiſh Confirmation. The ſecond is, for that the Biſhop, as he is called, muſt be the only Miniſter of it, whereby the Popiſh opinion, which eſteemeth it above Baptiſm, is confirmed. For whileſt Baptiſm may be miniſtred of the Miniſter, and not Confirmation, but only of the Biſhop; there is great cauſe of ſuſpicion given to think that Baptiſm is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation, ſeeing this was one of the principal reaſons whereby that wicked opinion was eſtabliſhed in Popery. I do not here ſpeak of the inconvenience, that Men are conſtrained with charges to bring their Children oftentime half a ſcore Miles for that, which if it were needful, might be as well done at home in their own Pariſhes. The third is, for that the Book ſaith, a cauſe of uſing Confirmation is, that by impoſition of Hands and Prayer, the Children may receive ſtrength and defence againſt all temptations, whereas there is no promiſe, that by the laying on of Hands upon Children any ſuch gift ſhall be given; and it maintaineth the Popiſh diſtinction, That the Spirit of God is given at Baptiſm, unto Remiſſion of Sins; and in Confirmation, unto Strength.

† Heb 6. 2.

67. The grace which we have by the holy Euchariſt doth not begin, but continue life. No Man therefore receiveth this Sacrament before Baptiſm, becauſe no dead thing is capable of nouriſhment. That which groweth, muſt of neceſſity firſt live. If our Bodies did not daily waſte, Food to reſtore them were a thing ſuperfluous. And it may be, that the Grace of Baptiſm would ſerve to Eternal Life, were it not that the ſtate of our Spiritual Being is daily ſo much hindred and impaired after Baptiſm. In that life therefore, where neither Body nor Soul can decay, our Souls ſhall as little require this Sacrament, as our Bodies corporal nouriſhment. But as long as the days of our warfare laſt, during the time that we are both ſubject to diminution and capable of augmentation in Grace, the Words of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt will remain forcible, *Except ye eat the Fleſh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you.* Life being therefore propoſed unto all Men as their end, they which by Baptiſm have laid the foundation and attained the firſt beginning of a new life, have here their nouriſhment and food preſcribed for *continuance of Life* in them. Such as will live the Life of God, muſt eat the Fleſh and drink the Blood of the Son of Man; becauſe this is a part of that diet, which if we want, we cannot live. Whereas therefore in our Infancy we are incorporated into Chriſt, and by Baptiſm receive the Grace of his Spirit, without any ſenſe or feeling of the gift which God beſtoweth; in the Euchariſt we ſo receive the gift of God, that we know by Grace, what the Grace is which God giveth us; the degrees of our own increaſe in Holineſs and Virtue we ſee, and can judge of them; we underſtand that the ſtrength of our life begun in Chriſt, is Chriſt; that his Fleſh is Meat, and his Blood Drink, not by ſurmiſed imagination, but truly, even ſo truly, that through Faith we perceive in the Body and Blood Sacramentally preſented, the very taſte of Eternal Life; the Grace of the Sacrament, is here as the Food which we eat and drink. This was it that ſome did exceedingly fear; leſt *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* would bring to paſs, that Men ſhould account of this Sacrament, but only as of a ſhadow, deſtitute, empty and void of Chriſt. But ſeeing that by opening the ſeveral opinions which have been held, they are grown, for ought I can ſee, on all ſides at the length to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely, The *Real Participation* of Chriſt, and of Life in his Body and Blood, *by means of this Sacrament*; wherefore ſhould the World continue ſtill diſtracted and rent with ſo manifold Contentions, when there remaineth now no controverſie, ſaving only about the ſubject where Chriſt is? Yea, even in this point no ſide denieth, but that the *Soul of Man* is the receptacle of Chriſt's preſence. Whereby the queſtion is yet driven to a narrower iſſue, nor doth any thing reſt doubtful but this, Whether when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, Chriſt be whole *within Man only*, or elſe in Body and Blood be alſo externally ſeated in the very Conſecrated Elements themſelves. Which opinion they that defend, are driven either to *Conſubſtantiate* and incorporate Chriſt with Elements Sacramental, or to *Tranſubſtantiate* and change their ſubſtance into his; and ſo the one to hold him really, but inviſibly moulded up with the ſubſtance of thoſe Elements; the other to hide him under the only viſible ſhew of Bread and Wine, the Subſtance whereof, as they imagine, is aboliſhed, and his ſucceeded in the ſame room. All things conſidered and compared with that ſucceſs, which Truth hath hitherto had by ſo bitter Conflicts with Errors in this point, Shall I wiſh that Men would more give themſelves to meditate with ſilence, what we have by the Sacrament, and leſs to diſpute of the manner how? If any Man ſuppoſe that this were too great ſtupidity and dulneſs, let us ſee whether the Apoſtles of our Lord themſelves have not done the like. It appeareth by many examples, that they of their own diſpoſition were very ſcrupulous and inquiſitive, yea in other caſes of leſs importance and leſs difficulty always apt to move queſtions. How cometh it to paſs, that ſo few words of ſo high a Myſtery being uttered, they receive with gladneſs the gift of Chriſt, and make no ſhew of doubt or ſcruple? The reaſon hereof is not dark to them, which have any thing at all obſerved how the powers of the mind are wont to ſtir, when that which we infinitely long for, preſenteth it-ſelf above and beſides expectation. Curious and intricate ſpeculations do hinder, they abate, they quench ſuch inflamed motions of delight and joy, as divine Graces uſe to raiſe when extraordinarily they are preſent. The mind therefore feeling preſent joy is always marvellous-unwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that caſe caſteth off thoſe diſputes, whereunto the intellectual part at other times eaſily draweth. A manifeſt effect whereof may be noted, if we compare with our Lord's Diſciples in the Twentieth of *John*, the People that are ſaid in the Sixth of *John* to have gone after him to *Capernaum*. Theſe leaving him on the one ſide of the Sea of *Tiberias*, and finding him again as ſoon as themſelves by Ship were arrived on the contrary ſide, whither they knew that by Ship he came not, and by Land the Journey was longer than according to the time he could have to travel, as they wondered, ſo they asked alſo, *Rabbi, when cameſt thou hither?* The Diſciples, when Chriſt appeared to them in far more ſtrange and miraculous manner, moved no queſtion, but rejoyced greatly in that they ſaw. For why? The one ſort beheld only that in Chriſt, which they knew was more than natural, but yet their affection was not wrapt therewith through any great extraordinary gladneſs; the other, when they looked on Chriſt, were not ignorant that they ſaw the Well-ſpring of their own Everlaſting felicity: The one becauſe they enjoyed not, diſputed; the other diſputed not, becauſe they enjoyed. If then the preſence of Chriſt with them did ſo much move, judge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new preſentation of Chriſt, not before their Eyes, but within their Souls. They had learned before, That his Fleſh and Blood are the true cauſe of Eternal Life; that this they are not by the bare force of their own ſubſtance, but through the dignity and worth of his Perſon, which offered them up by way of Sacrifice for the Life of the whole World, and doth make them

Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.

John. 6. 52.

John. 6. 26.

ſtill effectual thereunto: Finally, that to us they are Life in particular, by being particularly received. Thus much they knew, although as yet they underſtood not perfectly, to what effect or iſſue the ſame would come, till at the length, being aſſembled for no other cauſe which they could imagine, but to have eaten the Paſſover only that *Moſes* appointeth; when they ſaw their Lord and Maſter, with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, firſt bleſs and conſecrate, for the endleſs good of all Generations till the Worlds end, the choſen Elements of Bread and Wine, which Elements, made for ever the Inſtruments of Life by virtue of his Divine Benediction, they being the firſt that were commanded to receive from him, the firſt which were warranted by his promiſe, that not only unto them at the preſent time, but to whomſoever they and their Succeſſors after them did duly adminiſter the ſame, thoſe Myſteries ſhould ſerve as Conduits of Life, and Conveyances of his Body and Blood unto them: Was it poſſible they ſhould hear that voice, *Take, eat, this is my Body; Drink ye all of this, This is my Blood*; poſſible, that doing what was required, and believing what was promiſed, the ſame ſhould have preſent effect in them, and not fill them with a kind of fearful admiration at the Heaven which they ſaw in themſelves? They had at that time a Sea of Comfort and Joy to wade in, and we, by that which they did, are taught, that this Heavenly Food is given for the ſatisfying of our empty Souls, and not for the exerciſing of our curious and ſubtile wits. If we doubt what thoſe admirable words may import, let him be our Teacher for the meaning of Chriſt, to whom Chriſt was himſelf a School-maſter, let our Lords Apoſtle be his Interpreter, content we our ſelves with his Explication, My Body, *The Communion of my Body*, My Blood, *The Communion of my Blood*. Is there any thing more expedite, clear and eaſie, than that as Chriſt is termed our Life, becauſe through him we obtain life; ſo the parts of this Sacrament are his Body and Blood, for that they are ſo to us, who receiving them receive that by them which they are termed? The Bread and Cup are his Body and Blood, becauſe they are cauſes inſtrumental, upon the receit whereof the *Participation* of his Body and Blood enſueth. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly ſaid to be that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Every cauſe is in the effect which groweth from it. Our Souls and Bodies quickned to eternal Life are effects, the cauſe whereof is the Perſon of Chriſt: His Body and Blood are the true Well-ſpring, out of which this Life floweth. So that his Body and Blood are in that very ſubject whereunto they miniſter life: Not only by effect or operation, even as the influence of the Heavens is in Plants, Beaſts, Men, and in every thing which they quicken; but alſo by a far more Divine and Myſtical kind of Union, which maketh us one with him, even as He and the Father are one. The Real Preſence of Chriſt's moſt Bleſſed Body and Blood, is not therefore to be ſought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiver of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviours words agreeth, firſt, *Take and eat*; then, *This is my Body which was broken for you*: Firſt, *Drink ye all of this*; then followeth, *This is my Blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many for the remiſſion of ſins*. I ſee not which way it ſhould be gathered by the Words of Chriſt, when and where the Bread is his Body, or the Cup his Blood, but only in the very Heart and Soul of him which receiveth them. As for the Sacraments, they really exhibit; but for ought we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themſelves, that Grace, which with them, or by them, it pleaſeth God to beſtow. If on all ſides it be confeſt, That the Grace of Baptiſm is poured into the Soul of Man; that by Water we receive it, although it be neither ſeated in the Water, nor the Water changed into it; what ſhould induce Men to think, that the Grace of the Euchariſt muſt needs be in the Euchariſt, before it can be in us that receive it? The fruit of the Euchariſt is the Participation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. There is no ſentence of holy Scripture which ſaith, That we cannot by this Sacrament be made partakers of his Body and Blood, except they be firſt contained in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament converted into them. *This is my Body*, and *This is my Blood*, being words of promiſe, ſith we all agree, that by the Sacrament Chriſt doth really and truly in us perform his promiſe; why do we vainly trouble our ſelves with ſo fierce Contentions, whether by Conſubſtantiation, or elſe by Tranſubſtantiation the Sacrament it-ſelf be firſt poſſeſſed with Chriſt, or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us, howſoever it ſtand, becauſe our Participation of Chriſt in this Sacrament dependeth on the co-operation of his Omnipotent Power, which maketh it his Body and Blood to us; whether with change or without alteration of the Element, ſuch as they imagine, we need not greatly to care or inquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then conſider by it-ſelf what cauſe, why the reſt in queſtion ſhould not rather be left as ſuperfluous, than urged as neceſſary. It is on all ſides plainly confeſt, firſt, that this Sacrament is a true and a real Participation of Chriſt, who thereby imparteth himſelf, even his whole intire Perſon, *as a Myſtical Head*, unto every Soul that receiveth him, and that every ſuch Receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himſelf unto Chriſt *as a Myſtical Member* of him, yea, of them alſo whom he acknowledgeth to be his own. Secondly, That to whom *the Perſon of Chriſt* is thus communicated, to them he giveth by the ſame Sacrament his holy Spirit to ſanctifie them, as it ſanctifieth him which is their Head. Thirdly, That what *merit, force, or virtue ſoever there is in his Sacrificed Body and Blood*, we freely, fully and wholly have it by this Sacrament. Fourthly, That *the effect thereof in us is a real tranſmutation of our Souls and Bodies*, from ſin to righteouſneſs, from death and corruption to immortality and life. Fifthly, That becauſe the Sacrament being of it-ſelf but a corruptible and earthly Creature, muſt needs be thought an unlikely Inſtrument to work ſo admirable effects in Man; we are therefore, to

Mark 14. 22.

reſt our-ſelves altogether upon *the ſtrength of his glorious Power*, who is able, and will bring to paſs, That the Bread and Cup which he giveth us, ſhall be truly the thing he promiſeth. It ſeemeth therefore much amiſs, that againſt them whom they term *Sacramentaries*, ſo many invective Diſcourſes are made, all running upon two points, That the Euchariſt is not a bare Sign or Figure only, and that the efficacy of his Body and Blood is not all we receive in this Sacrament. For no Man, having read their Books and Writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that both theſe Aſſertions they plainly confeſs to be moſt true. They do not ſo interpret the words of Chriſt, as if the name of his Body did import but the figure of his Body, and to be, were only to ſignifie his Blood. They grant, that theſe holy Myſteries received in due manner, do inſtrumentally both make us partakers of the Grace of that Body and Blood which were given for the Life of the World; and beſides alſo impart unto us, even in true and real, though myſtical manner, the very Perſon of our Lord himſelf, whole, perfect and intire, as hath been ſhewed. Now whereas all three opinions do thus far accord in one, that ſtrong conceit which two of the three have imbraced, as touching a Literal, Corporal and Oral Manducation of the very Subſtance of his Fleſh and Blood, is ſurely an opinion no where delivered in holy Scripture, whereby they ſhould think themſelves bound to believe it, and (to ſpeak with the ſofteſt terms we can uſe) greatly prejudiced in that, when ſome others did ſo conceive of eating his Fleſh, our Saviour to abate that error in them gave them directly to underſtand, how his Fleſh ſo eaten could profit them nothing, becauſe the words which he ſpake were Spirit, that is to ſay, they had a reference to a Myſtical Participation, which Myſtical Participation giveth life. Wherein there is ſmall appearance of likelihood, that his meaning ſhould be only to make them *Marcionites* by inverſion, and to teach them that, as *Marcion* did think, Chriſt ſeemed to be Man, but was not; ſo they contrariwiſe ſhould believe, that Chriſt in Truth would ſo give them, as they thought, his Fleſh to eat; but yet leſt the horror thereof ſhould offend them, he would not ſeem to do that he did. When they which have this opinion of Chriſt in that Bleſſed Sacrament, go about to explain themſelves, and to open after what manner things are brought to paſs, the one ſort lay the Union of Chriſt's Deity with his Manhood, as their firſt foundation and ground: From thence they infer a power which the Body of Chriſt hath, *thereby* to preſent it-ſelf in all places; out of which Ubiquity of his Body, they gather the preſence thereof with that ſanctified Bread and Wine of our Lords Table: The Conjunction of his Body and Blood with thoſe Elements they uſe as an Argument, to ſhew how the Bread may as well in that reſpect be termed his Body, becauſe his Body is therewith joyned, as the Son of God may be named Man, by reaſon that God and Man in the Perſon of Chriſt are united. To this they add, how the Words of Chriſt commanding us to eat muſt needs import, that as he hath coupled the Subſtance of his Fleſh, and the Subſtance of Bread together, ſo we together ſhould receive both: Which Labyrinth as the other ſort doth juſtly ſhun, ſo the way which they take to the ſame Inn is ſomewhat more ſhort, but no whit more certain. For through God's Omnipotent Power, they imagine that Tranſubſtantiation followeth upon the words of Conſecration; and upon Tranſubſtantiation, the Participation of Chriſt's both Body and Blood, in the only ſhape of Sacramental Elements. So that they all three do plead God's Omnipotency: Sacramentaries, to that Alteration, which the reſt confeſs he accompliſheth; the Patrons of Tranſubſtantiation, over and beſides that to the change of one Subſtance into another; the Followers of Conſubſtantiation, to the kneading up of both ſubſtances, as it were into one lump. Touching the ſentence of Antiquity in this cauſe, firſt, For as much as they knew, that the force of this Sacrament doth neceſſarily preſuppoſe the Verity of Chriſt's both Body and Blood, they uſed oftentimes the ſame as an Argument to prove, that Chriſt hath as truly the ſubſtance of Man as of God, becauſe here we receive Chriſt, and thoſe Graces which flow from him, in that he is Man. So that if he have no ſuch being, neither can the Sacrament have any ſuch meaning, as we all confeſs it hath. Thus (*a*) *Tertullian*, thus (*b*) *Irenæus*, thus (*c*) *Theodoret* diſputeth. Again, as evident it is how they teach, that Chriſt is *perſonally* there preſent, yea, preſent whole, albeit a part of Chriſt be *corporally* abſent from thence, that (*d*) Chriſt aſſiſting this Heavenly Banquet with his Perſonal and true Preſence, (*e*) doth by his own Divine Power add to the Natural Subſtance thereof Supernatural Efficacy, which (*f*) addition to the Nature of thoſe conſecrated Elements changeth them, and maketh them that unto us, which otherwiſe they could not be; that to us they are thereby made ſuch Inſtruments, as (*g*) myſtically, yet truly; inviſibly, yet really, work our Communion or Fellowſhip with the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, as well in that he is Man as God, our Participation alſo in the Fruit, Grace and Efficacy of his Body and Blood;

(*a*) *Acceptum panem & diſtributum diſcipulis Corpus ſuum illum fecit, hoc eſt, Corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuiſſet, niſi veritatis eſſet Corpus, cum vacua res, quod eſt phantaſma, Figuram capere non poſſet.* Tertul. contra Marc. lib. 4. cap. 40. (*b*) *Secundum hæc* (that is to ſay, If it ſhould be true which Hereticks have taught, denying that Chriſt took upon him the very nature of Man) *nec Dominus ſanguine ſuo redemit nos, neque Calix Euchariſtiæ communicatio ſanguinis ejus erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus eſt. Sanguis enim non eſt, niſi à venis & carnibus, & à reliqua quæ eſt ſecundum hominem ſubſtantia.* Iren. lib 5. cap. 1. (*c*) Εἰ τοίνυν τοῦ ὄντος σώματος ἀντίτυπά ἐςι τὰ θεῖα μυςήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ἐςὶ καὶ νῦν τοῦ δεσπότου τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθέν. *Theod. Dialog.* Ἀσύγχυτος. (*d*) *Sacramenta quidem quantum in ſe eſt ſine propria virtute eſſe non poſſunt, nec ullo modo ſe abſentat majeſtas myſteriis.* Cypr. de Cœn. cap. 7. (*e*) *Sacramento viſibili ineffabiliter divina ſe infundit eſſentia ut eſſet Religioni circa Sacramenta devotio.* Idem, cap. 6. *Inviſibilis Sacerdos viſibiles creaturas in ſubſtantiam corporis & ſanguinis ſui verbo ſuo ſecreta poteſtate convertit. In ſpiritualibus Sacramentis, verbi præcipit virtus & ſervit effectus.* Euſeb Emiſen. Hom. 5 de Paſch. (*f*) Τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν ἐσὶ πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ οἰκείας ἐξίςαται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐςι καὶ ἁπτὰ οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιςεύεται καὶ προσκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιςεύεται. *Theodor.* *Ex quo à Domino dictum eſt, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Hæc eſt caro mea, & hic eſt ſanguis meus, quotieſcunque his verbis & hac fide actum eſt, panis iſte ſuperſubſtantialis, & calix benedictione ſolenni ſacratus, ad totius hominis vitam ſalutemque proficit.* Cypr de Cœn. cap. 3. *Immortalitatis alimonia datur à communibus cibis differens, corporalis ſubſtantiæ retinens ſpeciem, ſed virtutis divinæ inviſibili efficientia probans adeſſe præſentiam.* Ibid. cap. 2. (*g*) *Senſibilibus Sacramentis ineſt vitæ æternæ effectus, & non tam corporali quam ſpirituali tranſitione Chriſto unimur. Ipſe enim & panis, & caro, & ſanguis, & idem cibus, & ſubſtantia, & vita factus eſt Eccleſiæ ſuæ quam corpus ſuum appellat, dans ei participationem ſpiritus.* Ibid. cap. 5. *Noſtra & ipſius conjunctio nec miſcet perſonas, nec unit ſubſtantias, ſed effectus conſociat & confœderat voluntates.* Ibid. cap. 6. *Manſio noſtra in ipſo eſt manducatio, & potus quaſi quædam incorporatio* Ibid. cap. 9. *Ille eſt in Patre per Naturam divinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem ejus Nativitatem, ille rurſus in nobis per Sacramentorum myſterium.* Hilar. de Trin. lib. 8.

whereupon there enſueth a kind of Tranſubſtantiation in us, a true (*a*) change both of Soul and Body, an alteration from death to life. In a word, it appeareth not that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church, any one did ever conceive or imagine other than only a Myſtical Participation of Chriſt's both Body and Blood in the Sacrament, neither are their ſpeeches concerning the change of the Elements themſelves into the Body and Blood of Chriſt ſuch, that a Man can thereby in Conſcience aſſure himſelf it was their meaning to perſwade the World, either of a Corporal Conſubſtantiation of Chriſt with thoſe Sanctified and Bleſſed Elements, before we receive them; or of the like Tranſubſtantiation of them into the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Which both to our Myſtical Communion with Chriſt are ſo unneceſſary, that the Fathers, who plainly hold but this Myſtical Communion, cannot eaſily be thought to have meant any other change of Sacramental Elements, than that which the ſame Spiritual Communion did require them to hold. Theſe things conſidered, how ſhould that Mind, which loving Truth and ſeeking Comfort out of Holy Myſteries hath not perhaps the leiſure, perhaps not the wit nor capacity to tread out ſo endleſs Mazes, as the intricate Diſputes of this cauſe have led Men into; how ſhould a virtuouſly-diſpoſed mind better reſolve with it-ſelf than thus? *Variety of Judgments and opinions argueth obſcurity in thoſe things whereabout they differ. But that which all parts receive for Truth, that which every one having ſifted is by no one denied or doubted of, muſt needs be matter of infallible certainty. Whereas therefore there are but three Expoſitions made of,* This is my Body: *The firſt, This is in it-ſelf before participation* really and truly the Natural Subſtance of my Body, by reaſon of the co-exiſtence which my omnipotent Body hath with the ſanctified Element of Bread, which is the *Lutherans* Interpretation: *The ſecond, This is in it-ſelf and before Participation* the very true and Natural Subſtance of my Body, by force of that Deity, which with the words of Conſecration aboliſheth the Subſtance of Bread, and ſubſtituteth in the place thereof my Body, which is the *Popiſh* conſtruction: *The laſt,* This Hallowed Food, through concurrence of Divine Power, is in verity and truth unto faithful Receivers inſtrumentally a cauſe of that Myſtical Participation, whereby as I make my-ſelf wholly theirs, ſo I give them in hand an actual poſſeſſion of all ſuch ſaving Grace, as my Sacrificed Body can yield, and as their ſouls do preſently need; this is *to them and in them* my Body. *Of theſe three rehearſed Interpretations, the laſt hath in it nothing but what the reſt do all approve and acknowledge to be moſt true; nothing but that which the words of Chriſt are on all ſides confeſt to inforce; nothing but that which the Church of God hath always thought neceſſary; nothing but that which alone is ſufficient for every Chriſtian Man to believe, concerning the uſe and force of this Sacrament: Finally, nothing but that wherewith the Writings of all Antiquity are conſonant, and all Chriſtian Confeſſions agreeable. And as Truth, in what kind ſoever, is by no kind of Truth gain-ſaid; ſo the mind which reſteth it-ſelf on this, is never troubled with thoſe perplexities which the other do both find, by means of ſo great contradiction between their opinions and true principles of Reaſon, grounded upon Experience, Nature, and Senſe. Which albeit with boyſterous courage and breath, they ſeem oftentimes to blow away; yet whoſo obſerveth, how again they labour and ſweat by ſubtilty of wit, to make ſome ſhew of agreement between their peculiar conceits, and the general Edicts of Nature, muſt needs perceive they ſtruggle with that which they cannot fully maſter. Beſides, ſith of that which is proper to themſelves, their Diſcourſes are hungry and unpleaſant, full of tedious and irkſome labour, heartleſs, and hitherto without Fruit; on the other ſide, read we them, or hear we others, be they of our own or of ancienter times, to what part ſoever they be thought to incline, touching that whereof there is controverſie; yet in this, where they all ſpeak but one thing, their Diſcourſes are Heavenly, their Words ſweet as the Hony-Comb, their Tongues melodiouſly-tuned Inſtruments, their Sentences meer Conſolation and Joy. Are we not hereby almoſt even with voice from Heaven admoniſhed, which we may ſafelieſt cleave unto? He which hath ſaid of the one Sacrament,* Waſh and be clean, *hath ſaid concerning the other likewiſe,* Eat and live. *If therefore without any ſuch particular and ſolemn warrant as this is, that poor diſtreſſed Woman coming unto Chriſt for health could ſo conſtantly reſolve her-ſelf,* May I but touch the ſkirt of his Garment, I ſhall be whole, *what moveth us to argue of the manner how Life ſhould come by Bread, our duty being here but to take what is offered, and moſt aſſuredly to reſt perſwaded of this, that can we but eat we are ſafe? When I behold with mine eyes ſome ſmall and ſcarce diſcernible Grain or Seed, whereof Nature maketh promiſe, that a Tree ſhall come; and when afterwards of that Tree any ſkilful Artificer undertaketh to frame ſome exquiſite and curious work, I look for the event, I move no queſtion about performance, either of the one, or of the other. Shall I ſimply credit Nature in things natural? Shall I in things artificial relie my ſelf on Art, never offering to make doubt, and in that which is above both Art and Nature refuſe to believe the Author of both, except he acquaint me with his ways, and lay the ſecret of his skill before me? Where God himſelf doth ſpeak thoſe things, which either for height and ſublimity of Matter, or elſe for ſecreſie of Performance, we are not able to reach unto, as we may be ignorant without danger, ſo it can be no diſgrace to confeſs we are ignorant. Such as love Piety will as much as in them lieth, know all things that God commandeth, but eſpecially the duties of Service which they owe to God. As for his dark and hidden works, they prefer, as becometh them in ſuch caſes, ſimplicity of Faith before that Knowledge, which curiouſly ſifting what it ſhould adore, and diſputing too boldly of that which the wit of Man cannot ſearch, chilleth for the moſt part all warmth of zeal, and bringeth ſoundneſs of belief many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be ſufficient for me, preſenting my-ſelf at the Lords Table, to know what there I receive from him; without ſearching or enquiring of the manner, how Chriſt performeth his promiſe:* Let Diſputes and Queſtions, *Enemies to Piety, abatements of true Devotion,*

(a) *Panis hic azymus cibus verus & ſincerus* per ſpeciem & Sacramentum *nos tactu ſanctificat fide illuminat, veritate Chriſto conformat.* Cypr de Cœn. cap. 6. *Non aliud agit participatio corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, quàm ut in id quod ſumimus tranſeamus. & in quo mortui & ſepulti & correſuſcitati ſumus, ipſum per omnia & ſpiritu & carne geſtemus.* Leo de Paſch Serm. 14. *Quemadmodum qui eſt à terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem* (id eſt, facta invocatione divini numinis) *jam non communis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia ex duabus rebus conſtans, terrena & cœleſti: Sic & corpora noſtra percipientia Euchariſtiam, jam non ſunt corruptibilia ſpem reſurrectionis habentia.* Iren. lib. 4. cap. 34. *Quoniam ſalutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita eſt conjuncta, vivifica effecta eſt: Quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis, illi carni conjuncti, quæ vita effecta eſt.* Cyril. in Johan. lib. 4. cap. 14.

tion, and hitherto, in this Cauſe, but over-patiently heard, let them take their reſt: Let curious and ſharp-witted Men beat their heads about what Queſtions themſelves will, the very Letter of the Word of Chriſt giveth plain ſecurity, that theſe Myſteries do as Nails faſten us to his very Croſs, that by them we draw out, as touching Efficacy, Force and Virtue, even the Blood of his gored ſide: In the Wounds of our Redeemer, we there dip our Tongues, we are died red, both within and without; our hunger is ſatisfied, and our thirſt for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he ſeeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whoſe Soul is poſſeſt of this Paſchal Lamb, and made joyful in the ſtrength of this new Wine: This Bread hath in it more than the ſubſtance which our eyes behold; this Cup hallowed with ſolemn Benediction availeth to the endleſs life and welfare both of Soul and Body, in that it ſerveth as well for a Medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our ſins, as for a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving: With touching it ſanctifieth, it enlighteneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the Image of Jeſus Chriſt. What theſe Elements are in themſelves, it ſkilleth not; it is enough, that to me which take them, they are the Body and Blood of Chriſt; his Promiſe, in witneſs hereof ſufficeth; his Word, he knoweth which way to accompliſh; why ſhould any cogitation poſſeſs the mind of a faithful Communicant, but this, O my God, thou art true, O my Soul, thou art happy? Thus therefore we ſee, that howſoever Mens opinions do otherwiſe vary, nevertheleſs touching Baptiſm and the Supper of the Lord we may with conſent of the whole Chriſtian World conclude they are neceſſary, the one to initiate or begin, the other to conſummate or make perfect our life in Chriſt.

68. In Adminiſtring the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, the ſuppoſed faults of the Church of *England* are not greatly material, and therefore it ſhall ſuffice to touch them in few words. *The firſt is, That we do not uſe in a generality once for all to ſay to Communicants,* Take eat, and drink; *but unto every particular perſon,* Eat thou, drink thou, *which is according to the Popiſh manner, and not the Form that our Saviour did uſe. Our ſecond overſight is by Geſture. For in Kneeling there hath been Superſtition; Sitting agreeth better to the action of a Supper; and our Saviour uſing that which was moſt fit, did himſelf not kneel. A third accuſation is for not examining all Communicants, whoſe knowledge in the Myſtery of the Goſpel ſhould that way be made manifeſt; a thing every where, they ſay, uſed in the Apoſtles times, becauſe all things neceſſary were uſed; and this in their opinion is neceſſary, yea, it is commanded, in as much as the Levites are commanded to prepare the people for the Paſſover; and Examination is a part of their Preparation, our Lords Supper in place of the Paſſover. The fourth thing miſliked is, That, againſt the Apoſtles prohibition, to have any familiarity at all with notorious Offenders, Papiſts being not of the Church are admitted to our very Communion, before they have by their Religious and Goſpel-like behaviour purged themſelves of that ſuſpicion of Popery, which their former life hath cauſed. They are Dogs, Swine, unclean Beaſts, Foreigners and Strangers from the Church of God; and therefore ought not to be admitted, though they offer themſelves. We are fifthly condemned, in as much as when there have been ſtore of people to hear Sermon and Service in the Church, we ſuffer the Communion to be adminiſtred to a few. It is not enough, that our Book of Common-Prayer hath godly Exhortations to move all thereunto which are preſent. For it ſhould not ſuffer a few to Communicate, it ſhould by Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline and Civil puniſhment provide, that ſuch as would withdraw themſelves, might be brought to Communicate, according both to the* * *Law of God, and the ancient Church-Canons. In the ſixth and laſt place cometh the enormity of imparting this Sacrament privately unto the ſick.* Thus far accuſed we anſwer briefly to the firſt †, That ſeeing God by Sacraments doth apply in particular unto every Mans perſon, the Grace which himſelf hath provided for the benefit of all mankind; there is no cauſe, why, Adminiſtring the Sacraments, we ſhould forbear to expreſs that in our forms of Speech, which he by his Word and Goſpel teacheth all to believe. In the one Sacrament *I Baptize thee* diſpleaſeth them not. If *Eat thou* in the other offend them, their fancies are no rules for Churches to follow. Whether Chriſt at his laſt Supper did ſpeak generally once to all, or to every one in particular, is a thing uncertain. His words are recorded in that Form which ſerveth beſt for the ſetting down with Hiſtorical brevity, what was ſpoken; they are no manifeſt proof, that he ſpake but once unto all, which did then Communicate, much leſs, that we in ſpeaking unto every Communicant ſeverally do amiſs; although it were clear, that we herein do otherwiſe than Chriſt did. Our imitation of him conſiſteth not in tying ſcrupulouſly our ſelves unto his ſyllables, but rather in ſpeaking by the Heavenly Direction of that inſpired Divine Wiſdom, which teacheth divers ways to one end, and doth therein controul their boldneſs by whom any profitable way is cenſured as reprovable, only under colour of ſome ſmall difference from great examples going before; to do throughout every the like circumſtance, the ſame which Chriſt did in this action, were by following his footſteps in that ſort, to err more from the purpoſe he aimed at, than we now do by not following them with ſo nice and ſevere ſtrictneſs. They little weigh with themſelves, how dull, how heavy, and almoſt how without ſenſe, the greateſt part of the common multitude every where is, who think it either unmeet or unneceſſary to put them, even Man by Man, eſpecially at that time, in mind whereabout they are. It is true, that in Sermons we do not uſe to repeat our ſentences ſeverally to every particular hearer; a ſtrange madneſs it were, if we ſhould. The ſoftneſs of Wax may induce a wiſe Man to ſet his ſtamp or image therein; it perſwadeth no Man, that becauſe Wool hath the like quality, it may there-

Of Faults noted in the Form of Adminiſtring the holy Communion.

2 Chro. 35. 6.

1 Cor. 5. 11.

* Num. 9. 13. *Can.* 9. *Apoſt. Concil.* 2. *Brac. cap.* 83.

† *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 166. Beſides that it is good to leave the Popiſh Form in thoſe things, which we may ſo conveniently do, it is beſt to come as near the manner of celebration of the Supper which our Saviour Chriſt uſed, as may be. And if it be a good Argument to prove that therefore we muſt rather ſay, *Take thou,* than *Take ye,* becauſe the Sacrament is an Application of the benefits of Chriſt, it behoveth, that the Preacher ſhould direct his Admonitions particularly one after another unto all thoſe which hear his Sermon, which is a thing abſurd.

fore receive the like impreſſion: So the reaſon taken from the uſe of Sacraments, in that they are Inſtruments of Grace unto every particular Man, may with good congruity lead the Church to frame accordingly her Words in Adminiſtration of Sacraments,becauſe they eaſily admit this Form, which being in Sermons a thing impoſſible, without apparent ridiculous abſurdity, agreement of Sacraments with Sermons, in that which is alledged as a reaſonable proof of conveniency for the one,proveth not the ſame Allegation impertinent,becauſe it doth not inforce the other to be adminiſtred in like ſort. For equal principles do then avail unto equal concluſions, when the matter whereunto we apply them is equal, and not elſe. Our Kneeling at Communions is the geſture of Piety. If we did there preſent our ſelves, but to make ſome ſhew or dumb reſemblance of a Spiritual Feaſt, it may be that Sitting were the fitter Ceremony; but coming as receivers of ineſtimable Grace at the Hands of God, what doth better beſeem our Bodies at that Hour, than to be ſenſible Witneſſes of minds unfeignedly humbled? Our Lord himſelf did that which cuſtom and long uſage had made fit; We, that which fitneſs and great decency hath made uſual. The tryal of our ſelves, before we Eat of this Bread, and Drink of this Cup, is by expreſs Commandment every Man's preciſe Duty. As for neceſſity of calling others unto account beſides our-ſelves, albeit we be not thereunto drawn by any great ſtrength which is in their arguments, who firſt preſs us with it as a thing neceſſary by affirming, That the Apoſtles did uſe it, and then prove the (a) Apoſtles to have uſed it, by affirming it to be neceſſary: Again, albeit we greatly muſe how they can avouch, that God did command the Levites to prepare their Brethren againſt the Feaſt of the Paſſover, and that the Examination of them was a part of their Preparation, when the place alledged to this purpoſe doth but charge the Levites, ſaying, *Make ready Laahbechem for your Brethren*, to the end they may do according to the Word of the Lord by *Moſes*. Wherefore in the ſelf-ſame place it followeth, how Lambs, and Kids, and Sheep, and Bullocks, were delivered unto the Levites, and that thus *the Service was made ready*: It followeth likewiſe, how the Levites having in ſuch ſort provided for the People, they made proviſion for *themſelves, and for the Prieſts, the Sons of Aaron*: So that confidently from hence to conclude the neceſſity of Examination, argueth their wonderful great forwardneſs in framing all things to ſerve their turn; neverthleſs the Examination of Communicants, when need requireth, for the profitable uſe it may have in ſuch caſes, we reject not. Our fault in admitting Popiſh Communicants, Is it in that we are (b) forbidden to Eat, and therefore much more to Communicate with notorious Malefactors? The Name of a Papiſt is not given unto any Man for being a notorious Malefactor. And the crime wherewith we are charged, is ſuffering Papiſts to communicate; ſo that be their Life and Converſation whatſoever in the ſight of Men, their Popiſh opinions are in this caſe laid as Bars and Exceptions againſt them, yea thoſe opinions which they have held in former times, (c) although they now both profeſs by word, and offer to ſhew by fact the contrary. All this doth not juſtifie us, which ought not (they ſay) to admit them in any wiſe, till their Goſpel-like behaviour have removed all ſuſpicion of Popery from them, becauſe Papiſts are *Dogs, Swine, Beaſts, Foreigners and Strangers* from the Houſe of God; in a word, they are *not of the Church*. What the terms of Goſpel-like behaviour may include, is obſcure and doubtful. But of the *Viſible Church* of Chriſt in this preſent World, from which they ſeparate all Papiſts, we are thus perſwaded. *Church* is a word which Art hath deviſed, thereby to ſever and diſtinguiſh that Society of Men which profeſſeth the true Religion, from the reſt which profeſs it not. There have been in the World, from the very firſt foundation thereof, but three Religions, *Paganiſm*, which lived in the blindneſs of corrupt and depraved Nature; *Judaiſm*, embracing the Law which reformed Heatheniſh Impiety, and taught Salvation to be looked for through one, whom God in the laſt days would ſend and exalt to be Lord of all; finally *Chriſtian Belief*, which yieldeth obedience to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and acknowledgeth him the Saviour whom God did promiſe. Seeing then that the *Church* is a name, which art hath given to *Profeſſors of true Religion*, as they which will define a Man are to paſs by thoſe qualities wherein one Man doth excel another, and to take only thoſe Eſſential Properties, whereby a Man doth differ from Creatures of other kinds: So he that will teach what *the Church* is, ſhall never rightly perform the work whereabout he goeth, till in *matter of Religion* he touch that difference, which ſevereth the *Churches Religion* from theirs who are not the Church. *Religion* being therefore a matter partly of *Contemplation*, partly of *Action*; we muſt define the Church, which is a Religious Society, by ſuch differences as do properly explain the Eſſence of ſuch things, that is to ſay, by the Object or Matter whereabout the Contemplations and Actions of the Church are properly converſant. For ſo all Knowledges and all Virtues are defined. Whereupon, becauſe the *only Object* which ſeparateth ours from other Religions, is *Jeſus Chriſt* in whom none but the Church doth believe, and whom none but the Church doth worſhip; we find that accordingly the Apoſtles do every where diſtinguiſh hereby the Church from Infidels and from Jews, accounting *them which call upon the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to be his Church*. If we go lower, we ſhall but add unto this certain caſual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the Being, but make only for the happier and better Being of the Church of God, either indeed, or in Mens opinions and conceits. This is the Error of all Popiſh definitions that hitherto have been brought. They define not the Church by that which the Church eſſentially is, but by that where-

T. C. lib. 1. *p.* 165. Kneeling carrieth a ſhew of worſhip, Sitting agreeeth better with the Action of the Supper. Chriſt and his Apoſtles kneeled not.

(b) 1 Cor. 5. 11.
T.C.l. 1. *p.* 167.

(c) Although they would receive the Communion, yet they ought to be kept back, until ſuch time, as by their Religious and Goſpel-like behaviour, they have purged themſelves of that ſuſpicion of Popery, which their former life and converſation hath cauſed to be conceived. *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 167.

(a) *T. C. lib.* 1. *page* 164. All things neceſſary were uſed in the Churches of God in the Apoſtles times; but Examination was a neceſſary thing, therefore uſed. In the Book of *Chronicles* 2 *Chron.* 35. 6. the Levites were commanded to prepare the People to the receiving of the Paſſover, in place whereof we have the Lord's Supper. Now Examination being a part of Preparation, it followeth, that here is Commandment of the Examination.

wherein they imagine their own more perfect than the reſt are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewiſe of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way poſſible to be drawn unto any certain account. There is not the leaſt contention and variance, but it blemiſheth ſomewhat the Unity that ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which notwithſtanding may have, not only without offence or breach of concord her manifold varieties in Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but alſo her Strifes and Contentions many times, and that about matters of no ſmall importance; yea, her Schiſms, Factions, and ſuch other evils whereunto the Body of the Church is ſubject, ſound and ſick remaining both of the ſame Body, as long as both parts retain by outward profeſſion that vital ſubſtance of Truth, which maketh Chriſtian Religion to differ from theirs, which acknowledge not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt the Bleſſed Saviour of Mankind, give no credit to his glorious Goſpel, and have his Sacraments the Seals of Eternal Life in deriſion. Now the priviledge of the viſible Church of God (for of that we ſpeak) is to be herein like the Ark of *Noah*, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are loſt Sheep; yet in this was the Ark of *Noah* priviledged above the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could periſh, numbers in the other were caſt away, becauſe to Eternal Life our Profeſſion is not enough. Many things exclude from the Kingdom of God, although from the Church they ſeparate not. In the Church there ariſe ſundry grievous ſtorms, by means whereof whole Kingdoms and Nations profeſſing Chriſt, both have been heretofore, and are at this preſent Day, divided about Chriſt. During which diviſions and contentions amongſt Men, albeit each part do juſtifie it-ſelf, yet the one of neceſſity muſt needs err, if there be any contradiction between them, be it great or little; and what ſide ſoever it be that hath the truth, the ſame we muſt alſo acknowledge alone to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and conſequently reject the other as an Enemy *in that caſe fallen away from the true Church.* Wherefore of Hypocrites and Diſſemblers, whoſe profeſſion at the firſt was but only from the teeth outward, when they afterwards took occaſion to oppugn certain principal Articles of Faith, the Apoſtles, which defended the truth againſt them, pronounce them *gone out* from the Fellowſhip of ſound and ſincere Believers, when as yet the Chriſtian Religion they had not utterly caſt off. In like ſenſe and meaning, throughout all ages *Hereticks* have juſtly been hated, as Branches cut off from the Body of the true Vine, yet only ſo far forth cut off, as their Hereſies have extended. Both Hereſie, *and many other crimes*, which *wholly ſever from God*, do ſever from the Church of God in *part only*. The Myſtery of Piety, ſaith the Apoſtle, is without peradventure great, *God hath been manifeſted in the Fleſh, hath been juſtified in the Spirit, hath been ſeen of Angels, hath been preached to Nations, hath been believed on in the World, hath been taken up into Glory.* The Church a Pillar and Foundation of this Truth, which no where is known or profeſt, but only within the Church, and they all of the Church that profeſs it. In the mean while it cannot be denied, that many profeſs this, who are not therefore cleared ſimply from all either faults or errors, which make ſeparation between us and the Well-ſpring of our happineſs. Idolatry ſevered of old, the Iſraelites; Iniquity, thoſe Scribes and Phariſees from God, who notwithſtanding were a part of the ſeed of *Abraham*, a part of that very Seed which God did himſelf acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therefore contain both them which indeed are not his, yet muſt be reputed his by us that know not their inward thoughts; and them, whoſe apparent wickedneſs teſtifieth even in the ſight of the whole World, that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other purpoſe are meant thoſe Parables, which our Saviour in the Goſpel hath concerning mixture of Vice with Virtue, Light with Darkneſs, Truth with Error, as well an openly known and ſeen, as a cunningly cloaked mixture. That which ſeparateth therefore *utterly*, that which cutteth off *clean* from the Viſible Church of Chriſt, is plain Apoſtaſie, direct denial, utter rejection of the whole Chriſtian Faith, as far as the ſame is profeſſedly different from Infidelity. Hereticks, as touching thoſe points of Doctrine wherein they fail: Schiſmaticks, as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein, they divide themſelves from their Brethren: Looſe, licentious, and wicked Perſons, as touching their ſeveral offences or crimes, have all forſaken the true Church of God; the Church, which is ſound and ſincere in the Doctrine that they corrupt; the Church, that keepeth the Bond of Unity, which they violate; the Church, that walketh in the Laws of Righteouſneſs, which they tranſgreſs: This very true Church of Chriſt they have left, howbeit not altogether left, nor forſaken ſimply the Church, upon the main Foundations whereof they continue built, notwithſtanding theſe breaches whereby they are *rent at the top* aſunder. Now becauſe for redreſs of profeſſed Errors and open Schiſms, it is, and muſt be the Churches care, that all may in outward Conformity be one, as the laudable Polity of former Ages, even ſo our own, to that end and purpoſe hath eſtabliſhed divers Laws, the moderate ſeverity whereof is a mean both to ſtay the reſt, and to reclaim ſuch as heretofore have been led awry. But ſeeing that the offices which Laws require, are always definite, and when that they require is done, they go no farther, whereupon ſundry ill-affected Perſons, to ſave themſelves from danger of Laws, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry ſtill the ſame hearts which they did before; by means whereof it falleth out that, receiving unworthily the Bleſſed Sacrament at our Hands, they eat and drink their own damnation: It is for remedy of this miſchief * here determined, that whom the Law of the Realm doth pu-

Rom. 15. 5.
1 Cor. 1. 10

1 John 2. 19.

1 Tim. 3. 16.

Matth. 13. 24. 47.

---

* *T. C. lib.* 1. *page* 167. If the place of the Fifth to the *Corinthians* do forbid, that we ſhould have any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth much more forbid, that they ſhould be received to the Communion: And therefore Papiſts being ſuch, as which are notoriouſly known to hold Heretical opinions, ought not to be admitted, much leſs compell'd to the Supper. For ſeeing that our Saviour Chriſt did inſtitute his Supper amongſt his Diſciples, and thoſe only which were, as St. *Paul* ſpeaketh, within; it is evident, that the Papiſts, being without, and Foreigners and Strangers from the Church

niſh unleſs they communicate, ſuch if they offer to obey Law, the Church notwithſtanding ſhould not admit without probation before had of their Goſpel-like behaviour. Wherein they firſt ſet no time, how long this ſuppoſed probation muſt continue; again they nominate no certain Judgment, the verdict whereof ſhall approve Mens behaviour to be Goſpel-like; and that which is moſt material, whereas they ſeek to make it more hard for diſſemblers to be received into the Church, than Law and Polity as yet hath done, they make it in truth more eaſie for ſuch kind of Perſons to wind themſelves out of the Law, and to continue the ſame they were: The Law requireth at their Hands that duty which in Conſcience doth touch them neareſt, becauſe the greateſt difference between us and them is the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, whoſe Name in the Service of our Communion we Celebrate with due honour, which they in the Error of their Maſs profane. As therefore on our part to hear Maſs were an open departure from that ſincere Profeſſion, wherein we ſtand; ſo if they on the other ſide receive our Communion, they give us the ſtrongeſt pledge of fidelity that Man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which mind treachery to God and Man, ſhall once apprehend this advantage given them, whereby they may ſatisfie Law in pretending themſelves conformable, (for what can Law with Reaſon or Juſtice require more?) and yet be ſure the Church will accept no ſuch offer, till their Goſpel-like behaviour be allowed, after that our own ſimplicity hath once thus fairly eaſed them from the ſting of Law, it is to be thought they will learn the Myſtery of Goſpel-like behaviour, when leiſure ſerveth them. And ſo while without any cauſe we fear to profane Sacraments, we ſhall not only defeat the purpoſe of moſt wholeſome Laws, but loſe or wilfully hazard thoſe Souls, from whom the likelieſt means of full and perfect recovery are by our indiſcretion with-held. For neither doth God thus bind us to dive into Men's Conſciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any Man but themſelves. To him they ſeem ſuch as they are but to us they muſt be taken for ſuch as they ſeem. In the Eye of God they are againſt Chriſt, that are not truly and ſincerely with him; in our Eyes they muſt be received as with Chriſt, that are not to outward ſhew againſt him. The caſe of impenitent and notorious ſinners is not like unto theirs, whoſe only imperfection is Error ſevered from Pertinacy; Error in appearance content to ſubmit it-ſelf to better inſtruction; Error ſo far already cured, as to crave at our Hands that Sacrament, the hatred and utter refuſal whereof was the weightieſt point, wherein heretofore they ſwerved and went aſtray. In this caſe therefore they cannot reaſonably charge us with remiſs dealing, or with careleſneſs to whom we impart the Myſteries of Chriſt; but they have given us manifeſt occaſion to think it requiſite, that we earneſtly adviſe rather, and exhort them to conſider as they ought their ſundry over-ſights; Firſt, In equalling indiſtinctly Crimes with Errors, as touching force to make incapable of this Sacrament: Secondly, in ſuffering indignation at the faults of the Church of *Rome*, to blind and with-hold their Judgments from ſeeing that which withal they ſhould acknowledge, concerning ſo much, nevertheleſs, ſtill due to the ſame Church, as to be held and reputed a part of the Houſe of God, a Limb of the Viſible Church of Chriſt: Thirdly, in impoſing upon the Church a burthen, to enter farther into Men's Hearts, and to make a deeper ſearch of their Conſciences, than any Law of God, or Reaſon of Man inforceth: Fourthly and laſtly, In repelling under colour of longer tryal ſuch from the Myſteries of Heavenly Grace, as are both capable thereof by the Laws of God, for any thing we hear to the contrary, and ſhould in divers conſiderations be cheriſhed according to the merciful Examples and Precepts, whereby the Goſpel of Chriſt hath taught us towards ſuch to ſhew compaſſion, to receive them with lenity and all meekneſs; if any thing be ſhaken in them, to ſtrengthen it, not to quench with delays and jealouſies that feeble ſmoak of Conformity, which ſeemeth to breathe from them; but to build whereſoever there is any Foundation, to add Perfection unto ſlender beginnings, and that as by other offices of Piety, even ſo by this very Food of Life, which Chriſt hath left in his Church not only for preſervation of ſtrength, but alſo for relief of weakneſs: But
T.C.l. 1. *p* 147. to return to our own-ſelves, in whom the next thing ſeverely reproved is the Paucity of
2 Chr. 30. 13. Communicants. If they require at Communions frequency, we wiſh the ſame, knowing how acceptable unto God ſuch ſervice is, when multitudes cheerfully concur unto it; if they
Pſal. 122. 1. encourage Men thereunto, we alſo (themſelves acknowledge it) are not utterly forgetful to do the like; if they require ſome publick coaction for remedy of that, wherein by milder and ſofter means little good is done, they know our Laws and Statutes provided in that behalf, whereunto whatſoever convenient help may be added more by the wiſdom of Man, what cauſe have
Luke 14 23. we given the World to think, that we are not ready to hearken to it, and uſe any good means of ſweet compulſion, to have this high and Heavenly Banquet largely furniſhed? Only we cannot ſo far yield, as to judge it convenient, that the holy deſire of a competent number ſhould be unſatisfied,

---

Church of God, ought not to be received, if they would offer themſelves: And that Miniſter that ſhall give the Supper of the Lord to him, which is known to be a Papiſt, and which hath never made any clear renouncing of Popery, with which he hath been defiled, doth profane the Table of the Lord, and doth give the Meat that is prepared for the Children, unto Dogs; and he bringeth into the Paſture which is provided for the Sheep, Swine and unclean Beaſts, contrary to the Faith and Truſt that ought to be in a Steward of the Lords Houſe, as he is. For albeit that I doubt not, but many of thoſe which are now Papiſts, pertain to the Election of God, which God alſo in his good time will call to the knowledge of his Truth: Yet notwithſtanding, they ought to be unto the Miniſter, and unto the Church, touching the Miniſtring of Sacraments, as Strangers, and as unclean Beaſts. The Miniſtring of the holy Sacraments unto them, is a Declaration and Seal of God's favour and reconciliation with them, and a plain Preaching, partly, that they be waſhed already from their ſin, partly, that they are of the Houſhold of God, and ſuch as the Lord will feed to Eternal Life; which is not lawful to be done unto thoſe which are not of the Houſhold of Faith. And therefore I conclude, That the compelling of Papiſts unto the communion, and the diſmiſſing and letting of them go, when as they be to be puniſhed for their ſtubbornneſs in Popery (with this condition, if they will receive the Communion) is very unlawful; when as although they would receive it, yet they ought to be kept back, till ſuch time as by their Religious and Goſpel-like behaviour, &c.

unſatisfied, becauſe the greater part is careleſs and indiſpoſed to joyn with them. Men ſhould not (they ſay) be permitted a few by themſelves to communicate, when ſo many are gone away, becauſe this Sacrament is a token of our conjunction with our Brethren, and therefore by communicating apart from them we make an apparent ſhew of diſtraction: I ask then, on which ſide Unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs who being left behind do communicate? Firſt, in the one it is not denied, but that they may have reaſonable cauſe of departure, and that then even they are delivered from juſt blame. Of which kind of cauſes two are allowed, namely, danger of impairing Health, and neceſſary buſineſs requiring our preſence other-where. And may not a third cauſe, which is *unfitneſs* at the preſent time, detain us as lawfully back as either of theſe two? True it is, that we cannot hereby altogether excuſe our-ſelves, for that we ought to prevent this, and do not: But if we have committed a fault in not preparing our minds before, ſhall we therefore aggravate the ſame with a worſe, the crime of unworthy participation? He that abſtaineth, doth want for the time that Grace and Comfort which Religious Communicants have, but he that Eateth and Drinketh unworthily receiveth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poyſon. Notwithſtanding, whatſoever be the cauſe for which Men abſtain, were it reaſon that the fault of one part ſhould any way abridge their benefit that are not faulty? There is in all the Scripture of God no one ſyllable, which doth condemn communicating amongſt a few, when the reſt are departed from them. As for the laſt thing, which is our imparting this Sacrament privately unto the ſick, whereas there have been of old (they grant) two kinds of neceſſity, wherein this Sacrament might be privately adminiſtred; of which two, the one being erroneouſly imagined, and the other (they ſay) continuing no longer in uſe, there remaineth unto us no neceſſity at all, for which that cuſtom ſhould be retained. The falſly-ſurmiſed neceſſity is that, whereby ſome have thought all ſuch excluded from poſſibility of ſalvation, as did depart this life, and never were made partakers of the holy Euchariſt. The other caſe of neceſſity was, when Men which had fallen in time of perſecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet received again unto the fellowſhip of this Communion, did at the hour of their death requeſt it, that ſo they might reſt with greater quietneſs and comfort of Mind, being thereby aſſured of departure in unity of Chriſt's Church; which virtuous deſire the Fathers did think it great impiety, not to ſatisfie. This was *Serapion's* caſe of neceſſity. *Serapion*, a faithful aged Perſon and always of very upright life, till fear of perſecution in the end cauſed him to ſhrink back, after long ſorrow for his ſcandalous offence, and ſute oftentimes made to be pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grievous ſickneſs, and being ready to yield up the Ghoſt, was then more inſtant than ever before to receive the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was neceſſary in this caſe, not that *Serapion* had been deprived of Everlaſting Life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do we think, that all caſes of *ſuch neceſſity* are clean vaniſhed? Suppoſe that ſome have by miſ-perſwaſion lived in Schiſm, withdrawn themſelves from holy and publick Aſſemblies, hated the Prayers, and loathed the Sacraments of the Church, falſly preſuming them to be fraught with impious and Antichriſtian corruptions: Which Error the God of Mercy and Truth opening at the length their eyes to ſee, they do not only repent them of the evil which they have done, but alſo in token thereof deſire to receive comfort by that whereunto they have offered diſgrace (which may be the caſe of many poor ſeduced Souls, even at this day) God forbid we ſhould think that the Church doth ſin, in permitting the Wounds of ſuch to be ſuppled with Oyl, which this gracious Sacrament doth yield, and their bruiſed minds not only need but beg. There is nothing which the Soul of Man doth deſire in that laſt hour ſo much as comfort againſt the natural terrors of Death, and other ſcruples of Conſcience, which commonly then moſt trouble and perplex the weak, towards whom the very Law of God doth exact at our Hands all the helps, that Chriſtian lenity and indulgence can afford. Our general Conſolation departing this Life is, the hope of that (*a*) glorious and bleſſed Reſurrection, which the Apoſtle St. *Paul* (*b*) nameth Ἐξανάστασιν, (*c*) to note, that as all Men have their Ἀνάστασιν and be raiſed again from the Dead, ſo the juſt ſhall be taken up and exalted above the reſt, whom the power of God doth but raiſe and not exalt. This Life, and this reſurrection our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is for all Men, as touching the ſufficiency of that he hath done, but that which maketh us partakers thereof is our particular Communion with Chriſt; and this Sacrament a principal Mean, as well to ſtrengthen the Bond, as to multiply in us the Fruits of the ſame Communion: For which cauſe St. *Cyprian* (*d*) termeth it a joyful ſolemnity of expedite and ſpeedy Reſurrection; *Ignatius* (*e*), a Medicine which procureth Immortality, and preventeth Death; *Irenæus* (*f*), the nouriſhment of our Bodies to Eternal Life, and their preſervative from corruption. Now becauſe that Sacrament, which at all times we may receive unto this effect, is then moſt acceptable and moſt fruitful, when any ſpecial extraordinary occaſion nearly and preſently urging kindleth our deſires towards it, their ſeverity, who cleave unto that alone which is generally fit to be done, and ſo make all Mens condition alike, may add much affliction to divers troubled and grieved minds, of whoſe particular eſtate particular reſpect being had, according to the charitable order of the Church wherein we live, there enſueth unto God that glory, which his righteous Saints comforted in their greateſt diſtreſſes do yield; and unto them which have their reaſonable Petitions ſatisfied, the ſame contentment, tranquillity and joy, that others before them by means of like ſatisfaction have reaped, and wherein we all are or ſhould be deſirous finally to take our leave of the World, whenſoever our own uncertain time of moſt aſſured departure ſhall come. Concerning therefore both Prayers and Sacraments, together

T. C. *l.* 1 *p.* 146.

(*a*) 1 Cor. 15. 21.

(*b*) Phil. 3. 11.

(*c*) Διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔπαρσιν. Theophyl. πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνίστανται, μόνοι δὲ πιστοὶ ἀξιοῦνται τῶν ἀγαθῶν. *Ammon. Vide.* 1 Theſ. 4. 17.

(*d*) *Maturatæ Reſurrectionis lætabunda ſolennia*, Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. cap. 10.

(*e*) Φάρμακον ἀθανασίας ἀντίδοτον μὴ θανεῖν, *Ignat. Epiſt. ad Epheſ.* *Iren. lib.* 4. *cap.* 34.

(*f*) *Etſi nihil facile mutandum eſt ex ſolennibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poſcit, ſubveniendum eſt*, Lib. 183. ff. de Reg. Jur.

with our uſual and received Form of adminiſtring the ſame in the Church of *England*, let thus much ſuffice.

Of Feſtival Days, and the Natural cauſes of their convenient Inſtitution.

69. As the Subſtance of God alone is infinite, and hath *no kind* of limitation, ſo likewiſe his Continuance is from everlaſting to everlaſting, and knoweth neither beginning nor end. Which demonſtrable concluſion being preſuppoſed, it followeth neceſſarily, that beſides him all things are finite, both in ſubſtance and in continuance. If in Subſtance all things be finite, it cannot be, but that there are bounds without the compaſs whereof their ſubſtance doth not extend; if in Continuance alſo limited, they all have, it cannot be denied, their ſet and their certain terms, before which they had no being at all. This is the reaſon, why firſt we do moſt admire thoſe things which are Greateſt, and ſecondly, thoſe things which are Ancienteſt, becauſe the one are leaſt diſtant from the infinite ſubſtance, the other from the infinite continuance of God. Out of this we gather, that only God hath true Immortality or Eternity, that is to ſay, continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of hereafter unto now, whereas the nobleſt and perfecteſt of all things beſides have continually through continuance the time of former continuance lengthened, ſo that they could not heretofore be ſaid to have continued ſo long as now, neither now ſo long as hereafter. God's own Eternity is the hand which leadeth Angels in the courſe of their Perpetuity; their Perpetuity, the hand that draweth out celeſtial Motion, the Line of which Motion and the Thread of Time are Spun together. Now as Nature bringeth forth Time with Motion, ſo we by Motion have learned how to divide Time, and by the ſmaller parts of Time, both to meaſure the greater, and to know how long all things elſe endure. For Time conſidered in it-ſelf is but the flux of that very inſtant, wherein the Motion of the Heaven began, being coupled with other things it is the quantity of their continuance meaſured by the diſtance of two inſtants: As the time of a Man is a Mans continuance from the inſtant of his firſt breath, till the inſtant of his laſt gaſp. Hereupon ſome have defined Time to be the Meaſure of the Motion of Heaven, becauſe the firſt thing which Time doth Meaſure, is that Motion wherewith it began, and by the help whereof it Meaſureth other things, as when the Prophet *David* ſaith, that a Mans continuance doth not commonly exceed threeſcore and ten Years, he uſeth the help both of Motion and Number to Meaſure Time. They which make Time an effect of Motion, and Motion to be in Nature before Time, ought to have conſidered with themſelves, that albeit we ſhould deny, as *Meliſſus* did, all Motion, we might notwithſtanding acknowledge Time, becauſe Time doth but ſignifie the quantity of continuance, which continuance may be in things that reſt and are never moved. Beſides, we may alſo conſider in reſt both that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, and that which is future, yea farther, even length and ſhortneſs in every of theſe, although we never had conceit of Motion. But to *define* without Motion, *how* long or *how* ſhort ſuch continuance is, were impoſſible. So that herein we muſt of neceſſity uſe the benefit of Years, Days, Hours, Minutes, which all grow from Celeſtial Motion. Again, for as much as that Motion is Circular, whereby we make our diviſions of Time, and the Compaſs of that Circuit ſuch, that the Heavens which are therein continually moved, and keep in their Motions uniform celerity, muſt needs touch often the ſame points, they cannot chuſe but bring unto us by equal diſtances frequent returns of the ſame times. Furthermore, whereas Time is nothing but the meer quantity of that continuance, which all things have that are not, as God is, without beginning, that which is proper unto all quantities agreeth alſo to this kind; ſo that Time doth but meaſure other things, and neither worketh in them any real effect, nor is it-ſelf ever capable of any. And therefore when commonly we uſe to ſay, that Time doth eat or fret out all things, that Time is the wiſeſt thing in the World, becauſe it bringeth forth all Knowledge, and that nothing is more fooliſh than Time, which never holdeth any thing long, but whatſoever one Day learneth, the ſame another Day forgetteth again, that ſome Men ſee proſperous and happy Days, and that ſome Mens Days are miſerable, in all theſe and the like ſpeeches that which is uttered of the Time is not verified of Time it-ſelf, but agreeth unto thoſe things which are in Time, and do by means of ſo near conjunction, either lay their burthen upon the back, or ſet their Crown upon the Head of Time. Yea the very * opportunities which we aſcribe to Time do in truth cleave to the things themſelves wherewith time is joyned, as for Time, it neither cauſeth things nor opportunities of things, although it compriſe and contain both. All things whatſoever having their time, the Works of God have always that time which is ſeaſonableſt and fitteſt for them. His Works are ſome ordinary, ſome more rare, all worthy of obſervation, but not all of like neceſſity to be often remembred, they all have their times, but they all do not add the ſame eſtimation and glory to the times wherein they are. For as God by being every where yet doth not give unto all places one and the ſame degree of holineſs, ſo neither one and the ſame dignity to all times by working in all. For if all, either places or times, were in reſpect of God alike, wherefore was it ſaid unto *Moſes* by particular deſignation, *This very place wherein thou ſtandeſt is holy ground?* Why doth the Prophet *David* chuſe out of all the Days of the Year but one, whereof he ſpeaketh by way of principal admiration, *This is the day the Lord hath made?* No doubt, as God's extraordinary preſence hath hallowed and ſanctified certain places, ſo they are his extraordinary works that have truly and worthily advanced certain times, for which cauſe they ought to be with all Men that honour God more holy than other days. The Wiſe Man therefore compareth herein not unfitly the times of God with the perſons of Men. If any ſhould ask how it cometh to paſs, that one day doth excel another, ſeeing the light of all the days in the year proceedeth from one Sun, to this he anſwereth, that *The knowledge of the Lord*

* χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ χρόνος ου πολύς. *Hippoc. l.* qui Præceptiones inſcribitur.

Exod. 3. 5.

Pſal. 118. 24.

Ecclus 33. 7.

Lord hath parted them aſunder, he hath by them diſpoſed the times and Solemn Feaſts, ſome he hath choſen out and ſanctified, ſome he hath put among the days, to number: Even as *Adam* and all other Men are of one ſubſtance, all created of the Earth: *But the Lord hath divided them by great knowledge, and made their ways divers, ſome he hath bleſſed and exalted, ſome he hath ſanctified and appropriated to himſelf, ſome he hath curſed, humbled and put them out of their dignity.* So that the cauſe being natural and neceſſary, for which there ſhould be a difference in days, the ſolemn obſervation whereof declareth Religious thankfulneſs towards him, whoſe works of principal reckoning we thereby admire and honour, it cometh next to be conſidered what kinds of duties and ſervices they are wherewith ſuch times ſhould be kept holy.

The manner of celebrating Feſtival Days.

70. The Sanctification of Days and Times is a token of that Thankfulneſs, and a part of that publick honour which we owe to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not ſuffice that we keep a ſecret Kalender, taking thereby our private occaſions as we liſt our ſelves, to think how much God hath done for all Men; but the days which are choſen out to ſerve as publick Memorials of ſuch his Mercies, ought to be cloathed with thoſe outward Robes of Holineſs, whereby their difference from other days may be made ſenſible. But becauſe Time in it-ſelf, as hath been already proved, can receive no alteration, the hallowing of Feſtival days muſt conſiſt in the ſhape or countenance, which we put upon the affairs that are incident into thoſe days. *This is the day which the Lord hath made*, ſaith the Prophet *David*, *Let us rejoyce and be glad in it.* So that generally Offices and Duties of (*a*) Religious *Joy*, are that wherein the hallowing of Feſtival times conſiſteth. The moſt Natural Teſtimonies of our rejoycing in God, are firſt his Praiſes ſet forth with cheerful alacrity of mind: Secondly, Our comfort and delight expreſſed by a † charitable largeneſs of ſomewhat more than common bounty: Thirdly, Sequeſtration from ordinary labours, the toyls and cares whereof are not meet to be companions of ſuch gladneſs. Feſtival ſolemnity therefore is nothing but the due mixture, as it were, of theſe three Elements, Praiſe, and Bounty, and Reſt. Touching Praiſe, for as much as the Jews, who alone knew the way how to magnifie God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked lives) more of cuſtom and for faſhion ſake execute the ſervice of their Religion, than with hearty and true devotion (which God eſpecially requireth) he therefore proteſteth againſt their Sabbaths and ſolemn Days, as being therewith much offended. Plentiful and liberal expence is required in them that abound, partly as a ſign of their own joy in the goodneſs of God towards them, and partly as a mean whereby to refreſh thoſe poor and needy, who being eſpecially at theſe times made partakers of relaxation and joy with others, do the more Religiouſly bleſs God, whoſe great Mercies were a cauſe thereof, and the more contentedly endure the burthen of that hard eſtate wherein they continue. Reſt is the end of all Motion, and the laſt perfection of all things that labour. Labours in us are journeys, and even in them which feel no wearineſs by any work, yet they are but ways whereby to come unto that which bringeth not happineſs, till it do bring Reſt. For as long as any thing which we deſire is unattained, we Reſt not. Let us not here take Reſt for Idleneſs. They are Idle, whom the painfulneſs of action cauſeth to avoid thoſe Labours, whereunto both God and Nature bindeth them: They Reſt, which either ceaſe from their work when they have brought it unto perfection, or elſe give over a meaner labour, becauſe a worthier and better is to be undertaken. God hath created nothing to be Idle or ill imployed. As therefore Man doth conſiſt of different and diſtinct parts, every part endued with manifold abilities, which all have their ſeveral ends and actions thereunto referred; ſo there is in this great variety of duties which belong to Men, that dependency and order, by means whereof the lower ſuſtaining always the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more baſe, they are in their times and ſeaſons continued with moſt exquiſite correſpondence, Labours of bodily and daily toyl purchaſe freedom for actions of Religious Joy, which benefit theſe actions requite with the gift of deſired Reſt: A thing moſt natural and fit to accompany the ſolemn Feſtival duties of honour which are done to God. For if thoſe principal works of God, the memory whereof we uſe to celebrate at ſuch times, be but certain taſtes and ſays, as it were, of that final benefit, wherein our perfect felicity and bliſs lieth folded up, ſeeing that the preſence of the one doth direct our cogitations, thoughts and deſires towards the other, it giveth ſurely a kind of life, and addeth inwardly no ſmall delight to thoſe ſo comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we preſently do, repreſenteth after a ſort that alſo whereunto we tend, as Feſtival Reſt doth, that Celeſtial eſtate whereof the very Heathens themſelves which had not the means whereby to apprehend much, did notwithſtanding imagine that it needs muſt conſiſt in Reſt, and have therefore taught, that above the higheſt moveable ſphere there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion or change, but all things immutable, unſubject to paſſion, bleſt with eternal continuance in a life of the higheſt perfection, and of that compleat abundant ſufficiency within it-ſelf, which no poſſibility of want, maim or defect can touch. Beſides, whereas ordinary labours are both in themſelves painful, and baſe in compariſon of Feſtival Services done to God, doth not the natural difference between them ſhew that the one, as it were by way of ſubmiſſion and homage, ſhould ſurrender themſelves to the other wherewith they can neither eaſily concur, becauſe painfulneſs and joy are oppoſite, nor decently, becauſe while the mind hath

Iſai. 1. 13.

Deut. 16. 14.
Nehem. 8. 9.

Οὐδ' ἐςὶν οὐδενὸς οὐδεμία μεταβολὴ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐξωτάτων φερομένην φοράν, ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὴν ἀρίςην ἔχοντα ζωὴν καὶ τὴν αὐταρκεςάτην διατελεῖ τὸν ἅπαντα αἰῶνα. *Ariſt.*

(*a*) *Grande videlicet officium, focos & Choros in publicum educere, vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernæ halitu obolefacere, vino lutum cogere, catervatim curſitare ad injurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum dedecus?* Tert. Apol. cap. 35. *Dies feſtos Majeſtati altiſſimæ dedicatos nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari.* C. l. 12. tit. 12 lib. 1. Ἀντὶ τῆς παλαι πομπείας καὶ αἰσχρȣργίας καὶ αἰσχροῤῥημοσύνης σώφρονες ἑορτάζονται πανηγύρεις, οὐ μέθην ἔχουσαι καὶ κῶμον καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὕμνȣς θείȣς καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ προσευχὴν ἀξιεπαίνοις κοσμȣμένην δακρύοις, *Theod. ad Græc. Infidel. Ser. 9.* † Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεώς ἐςιν εὐσεβῆτε εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον. *Philo. lib. de Abraha.*

hath juſt occaſion to make her abode in the Houſe of Gladneſs, the Weed of ordinary toyl and travel becometh her not? Wherefore even Nature hath taught the Heathens, and God the Jews, and Chriſt us, firſt, that Feſtival Solemnities are a part of the publick exerciſe of Religion; ſecondly, that Praiſe, Liberality and Reſt, are as Natural Elements whereof Solemnities conſiſt. But theſe things the Heathens converted to the honour of their falſe gods: And as they failed in the end it-ſelf, ſo neither could they diſcern rightly what form and meaſure Religion therein ſhould obſerve. Whereupon, when the *Iſraelites* impiouſly followed ſo corrupt example, they are in every degree noted to have done amiſs; their Hymns or Songs of Praiſe, were Idolatry; their Bounty, Exceſs; and their Reſt, Wantonneſs. Therefore the Law of God which appointed them days of Solemnity, taught them likewiſe in what manner the ſame ſhould be celebrated: According to the pattern of which Inſtitution *David* eſtabliſhing the ſtate of Religion, ordained Praiſe to be given unto God in the Sabbaths, Months, and appointed Times, as their cuſtom had been always before the Lord. Now, beſides the times which God himſelf in the Law of *Moſes* particularly ſpecifieth, there were, through the Wiſdom of the Church, certain other deviſed by occaſion of like occurrents to thoſe whereupon the former had riſen; as namely, that which *Mordecai* and *Eſther* did firſt celebrate, in memory of the Lords moſt wonderful protection, when *Haman* had laid his inevitable Plot to Mans thinking, for the utter extirpation of the Jews even in one day. This they call the Feaſt of *Lots*, becauſe *Haman* had caſt their life and their death, as it were, upon the hazard of a Lot. To this may be added that other alſo of *Dedication*, mentioned in the Tenth of St. *Johns* Goſpel, the inſtitution whereof is declared in the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*. But for as much as their Law by the coming of Chriſt is changed, and we thereunto no way bound, St. *Paul*, although it were not his purpoſe to favour invectives againſt the ſpecial Sanctification of days and times to the Service of God and to the honour of Jeſus Chriſt, doth notwithſtanding bend his forces againſt that opinion, which impoſed on the Gentiles the Yoke of Jewiſh Legal obſervations, as if the whole World ought for ever, and that upon pain of condemnation, to keep and obſerve the ſame. Such as in this perſwaſion hallowed thoſe Jewiſh Sabbaths, the Apoſtle ſharply reproveth, ſaying, *Ye obſerve days, and months, and times, and years; I am in fear of you, leſt I have beſtowed upon you labour in vain.* Howbeit, ſo far off was (*a*) *Tertullian* from imagining how any Man could poſſibly hereupon call in queſtion ſuch days as the Church of Chriſt doth obſerve, that the obſervation of theſe days he uſeth for an Argument whereby to prove, it could not be the Apoſtles intent and meaning to condemn ſimply all obſerving of ſuch times. Generally therefore touching Feaſts in the Church of Chriſt, they have that profitable uſe whereof (*b*) St. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh, *By Feſtival Solemnities and Set Days, we dedicate and ſanctifie to God the memory of his benefits, leſt unthankful forgetfulneſs thereof ſhould creep upon us in courſe of time.* And concerning particulars, their Sabbath the Church hath changed into our Lords day, that as the one did continually bring to mind the former World finiſhed by Creation; ſo the other might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far better World, begun by him which came to reſtore all things, to make both Heaven and Earth new. For which cauſe they honoured the laſt day, we the firſt, in every ſeven throughout the year. The reſt of the days and times which we celebrate, have relation all unto one head. We begin therefore our Eccleſiaſtical year with the glorious (*c*) Annunciation of his Birth by Angelical Embaſſage. There being hereunto added his Bleſſed Nativity it-ſelf, the Myſtery of his Legal (*d*) Circumciſion, the Teſtification of his true Incarnation by the Purification of her which brought him into the World, his Reſurrection, his Aſcenſion into Heaven, the admirable ſending down of his Spirit upon his choſen, and (which conſequently enſued) the notice of that incomprehenſible Trinity thereby given to the Church of God. Again, for as much as we know that Chriſt hath not only been manifeſted great in himſelf, but great in other his Saints alſo, the days of whoſe departure out of the World are to the Church of Chriſt as the Birth and Coronation-days of Kings or Emperors; therefore eſpecial choice being made of the very flower of all occaſions in this kind, there are annual ſelected times to meditate of Chriſt glorified in them, which had the honour to ſuffer for his ſake, before they had age and ability to know him; glorified in them, which knowing him as *Stephen*, had the ſight of that before death, whereinto ſo acceptable death did lead; glorified in thoſe Sages of the Eaſt, that came from far to adore him, and were conducted by ſtrange light; glorified in the ſecond *Elias* of the World, ſent before him to prepare his way; glorified in every of thoſe Apoſtles, whom it pleaſed him to uſe as Founders of his Kingdom here; glorified in the Angels, as in *Michael*; glorified in all thoſe happy Souls, that are already poſſeſſed of Heaven. Over and beſides which number not great, the reſt be but four other days heretofore annexed to the Feaſt of *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, by reaſon of general Baptiſm uſual at thoſe two Feaſts; which alſo is the cauſe why they had not, as other days, any proper name given them. Their firſt Inſtitution was therefore through neceſſity, and their preſent continuance is now for the greater honour of the Principals, whereupon they ſtill attend. If it be then demanded, whether we obſerve theſe times as being thereunto bound by force of Divine Law, or elſe by the only Poſitive Ordinances of the Church; I anſwer to this, that the very Law of Nature it-ſelf, which all Men confeſs to be God's Law, requireth in general no leſs the Sanctification of Times than of Places, Perſons and Things unto God's honour. For which cauſe it hath pleaſed him heretofore, as of the reſt, ſo of time likewiſe to exact ſome parts by way of perpetual homage, never to be diſpenſed withal, nor remitted: Again, to require ſome other parts of time with as ſtrict exaction, but

1 Chro. 23. 30.

Eſther 9. 27.

John 10. 22.

1 Mac. 4. 53.

Gal. 4. 10.

(*a*) *Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum & dierum & menſium & annorum eraſit Apoſtolus, cur Paſcha celebramus annuo circulo in menſe primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus?* Lib. adverſ. Pſych. (*b*) Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. 10. cap. 4. (*c*) Luke 1. 26. (*d*) Luke 2. 21.

for leſs continuance, and of the reſt which were left arbitrary to accept what the Church ſhall in due conſideration conſecrate voluntarily unto like Religious uſes. Of the firſt kind, amongſt the Jews was the Sabbath-day; of the ſecond, thoſe Feaſts which are appointed by the Law of *Moſes*; the Feaſt of Dedication, invented by the Church, ſtandeth in the number of the laſt kind. The Moral Law requiring therefore a ſeventh part throughout the age of the whole World to be that way employed, although with us the day be changed, in regard of a new Revolution begun by our Saviour Chriſt; yet the ſame proportion of time continueth which was before, becauſe in reference to the benefit of Creation, and now much more of Renovation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the World to come, we are bound to account the Sanctification of one day in ſeven, a duty which God's Immutable Law doth exact for ever. The reſt they ſay we ought to aboliſh, becauſe the continuance of them doth nouriſh wicked Superſtition in the minds of Men; beſides, they are all abuſed by Papiſts, the enemies of God; yea certain of them, as *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, even by the Jews.

Exceptions againſt our keeping of other Feſtival days, beſides the Sabbath.

71. Touching Jews, their *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt* have with ours as much affinity, as *Philip* the Apoſtle with *Philip* the *Macedonian* King. As for *imitation of Papiſts*, and the *breeding of Superſtition*, they are now become ſuch common gueſts, that no Man can think it diſcourteous to let them go as they came. The next is a rare Obſervation and ſtrange. You ſhall find, if you mark it (as it doth deſerve to be noted well) that many thouſands there are, who if they have virtuouſly during thoſe times behaved themſelves, if their devotion and zeal in Prayer have been fervent, their attention to the Word of God ſuch as all Chriſtian Men ſhould yield, imagine that herein they have performed a good duty; which notwithſtanding to think is a very dangerous Error, in as much as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath taught, that we ought not to keep our *Eaſter* as the Jews did for certain days, but in the Unleavened Bread of Sincerity and of Truth to feaſt continually: Whereas this reſtraint of *Eaſter* to a certain number of days, cauſeth us to reſt for a ſhort ſpace in that near conſideration of our duties, which ſhould be extended throughout the courſe of our whole lives, and ſo pulleth out of our minds the Doctrine of Chriſt's Goſpel e're we be aware. The Doctrine of the Goſpel, which here they mean or ſhould mean, is, that Chriſt having finiſhed the Law, there is no Jewiſh Paſchal Solemnity, nor abſtinence from ſour Bread, now required at our hands; there is no Leaven which we are bound to caſt out, but malice, ſin and wickedneſs; no Bread but the food of ſincere Truth, wherewith we are tied to celebrate our Paſſover. And ſeeing no time of ſin is granted us, neither any intermiſſion of ſound belief, it followeth, that this kind of feaſting ought to endure always. But how are ſtanding Feſtival Solemnities againſt this? That which the Goſpel of Chriſt requireth is the perpetuity of virtuous duties, not perpetuity of exerciſe or action, but diſpoſition perpetual, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Juſt, valiant, liberal, temperate and holy Men are they, which can whenſoever they will, and will whenſoever they ought, execute what their ſeveral perfections import. If Virtues did always ceaſe to be, when they ceaſe to work, there ſhould be nothing more pernicious to Virtue than Sleep: Neither were it poſſible that Men, as *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*, ſhould in all the Commandments of God walk unreproveable, or that the Chain of our Converſation ſhould contain ſo many Links of Divine Virtues, as the Apoſtles in divers places have reckoned up, if in the exerciſe of each virtue perpetual continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not poſſible at one and the ſame time to be diſcharged, duties of all ſorts muſt have neceſſarily their ſeveral ſucceſſions and ſeaſons: In which reſpect the School-Men have well and ſoundly determined, That God's Affirmative Laws and Precepts, the Laws that enjoyn any actual duty, as Prayer, Alms and the like, do bind us *ad ſemper velle*, but not *ad ſemper agere*; we are tyed to iterate and reſume them when need is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermiſſion. Feaſts, whether God himſelf hath ordained them, or the Church by that Authority which God hath given, they are of Religion ſuch publick ſervices, as neither can, nor ought to be continued otherwiſe than only by iteration. Which iteration is a moſt effectual mean to bring unto full maturity and growth thoſe Seeds of Godlineſs, that theſe very Men themſelves do grant to be ſown in the hearts of many Thouſands, during the while that ſuch Feaſts are preſent. The conſtant habit of well-doing, is not gotten without the cuſtom of doing well, neither can Virtue be made perfect, but by the manifold works of Virtue often practiſed. Before the powers of our minds be brought unto ſome perfection, our firſt eſſays and offers towards Virtue muſt needs be raw, yet commendable, becauſe they tend unto ripeneſs. For which cauſe the Wiſdom of God hath commended eſpecially this circumſtance amongſt others in ſolemn Feaſts, that to Children and Novices in Religion they miniſter the firſt occaſions to ask and enquire of God. Whereupon if there follow but ſo much Piety as hath been mentioned, let the Church learn to further imbecillity with Prayer,

T.C. lib. 1. *pag.* 151. If they had been never abuſed, neither by the Papiſts, nor by the Jews, as they have been, and are daily; yet ſuch making of Holidays, is never without ſome great danger of bringing in ſome evil and corrupt opinions into the minds of Men. I will uſe an example in one, and that the chief of Holidays, and moſt generally, and of longeſt time obſerved in the Church, which is the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, which was kept of ſome more days, of ſome fewer. How many thouſands are there, I will not ſay of the ignorant Papiſts, but of thoſe alſo which profeſs the Goſpel, which when they have celebrated thoſe days with diligent heed taken unto their life; and with ſome earneſt devotion in praying, and hearing the Word of God, do not by and by think that they have well celebrated the Feaſt of *Eaſter*; and yet have they thus notably deceived themſelves? For Saint *Paul* teacheth, 1 *Cor.* 5.8. That the celebrating of the feaſt of the Chriſtians *Eaſter*, is not, as the Jews was, for certain days, but ſheweth that we muſt keep this Feaſt all the days of our life in the Unleavened Bread of Sincerity and of Truth. By which we ſee, that the obſerving of the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, for certain days in the year, doth pull out of our minds, e're ever we be aware, the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and cauſeth us to reſt in that near conſideration of our duties, for the ſpace of a few days, which ſhould be extended to all our life.

Preſerve, Lord, theſe good and gracious beginnings, that they ſuddenly dry not up like the morning dew, but may proſper and grow as the Trees which Rivers of Waters keep always flouriſhing; let all Mens acclamations be *Grace, Grace unto it*, as to that firſt lay'd corner-ſtone in *Zerubbabels* buildings. For who hath deſpiſed the Day of thoſe things which are ſmall? Or how dare we take upon us to condemn that very thing, which voluntarily we grant maketh us of nothing ſomewhat, ſeeing all we pretend againſt it is only that as yet this ſomewhat is not much? The days of ſolemnity which are but few, cannot chuſe but ſoon finiſh that outward exerciſe of godlineſs, which properly appertaineth to ſuch times, howbeit Mens inward diſpoſition to virtue they both augment for the preſent, and by their often returns bring alſo the ſame at the length unto that perfection which we moſt deſire. So that although by their neceſſary ſhort continuance they abridge the preſent exerciſe of piety in ſome kind, yet becauſe by repetition they enlarge, ſtrengthen and confirm the habits of all virtue, it remaineth that we honour, obſerve and keep them as ordinances, many ways ſingularly profitable in God's Church. This exception being taken againſt Holy-days, for that they reſtrain the praiſes of God unto certain times, another followeth condemning reſtraint of Men from their ordinary Trades and labours at thoſe times. * It is not, they ſay, in the power of the Church to command reſt, becauſe God hath left it to all Men at liberty, that if they think good to beſtow ſix whole days in labour, they may, neither is it more lawful for the Church to abridge any Man of that liberty which God hath granted, than to take away the yoke which God hath laid upon them, and to countermand what he doth expreſly enjoyn. They deny not but in times of publick calamity, that Men may the better aſſemble themſelves to faſt and pray, the Church, *becauſe it hath received Commandment* from God to proclaim a Prohibition from ordinary works, ſtandeth bound to do it, as the Jews afflicted did in *Babylon*. But without ſome expreſs Commandment from God there is no power, they ſay, under Heaven, which may preſume by any Decree to reſtrain the liberty that God hath given. Which opinion, albeit applied here no farther than to this preſent cauſe, ſhaketh univerſally the Fabrick of Government, tendeth to Anarchy and meer confuſion, diſſolveth Families, diſſipateth Colledges, Corporations, Armies, overthroweth Kingdoms, Churches, and whatſoever is now, through the Providence of God, by Authority and Power upheld. For whereas God hath forepriſed things of the greateſt weight, and hath therein preciſely defined, as well that which every Man muſt perform, as that which no Man may attempt, leaving all ſorts of Men in the Reſt, either to be guided by their own good diſcretion, if they be free from ſubjection to others, or elſe to be ordered by ſuch Commandments and Laws, as proceed from thoſe Superiors under whom they live; the Patrons of Liberty have here made Solemn Proclamation, that all ſuch Laws and Commandments are void, in as much as every Man is left to the freedom of his own mind, in ſuch things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the Law of God. And becauſe only in theſe things the Poſitive Precepts of Men have place, which Precepts cannot poſſibly be given without ſome Abridgment of their Liberty to whom they are given, therefore if the Father command the Son, or the Husband the Wife, or the Lord the Servant, or the Leader the Soldier, or the Prince the Subject, to go or ſtand, ſleep or wake, at ſuch times as God himſelf in particular commandeth neither, they are to ſtand in defence of the Freedom which God hath granted, and to do as themſelves liſt, knowing that Men may as lawfully command them things utterly forbidden by the Law of God, as tye them to any thing which the Law of God leaveth free. The plain contradictory whereunto is infallibly certain. Thoſe things which the Law of God leaveth Arbitrary and at Liberty, are all ſubject to the Poſitive Laws of Men, which Laws for the common benefit abridge particular Mens Liberty in ſuch things, as far as the Rules of Equity will ſuffer. This we muſt either maintain, or elſe over-turn the World, and make every Man his own Commander. Seeing then that Labour and Reſt upon any one day of the Six, throughout the year, are granted free by the Law of God, how exempt we them from the force and power of Eccleſiaſtical Law, except we deprive the World of Power to make any Ordinance or Law at all? Beſides, is it probable that God ſhould not only allow, but command concurrency of Reſt with extraordinary occaſions of doleful events, befalling (peradventure) ſome one certain Church, or not extending unto many, and not as much as permit or licence the like, when Piety triumpheth with Joy and Gladneſs, maketh ſolemn commemoration of God's moſt rare and unwonted Mercies, *ſuch eſpecially as the whole race of mankind* doth or might participate? Of vacation from labour in times of ſorrow the only cauſe is, for that the general publick Prayers of the

* T. C. *lib.* 1 *pag.* 152. I confeſs that it is in the power of the Church to appoint ſo many days in the Week, or in the Year (in the which the Congregation ſhall aſſemble to hear the Word of God, and receive the Sacraments, and offer up Prayers unto God) as it ſhall think good, according to thoſe Rules which are before alledged. But that it hath power to make ſo many *Holidays* as we have, wherein Men are commanded to ceaſe from their daily Vocations of Plowing, and exerciſing their Handicrafts, that I deny to be in the power of the Church. For proof whereof I will take the Fourth Commandment, and no other interpretation of it, than Mr. Doctor alloweth of, which is that God licenſeth and leaveth it at the liberty of every Man, to work ſix days in the Week, ſo that he reſt the Seventh day. Seeing therefore that the Lord hath left it to all Men at Liberty that they might Labour, if they think good, Six days: I ſay the Church, nor no Man can take this Liberty away from them, and drive them to a neceſſary Reſt of the Body. And if it be lawful to abridge the Liberty of the Church in this point; and inſtead of that the Lord ſaith, Six days thou mayſt labour if thou wilt, to ſay, Thou ſhalt not labour Six days: I do not ſee why the Church may not as well, whereas the Lord ſaith *Thou ſhalt reſt the Seventh Day*, command that thou ſhalt not reſt the Seventh day. For if the Church may reſtrain the Liberty which God hath given them, it may take away the yoke alſo which God hath put upon them. And whereas you ſay, that notwithſtanding this Fourth Commandment, the Jews had certain other Feaſts which they obſerved, indeed the Lord which gave this General Law, might make as many Exceptions as he thought good, and ſo long as he thought good. But it followeth not, becauſe the Lord did it, that therefore the Church may do it, unleſs it hath Commandment and Authority from God ſo to do. As when there is any General Plague or Judgment of God, either upon the Church or coming towards it, the Lord commandeth in ſuch a caſe, *Joel* 2. 15. That they ſhould ſanctifie a General Faſt, and proclaim *Ghnatſarah*, which ſignifieth a prohibition, or forbidding of ordinary works, and is the ſame *Hebrew* word wherewith thoſe Faſt days are noted in the Law wherein they ſhould reſt. The reaſon of which Commandment of the Lord was, that they abſtained that day as much as might conveniently from Meats; ſo they might abſtain from their daily works, to the end they might beſtow the whole day in hearing the Word of God, and humbling themſelves in the Congregation, confeſſing their faults, and deſiring the Lord to turn away from his fierce wrath. In this caſe, the Church having Commandment to make a Holy-day, may and ought to do it, as the Church which was in *Babylon* did during the time of their Captivity: but where it is deſtitute of a Commandment, it may not preſume by any Decree to reſtrain that liberty which the Lord hath given.

whole Church, and our own private buſineſs, cannot both be followed at once; whereas of Reſt in the famous ſolemnities of publick Joy there is both this conſideration the ſame, and alſo farther a kind of natural repugnancy, which maketh labours (as hath been proved) much more unfit to accompany Feſtival Praiſes of God, than Offices of Humiliation and Grief. Again, if we ſift what they bring for proof and approbation of Reſt with Faſting, doth it not in all reſpects as fully warrant and as ſtrictly command Reſt, whenſoever the Church hath equal reaſon by Feaſts and gladſome ſolemnities to teſtifie publick thankfulneſs towards God? I would know ſome cauſe, why thoſe words of the Prophet *Joel*, *Sanctifie a Faſt, call a ſolemn Aſſembly*, which words were uttered to the Jews in miſery and great diſtreſs, ſhould more bind the Church to do at all times after the like in their like perplexities, than the words of *Moſes* to the ſame people in a time of joyful deliverance from miſery, *Remember this day*, may warrant any annual celebration of benefits no leſs importing the good of Men; and alſo juſtifie as touching the manner and form thereof, what circumſtance ſoever we imitate only in reſpect of natural fitneſs or decency without any Jewiſh regard to Ceremonies, ſuch as were properly theirs and are not by us expedient to be continued. According to the Rule of which general directions taken from the Law of God, no leſs in the one than the other, the practice of the Church, commended unto us in holy Scripture, doth not only make for the juſtification of black and diſmal days (as one of the Fathers termeth them) but plainly offereth it-ſelf to be followed by ſuch Ordinances (if occaſion require) as that which *Mordecai* did ſometimes deviſe, *Eſther*, what lay in her power, help forward, and the reſt of the Jews eſtabliſh for perpetuity, namely, that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth days of the Month *Adar* ſhould be every year kept throughout all Generations, as days of Feaſting and Joy, wherein they would reſt from bodily labour, and what by gifts of Charity beſtowed upon the poor, what by other liberal ſigns of Amity and Love, all teſtifie their thankful minds towards God, which almoſt beyond poſſibility had delivered them all, when they all were as Men dead. But this Decree, they * ſay, was Divine, not Eccleſiaſtical, as may appear in that there is another Decree in another Book of Scripture, which Decree is plain, not to have proceeded from the Churches Authority, but from the mouth of the Prophet only; and as a poor ſimple Man ſometime was fully perſwaded, that if *Pontius Pilate* had not been a Saint, the Apoſtles would never have ſuffered his name to ſtand in the Creed; ſo theſe Men have a ſtrong opinion, that becauſe the Book of *Eſther* is Canonical, the Decree of *Eſther* cannot be poſſibly Eccleſiaſtical: If it were, they ask how the Jews could bind themſelves always to keep it, ſeeing Eccleſiaſtical Laws are mutable? As though the purpoſes of Men might never intend conſtancy in that, the nature whereof is ſubject to alteration. Doth the Scripture it-ſelf make mention of any Divine Commandment? Is the Scripture witneſs of more than only that *Mordecai* was the Author of this Cuſtom, that by Letters written to his brethren the Jews, throughout all Provinces under *Darius* the King of *Perſia*, he gave them charge to celebrate yearly thoſe two days for perpetual remembrance of God's miraculous deliverance and mercy; that the Jews hereupon undertook to do it, and made it with general conſent an order for perpetuity; that *Eſther*, ſecondly, by her Letters confirmed the ſame which *Mordecai* had before Decreed; and that finally, the Ordinance was written to remain for ever upon Record? Did not the Jews in Provinces abroad obſerve at the firſt the Fourteenth day, the Jews in *Suſis* the Fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an uniform order by means of thoſe two Decrees, and ſo every where three days kept, the firſt with faſting in memory of danger, the reſt in token of deliverance as feſtival and joyful days? Was not the firſt of theſe three afterwards the day of ſorrow and heavineſs abrogated, when the ſame Church ſaw it meet that a better day, a day in memory of like deliverance out of the bloody hands of *Nicanor*, ſhould ſucceed in the room thereof? But for as much as there is no end of anſwering fruitleſs oppoſitions, let it ſuffice Men of ſober minds to know, that the Law both of God and Nature alloweth generally days of reſt and Feſtival ſolemnity to be obſerved by way of thankful and joyful remembrance, if ſuch miraculous favours be ſhewed towards mankind as require the ſame; that ſuch Graces God hath beſtowed upon his Church, as well in latter as in former times, that in ſome particulars, when they have fallen out, himſelf hath demanded his own honour and the reſt hath left it to the Wiſdom of the Church, directed by thoſe precedents and enlightned by other means, always to judge when the like is requiſite. About queſtions therefore concerning Days and Times, our manner is not toſt and at bay with the Church of God, demanding, Wherefore the memory of (*a*) *Paul* ſhould be rather kept than the memory of (*b*) *Daniel*; We are content to imagine it may be perhaps true, that the leaſt in the

Joel 2. 15.

Exod. 13. 3.

Eſth. 9.

2 Mac. 15 36.

1 Mac. 4. 55.

---

* *T. C. lib* 3 *pag.* 193. The example out of *Eſther* is no ſufficient warrant for theſe Feaſts in queſtion. For firſt, as in other caſes, ſo in this caſe of days, the eſtate of Chriſtians, under the Goſpel, ought not to be ſo ceremonious, as was theirs under the the Law. Secondly, that which was done there, was done by a ſpecial direction of the Spirit of God, either through the miniſtry of the Prophets, which they had, or by ſome other extraordinary means which is not to be followed by us. This may appear by another place, *Zach.* 8. where the Jews changed their Faſts into Feaſts, only by the mouth of the Lord through the miniſtry of the Prophet For further proof whereof, firſt, I take the 28 *Verſe*, where it appeareth that this was an order to endure always, even as long as the other Feaſt-days, which were inſtituted by the Lord himſelf., So that what abuſes ſoever were of that Feaſt, yet as a perpetual Decree of God, it ought to have remained; whereas our Churches can make no ſuch Decree, which may not upon change of times, and other circumſtances, be altered, For the other proof hereof, I take the laſt Verſe: For the Prophet contenteth not himſelf with that, that he had rehearſed the Decree, as he doth ſometimes the Decree of prophane Kings, but addeth preciſely, that as ſoon as ever the Decree was made, it was Regiſtered in this Book of *Eſther*, which is one of the Books of Canonical Scripture, declaring thereby in what eſteem they had it. If it had been of no further Authority, than our Decrees, or than a Canon of one of the Councils, it had been preſumption to have brought it into the Library of the Holy Ghoſt. The ſum of my Anſwer is, that this Decree was Divine, and not Eccleſiaſtical only.

(*a*) *Commemoratio Apoſtolica paſſionis, totius Chriſtianitatis magiſtra à cunctis jure celebratur.* Cod. l. 3. tit. 12. l. 7.

(*b*) *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 153. For ſo much as the old people did never keep any Feaſt or Holiday for remembrance, either of *Moſes*, &c.

Kingdom of Chriſt is greater than the greateſt of all the Prophets of God that have gone before; we never yet ſaw cauſe to deſpair, but that the (*a*) ſimpleſt of the people might be taught the right conſtruction of as great Myſteries, as the (*b*) Name of a Saints day doth comprehend, although the times of the year go on in their wonted courſe; we had rather glorifie and bleſs God for the fruit we daily behold reaped by ſuch Ordinances as his gracious Spirit maketh the ripe Wiſdom of this National Church to bring forth, than vainly boaſt of our own peculiar and private inventions, as if the skill of (*c*) profitable Regiment had left her publick habitation, to dwell in retired manner with ſome few Men of one Livery: We make not our childiſh (*d*) appeals, ſometimes from our own to Foreign Churches, ſometimes from both unto Churches ancienter than both are, in effect always from all others to our own ſelves, but as becometh them that follow with all humility the ways of Peace, we honour, reverence and obey, in the very next degree unto God, the voice of the Church of God wherein we live. They whoſe wits are too glorious to fall to ſo low an ebb, they which have riſen and ſwoln ſo high, that the Walls of ordinary Rivers are unable to keep them in, they whoſe wanton contentions in the cauſe whereof we have ſpoken, do make all where they go, a Sea, even they at their higheſt float are conſtrained both to ſee and (*e*) grant, that what their fancy will not yeild to like, their judgment cannot with reaſon condemn. Such is evermore the final victory of all Truth, that they which have not the hearts to love her, acknowledge that to hate her they have no cauſe. Touching thoſe Feſtival days therefore which we now obſerve, their number being no way felt (*f*) diſcommodious to the Commonwealth, and their grounds ſuch as hitherto hath been ſhewed, what remaineth, but to keep them throughout all generations holy, ſevered by manifeſt notes of difference from other times adorned with that which moſt may betoken true, virtuous, and celeſtial joy? To which intent, becauſe ſurceaſe from labour is neceſſary, yet not ſo neceſſary, no not on the Sabbath or Seventh day it-ſelf, but that rarer occaſions in Mens particular affairs, ſubject to manifeſt detriment unleſs they be preſently followed, may with very good conſcience draw them ſometimes aſide from the ordinary rule, conſidering the favourable diſpenſation which our Lord and Saviour groundeth on this Axiom, *Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath ordained for Man*, ſo far forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principal Sanctification thereof, howſoever the rigour of the Law of *Moſes* may be thought to import the contrary, if we regard with what ſeverity the violation of Sabbaths hath been ſometime puniſhed, a thing perhaps the more requiſite at that inſtant, both becauſe the Jews, by reaſon of their long abode in a place of continual ſervile toil, could not ſuddenly be weaned and drawn unto contrary offices, without ſome ſtrong impreſſion of terror, and alſo for that there is nothing more needful than to puniſh with extremity the firſt trangreſſions of thoſe Laws, that require a more exact obſervation for many ages to come; therefore as the Jews ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to their Sabbaths reſt for a long time, not without danger to themſelves and (*g*) obloquy to their very Law, did afterwards perceive and amend wiſely their former Error, not doubting that bodily labours are made by (*h*) neceſſity venial, though otherwiſe, eſpecially on that day, reſt be more convenient, ſo at all times the voluntary ſcandalous contempt of that reſt from labour, wherewith publickly God is ſerved, we cannot too (*i*) ſeverely correct and bridle. The Emperor *Conſtantine* (*k*) having with over-great facility licenſed Sundays labours in Country Villages, under that pretence, whereof there may juſtly no doubt ſometime conſideration be had, namely, leſt any thing which God by his providence hath beſtowed ſhould miſcarry not being taken in due time, *Leo*, which afterwards ſaw that this ground would not bear ſo general and large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a contrary Edict both reverſe and ſeverely cenſure his Predeceſſors remiſneſs, ſaying, (*l*) *We ordain according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghoſt, and of the Apoſtles thereby directed, that on the Sacred day, wherein our own integrity was reſtored, all do reſt and ſurceaſe labour, that neither Husband-man nor other on that day put their hands to forbidden works. For if the Jews did ſo much reverence their Sabbath, which was but a ſhadow of ours, are not we which inhabit the Light and Truth of Grace, bound to honour that day which the Lord himſelf hath honoured, and hath therein delivered us both from diſhonour and from death? Are we not bound to keep it ſingular and inviolable, well contenting our-ſelves with ſo liberal a grant of the reſt, and not incroaching upon that one day, which God hath choſen to his own honour? Were it not rechleſs neglect of Religion to make that very day common, and to think we may do with it as with the reſt?* Imperial Laws which had ſuch care of hallowing, eſpecially our Lords day, did not omit to provide that (*m*) other Feſtival times might be kept with vacation from labour, whether they were days appointed on the ſudden, as extraordinary occaſions fell out, or days which were celebrated yearly for Politick and Civil conſiderations,

---

(*a*) *T C. lib.* 1. *pag* 153. The people, when it is called St. *Pauls* day, or the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary's* day, can underſtand nothing thereby, but that they are inſtituted to the honour of St. *Paul*, or the Vigin *Mary*, unleſs they be otherwiſe taught. And if you ſay, Let them ſo be taught, I have anſwered, that the teaching in this Land cannot by any order which is yet taken, come to the moſt part of thoſe which have drunk this poyſon, &c.

(*b*) *Scilicet ignorant nos nec Chriſtum unquam relinquere, qui pro totius ſervandorum mundi ſalute paſſus eſt, nec alium quempiam colere poſſe. Nam hunc quidem tanquam Filium Dei adoramus, Martyres verò tanquam Diſcipulos & Imitatores Domini digne propter inſuperabilem in Regem ipſorum ac Præceptorem benevolentiam diligimus, quorum & nos conſortes & diſcipulos fieri optamus.* Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. cap. 15.

(*c*) *T C. lib.* 1. *pag* 153. As for all the Commodities, &c.

(*d*) *T. C lib.* 1. *pag* 154.

(*e*) *T. C. lib.* 1. *p.* 154. We condemn not the Church of *England*, neither in this, nor in other things, which are meet do be Reformed. For it is one thing to miſlike, another thing to condemn; and it is one thing to condemn ſomething in the Church, and another thing to condemn the Church for it.

(*f*) Πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας, πολλὰς δὲ ϗ ἱερομηνίας ἔπαυσε. τό τε γαρ πλεῖςον τοῦ ἔτȣς ἐις ἀυτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο ϗ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζημία ὀυκ ἐλαχίςη ἐγίγνετο. *De Claudio dictum apud Dion. lib.* 60.

Mark 2. 27.

Numb. 15. 32.

(*g*) *Hi vacare conſueti ſunt ſeptima die, & neque arma portare in prædictis diebus, neque terræ culturam contingere, neque alterius cujuſpiam curam habere patiuntur, ſed in templis extendentes manus adorare uſque ad veſperam ſoliti ſunt. Ingrediente verò in civitatem* Ptolomæo Lago *cum exercitu & multis hominibus, cum cuſtodire debuerint civitatem, ipſis ſtultitiam obſervantibus, provincia quidem dominum ſuſcepit amariſſimum Lex verò manifeſtata eſt malam habere ſolennitatem.* Agatharchid. apud Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Appion. Vide & Dion. lib. 37.

(*h*) 1 Mac. 2. 40.

(*i*) Nehe. 13. 15.

(*k*) *Cod. l.* 3. *tit.* 12. *l.* 3.

(*l*) *Leo Conſtit.* 54.

(*m*) *C. lib.* 3. *tit.* 12. *Dies feſtos.*

conſiderations, or finally, ſuch Days as Chriſtian Religion hath ordained in God's Church. The joy that ſetteth aſide labour, diſperſeth thoſe things which labour gathereth. For gladneſs doth always riſe from a kind of fruition and happineſs, which happineſs baniſheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but only the beſtowing of that it hath, in as much as the greateſt felicity that felicity hath, is to ſpread and enlarge it-ſelf, it cometh hereby to paſs, that the firſt effect of joyfulneſs is to reſt, becauſe it ſeeketh no more; the next, becauſe it aboundeth, to give. The Root of both is the glorious preſence of that joy of Mind, which riſeth from the manifold conſiderations of God's unſpeakable Mercy, into which conſiderations we are led by occaſion of Sacred times. For how could the Jewiſh Congregations of old be put in mind by their weekly Sabbaths, what the World reaped through his goodneſs, which did of nothing create the World; by their yearly Paſſover, what farewell they took of the Land of *Egypt*; by their Pentecoſt, what Ordinances, Laws and Statutes, their Fathers received at the Hands of God; by their Feaſt of Tabernacles, with what protection they journied from place to place, through ſo many fears and hazards, during the tedious time of forty Years travel in the Wilderneſs; by their Annual ſolemnity of Lots, how near the whole Seed of *Iſrael* was unto utter extirpation, when it pleaſed that great God which guideth all things in Heaven and Earth, ſo to change the counſels and purpoſes of Men, that the ſame Hand which hath ſigned a Decree, in the opinion both of them that granted and of them that procured it, irrevocable, for the general maſſacre of Man, Woman and Child, became the Buckler of their preſervation, that no one hair of their Heads might be touched, the ſame Days which had been ſet for the pouring out of ſo much innocent blood, were made the Days of their execution, whoſe malice had contrived the plot thereof, and the ſelf-ſame Perſons that ſhould have endured whatſoever violence and rage could offer, were imployed in the juſt revenge of Cruelty, to give unto blood-thirſty Men the taſte of their own Cup; or how can the Church of Chriſt now endure to be ſo much called on and preached unto, by that which every (*a*) Dominical Day throughout the Year, that which Year by Year ſo many Feſtival times, (*b*) if not commanded by the Apoſtles themſelves, whoſe care at that time was of greater things, yet inſtituted, either by ſuch (*c*) Univerſal Authority as no Man, or at the leaſt ſuch as we with no reaſon may deſpiſe, do as ſometime the holy Angels did from Heaven ſing, (*d*) *Glory be unto God on High, Peace on Earth, towards Men good Will*, (for this in effect is the very Song that all Chriſtian Feaſts do apply as their ſeveral occaſions require) how ſhould the Days and Times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and we refuſe to agnize the benefit of ſuch remembrances, that very benefit which cauſed *Moſes* to acknowledge thoſe Guides of Day and Night, the Sun and Moon which enlighten the World, not more profitable to nature by giving all things life, than they are to the Church of God by occaſion of the uſe they have in regard of the appointed Feſtival times? That which the head of all Philoſophers hath ſaid of Women, if they be good, the half of the Common-wealth is happy, wherein they are, the ſame we may fitly apply to times: Well to celebrate theſe Religious and Sacred Days, is to ſpend the flower of our time happily. They are the ſplendor and outward dignity of our Religion, forcible witneſſes of ancient Truth, provocations to the Exerciſe of all Piety, ſhadows of our endleſs Felicity in Heaven, on Earth Everlaſting Records and Memorials, wherein they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto that we teach, may only by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatſoever we believe.

(*a*) Matth. 28. 1. Mark. 16. 1. Luke 24. 1. John 20. 1. 1 Cor. 16. 2. Apoc. 1. 10.

(*b*) *Apoſtolis propoſitum fuit, non ut leges de feſtis diebus celebrandis ſancirent, ſed ut recte vivendi rationis & pietatis nobis authores eſſent.* Socra. Hiſt. lib. 5. cap. 21. (*c*) *Quæ toto terrarum orbe ſervantur, vel ab ipſis Apoſtolis vel Conciliis generalibus quorum eſt ſaluberrima in Eccleſia authoritas, ſtatuta eſſe intelligere licet: Sicuti quod Domini Paſſio & Reſurrectio, & in Cœlum Aſcenſus, & Adventus Spiritus Sancti, anniverſaria ſolennitate celebrarentur.* Auguſt. Epiſt. 118. (*d*) Luke 2. 14.

Of Days appointed as well for ordinary, as for extraordinary Faſts in the Church of God.

72. The matching of contrary things together is a kind of illuſtration to both. Having therefore ſpoken thus much of Feſtival Days, the next that offer themſelves to Hand are Days of Penſive Humiliation and Sorrow. Faſtings are either of Mens own free and voluntary accord, as their particular devotion doth move them thereunto; or elſe they are publickly enjoyned in the Church, and required at the Hands of all Men. There are, which altogether diſallow not the former kind, and the latter they greatly commend, ſo that it be upon extraordinary occaſions only, and after one certain manner exerciſed. But Yearly or Weekly Faſts, ſuch as ours in the Church of *England*, they allow no farther, than as the Temporal ſtate of the Land doth require the ſame, for the maintenance of Sea-faring Men, and preſervation of Cattle, becauſe the decay of the one, and the waſte of the other, could not well be prevented but by a politick Order, appointing ſome ſuch uſual change of diet as ours is. We are therefore the rather to make it manifeſt in all Mens Eyes, that Set times of Faſting, appointed in Spiritual Conſiderations to be kept by all ſorts of Men, took not their beginning, either from *Montanus*, or any other, whoſe Hereſies may prejudice the credit and due eſtimation thereof, but have their ground in the Law of Nature, are allowable in God's ſight, were in all ages heretofore, and may till the Worlds end be obſerved, not without ſingular uſe and benefit. Much hurt hath grown to the Church of God, through a falſe imagination that faſting ſtandeth Men

---

T. C. lib. 1. *page* 30. I will not enter now to diſcuſs, whether it were well done to faſt in all places according to the cuſtom of the place. You oppoſe *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*, I could oppoſe *Ignatius* and *Tertullian*; whereof the one ſaith, It is *nefas*, a deteſtable thing to Faſt upon the Lord's Day; the other, that it is to kill the Lord. *Tertul. de Coron. Mil. Ignat. Epiſt. de Philippen.* And although *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*, being private Men at *Rome*, would have ſo done; yet it followeth not, That if they had been Citizens and Miniſters there, that they would have done it. And if they had done ſo, yet it followeth not but that they would have ſpoken againſt that appointment of Days, and νομοθεσίαν of Faſting, whereof *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Montanus* was the firſt Author. I ſpeak of that which they ought to have done. For otherwiſe I know they both thought corruptly of Faſting; when as the one ſaith, it was remedy or reward to faſt other Days, but in *Lent* not to Faſt was a ſin; and the other asketh, What Salvation we can obtain, if we blot not out our ſins by Faſting, ſeeing that the Scripture ſaith that Faſting and Alms doth deliver from ſin; and therefore calleth them new Teachers, that ſhut out the merit of Faſting. *Auguſt. de Temp. 62. Serm. Ambr. lib.* 10. *Epiſt.*

in no ſtead for any ſpiritual reſpect, but only to take down the frankneſs of Nature, and to tame the wildneſs of fleſh. Whereupon the World being bold to ſurfeit doth now bluſh to faſt, ſuppoſing that Men, when they faſt, do rather bewray a Diſeaſe than exerciſe a Virtue. I much wonder what they, who are thus perſwaded, do think, what conceit they have concerning the faſts of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apoſtles, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf. The affections of Joy and Grief are ſo knit unto all the Actions of Mans life, that whatſoever we can do, or may be done unto us, the ſequel thereof is continually the one or the other affection. Wherefore conſidering that they which grieve and joy as they ought, cannot poſſibly otherwiſe live than as they ſhould, the Church of Chriſt, the moſt abſolute and perfect School of all Virtue, hath by the ſpecial direction of God's good Spirit hitherto always inured Men from their infancy, partly with Days of Feſtival Exerciſe for the framing of the one affection, and partly with times of a contrary ſort for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit, over and beſides this we muſt note, that as Reſting, ſo Faſting likewiſe attendeth ſometimes no leſs upon the Actions of the higher, than upon the Affections of the lower part of the Mind. Faſting, ſaith *Tertullian*, is a work of reverence towards God. The end thereof, ſometimes elevation of Mind, ſometime the purpoſe thereof clean contrary. The cauſe why *Moſes* in the Mount did ſo long faſt, was meer divine Speculation; the cauſe why *David*, (*a*) Humiliation. Our life is (*b*) a mixture of good with evil. When we are partakers of good things, we joy, neither can we but grieve at the contrary. If that befall us which maketh glad, our Feſtival Solemnities declare our rejoycing to be in him, whoſe meer undeſerved Mercy is the Author of all happineſs; if any thing be either imminent or preſent, which we ſhun, our Watchings, Faſtings, Cryes and Tears, are unfeigned Teſtimonies, that our ſelves we condemn as the only cauſes of our own miſery, and do all acknowledge him no leſs inclinable, than able to ſave. And becauſe as the memory of the one, though paſt, reneweth gladneſs, ſo the other called again to mind doth make the wound of our juſt remorſe to bleed anew, which wound needeth often touching, the more for that we are generally more apt to Kalender Saints than Sinners Days, therefore there is in the Church a care, not to iterate the one alone, but to have frequent repetition of the other. Never to ſeek after God, ſaving only when either the Crib or the Whip doth conſtrain, were brutiſh ſervility, and a great derogation to the worth of that which is moſt predominant in Man, if ſometime it had not a kind of voluntary acceſs to God, and of conference as it were with God, all theſe inferior conſiderations laid aſide. In which ſequeſtra-
John 4. 34. tion, for as much as higher cogitations do naturally drown and bury all inferior cares, the Mind may as well forget natural, both Food and Sleep, by being carried above it ſelf with Serious and Heavenly Meditation, as being caſt down with heavineſs, drowned and ſwallowed up of ſorrow. Albeit therefore, concerning Jewiſh Abſtinence from certain kinds of Meats,
Rom. 14. 17. as being unclean, the Apoſtle doth teach, that the Kingdom of Heaven is not Meat nor Drink, that Food commendeth us not unto God, whether we take it, or abſtain from it; that if we eat, we are not thereby the more acceptable in his ſight, nor the leſs, if we eat not: His purpoſe notwithſtanding was far from any intent to derogate from that Faſting which is no ſuch ſcrupulous Abſtinence, as only refuſeth ſome kinds of Meats and Drinks, leſt they make them unclean that taſte them; but an Abſtinence whereby we either interrupt, or otherwiſe abridge the care of our bodily ſuſtenance, to ſhew by this kind of outward exerciſe, the ſerious intention of our minds fixed on Heavenlier and better deſires, the earneſt hunger and thirſt whereof depriveth the body of thoſe uſual contentments, which otherwiſe are not denied unto it. Theſe being in Nature the firſt cauſes that induce Faſting, the next thing which followeth to be conſidered, is the ancient practice thereof amongſt the Jews. Touch-
Matth. 6 16. ing whoſe private voluntary Faſts the Precept which our Saviour gave them was, *When ye faſt, look not ſour as Hypocrites: For they diſ-figure their Faces, that they might ſeem to Men to faſt. Verily, I ſay unto you they have their reward. When thou faſteſt, anoint thy Head, and waſh thy Face, that thou ſeem not unto Men to faſt, but unto thy Father which is in ſecret; and thy Father which ſeeth in ſecret, will reward thee openly.* Our Lord and Saviour would not teach the manner of doing, much leſs propoſe a reward for doing that, which were not both holy and acceptable in God's Sight. The Phariſees weekly bound themſelves unto double Faſts, neither are they for this reproved. Often Faſting, which was a virtue in *John's* Diſciples, could not in them of it-ſelf be a vice, and therefore not the oftenneſs of their Faſting, but their hy-
(*b*) 2 Chr 20. pocriſie therein was blamed. Of publick enjoyned Faſts (*b*), upon cauſes extraordinary the ex-
Jerem. 36. amples in Scripture are ſo far frequent, that they need no particular rehearſal. Publick ex-
Ezra 8. 1 Sam. 7. traordinary Faſtings were, ſometimes for (*c*) one only Day, ſometimes for (*d*) three, ſometimes
(*c*) Judg. 20. for (*e*) ſeven. Touching Faſts not appointed for any ſuch extraordinary cauſes, but either Year-
26. ly or Monthly or Weekly obſerved and kept: Firſt, upon the (*f*) ninth day of that month,
(*d*) 2 Mac. 13. 12. the tenth whereof was the Feaſt of Expiation, they were commanded of God that every Soul
(*e*) 1 Sam. 31. year by year ſhould afflict it-ſelf. Their yearly Faſts every fourth Month, in regard of the Ci-
13. 1 Chron. 10. ty of *Jeruſalem* entered by the Enemy, every fifth, for the memory of the overthrow of their
12. Temple, every ſeventh, for the Treacherous deſtruction and Death of *Gedaliah*, the very laſt
(*f*) Levit. 23.
Levit. 16.

(*a*) Tertul. de jejun. *Neque enim cibi tempus in periculo: Semper inedia mœroris ſequela eſt.* (*b*) Μηδεὶς δ' ὑπολαβέτω τὴν ἄκρατον ϗ ἀμιγῆ λύπης χαρὰν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλ' ἐγκέκραται ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. οὐ γὰρ εἴασεν ὁ πάτηρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λύπαις ϗ ὀδύναις ϗ ἄχθεσιν ἀνιάτοις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρέμιξε δὲ ϗ τῆς ἀμείνονος φύσεως, εὐδιάσαι ποτὲ ϗ γαληνιάσαι τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιώσας. Philo. l. de Abrah.

Philo de hujus feſti jejunio ita loquitur. Οὐ σιτίον, οὐ ποτὸν ἔξεςι προσενέγκασθαι καθαραῖς ὅπως διανοίαις μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος μηδὲ ἐμποδίζοντος σωματικοῦ πάθους, ὁποῖα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησμονῆς ἑορτάζωσιν ἱλασκόμενοι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παντὸς ὁσίαις ψυχαῖς, δι' ὧν ἀμνηστείαν μὲν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, κτῆσιν δὲ ϗ ἀπόλαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν εἰώθασιν αἰτεῖσθαι. Pag. 447.

ſtay which they had to lean unto in their greateſt miſery, every tenth in remembrance of the time when ſiege began firſt to be laid againſt them: All theſe, not commanded by God himſelf, but ordained by a publick Conſtitution of their own, the Prophet (*a*) *Zachary* expreſly toucheth. That St. *Jerome*, following the Tradition of the Hebrews, doth make the firſt a memorial of the breaking of thoſe two Tables, when *Moſes* deſcended from Mount *Sinai*; the ſecond, a memorial as well of God's indignation condemning them to forty years travel in the Deſart, as of his wrath in permitting *Chaldeans* to waſte, burn and deſtroy their City; the laſt a memorial of heavy tidings brought out of *Jury* to *Ezekiel* and the reſt which lived as Captives in foreign parts, the difference is not of any moment, conſidering that each time of ſorrow is naturally evermore a Regiſter of all ſuch grievous events as have hapned, either in or near about the ſame time. To theſe I might add (*b*) ſundry other Faſts, above twenty in number, ordained amongſt them by like occaſions, and obſerved in like manner, beſides their weekly Abſtinence, Mundays and Thurſdays throughout the whole Year. When Men faſted, it was not always after one and the ſame ſort, but either by depriving themſelves wholly of all Food, during the time that their Faſts continued, or by abating both the quantity and kind of Diet. We have of the one a plain example in the *Ninevites* Faſting, and as plain a precedent for the other in the Prophet *Daniel*, *I was* (ſaith he) *in heavineſs for three weeks of days, I ate no pleaſant Bread, neither taſted Fleſh nor Wine.* Their tables, when they gave themſelves to faſting, had not that uſual furniture of ſuch Diſhes as do cheriſh blood with blood, but (*c*) for food they had Bread; for Suppage, Salt; and for Sawce, Herbs. Whereunto the Apoſtle may be thought to allude ſaying, *One believeth he may eat all things, another which is weak* (and maketh a Conſcience of keeping thoſe Cuſtoms which the Jews obſerve) *eateth Herbs.* This auſtere repaſt they took in the Evening after Abſtinence the whole day; for to forfeit a Noons meal, and then to recompence themſelves at Night, was not their uſe. Nor did they ever accuſtom themſelves on Sabbaths or Feſtival days to faſt. And yet it may be a queſtion, whether in ſome ſort they did not always faſt the Sabbath. Their Faſtings were partly in token of Penitency, Humiliation, Grief and Sorrow, partly in ſign of Devotion and Reverence towards God. Which ſecond conſideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirm any thing) might induce to abſtain till Noon, as their manner was on Faſting-days to do till Night. May it not very well be thought that hereunto the ſacred (*d*) Scripture doth give ſome ſecret kind of Teſtimony? *Joſephus* is plain, That the ſixth hour (the day they divided into twelve) was wont on the Sabbath always to call them home unto Meat. Neither is it improbable, but that the (*e*) Heathens did therefore ſo often upbraid them with Faſting on that Day. Beſides, they which found ſo great fault with our Lord's Diſciples for rubbing a few Ears of Corn in their Hands on the Sabbath-day, are not unlikely to have aimed alſo at the ſame mark. For neither was the bodily pain ſo great, that it ſhould offend them in that reſpect, and the very manner of defence which our Saviour there uſeth, is more direct and literal to juſtifie the breach of the Jewiſh cuſtom in Faſting, than in working at that time. Finally, the Apoſtles afterwards themſelves, when God firſt gave them the gift of Tongues, whereas ſome in diſdain and ſpight termed Grace, Drunkenneſs, it being then the Day of Pentecoſt, and but only a fourth part of the Day ſpent, they uſe this as an argument againſt the other Cavil, (*f*) *Theſe Men*, ſaith *Peter*, *are not Drunk as you ſuppoſe, ſince as yet the third hour of the Day is not over-paſt.* Howbeit leaving this in ſuſpence, as a thing not altogether certainly known, and to come from Jews to Chriſtians, we find that of private voluntary Faſtings the Apoſtle St. *Paul* ſpeaketh (*g*) more than once. And (ſaith *Tertullian*) they are ſometime commanded throughout the Church, *Ex aliqua ſollicitudinis Eccleſiaſticæ cauſa*, the care and fear of the Church ſo requiring. It doth not appear, that the Apoſtles ordained any ſet and certain Days to be generally kept of all. Notwithſtanding, for as much as Chriſt hath fore-ſignified, that when himſelf ſhould be taken from them, his abſence would ſoon make them apt to faſt, it ſeemeth that even as the firſt Feſtival Day appointed to be kept of the Church, was the Day of our Lord's return from the Dead, ſo the firſt ſorrowful and mourning Day was, that which we now obſerve in Memory of his departure out of this World. And becauſe there could be no abatement of grief, till they ſaw him raiſed, whoſe death was the occaſion of their heavineſs, therefore the Day he lay in the Sepulchre hath been alſo kept and obſerved as a weeping Day. The Cuſtom of Faſting theſe two Days before Eaſter is undoubtedly moſt ancient, inſomuch that (*h*) *Ignatius* not thinking him a Catholick Chriſtian Man which did not abhor, and (as the ſtate of the Church was then) avoid faſting on the Jews Sabbath, doth notwithſtanding except for ever that one Sabbath or Saturday, which falleth out to be the Eaſter-Eve, as with us it always doth, and did ſometimes alſo with them which kept at that time their Eaſter the fourteenth Day of *March*, as the cuſtom of the Jews was. It came afterwards to be an order, that even as the Day of Chriſt's Reſurrection, ſo the other two in memory of his death and burial were weekly. But this, when Saint *Ambroſe* lived, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in *Milan*, where himſelf was Biſhop. And for that cauſe he ſaith, that although at *Rome* he obſerved the Saturdays faſt, becauſe ſuch was then the cuſtom in *Rome*, nevertheleſs in his own Church at home he did otherwiſe. The Churches which did not obſerve that Day, had another inſtead thereof, which was the Wedneſday, for that when they judged it meet to have weekly a Day of Humiliation, beſides that whereon our Saviour ſuffered Death, it ſeemed beſt to make their choice of that Day eſpecially, whereon the Jews are thought to have firſt contrived their treaſon together with *Judas* againſt Chriſt. So that the inſtituting and ordaining both of theſe,

(*a*) Zach. 8. 16.

Exod. 32. Numb. 14.

(*b*) *Vide Riber. lib. 5. cap. 21.*

Dan. 10. 2, 3.

(*c*) *Puram & ſine animalibus cœnam.* Apul. in Aſclep. in fine. *Paſtum & potum puræ noſſe, non ventris ſcilicet ſed animæ cauſa.* Tertul. de Pœnit. Vide Phil. lib. de vita contempl.

Rom. 14. 2. Hieron. lib. 2. contr. Jovinian.

Judith 8. 6. R. Moſ. in Miſne. Tora. lib. 3. Qui eſt de tempor. cap. de Sab. & cap. de Jejun.

(*d*) Nehem. 8. 3, 12. *Hora ſexta quæ Sabbatis noſtris ad prandium vocare ſolet, ſupervenit.* Joſeph lib. de vita. ſua.

(*e*) *Sabbata Judeorum à Moſe in omne ævum jejunio dicata* Juſtin. lib. 36. *Ne Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam libenter Sabbati jejunium ſervat, quàm ego hodie ſervavi.* Seuton in Octav. c. 76.

(*f*) Acts 2. 15.

(*g*) 1 Cor. 7. 5. 2 Cor 6. 5. & 11. 27. Col. 4. 4.

(*h*) *Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philip.*

and all other times of like exerciſe, is as the Church ſhall judge expedient for Men's good. And concerning every Chriſtian Man's duty herein, ſurely that which *Auguſtine* and *Ambroſe* are before alledged to have done, is ſuch as all Men favouring Equity muſt needs allow and follow, if they affect peace. As for their ſpecified Errors, I will not in this place diſpute, whether voluntary Faſting with a virtuous purpoſe of Mind be any medicinable remedy of evil, or a duty acceptable unto God, and in the World to come even rewardable, as other Offices are, which proceed from Chriſtian piety; whether wilfully to break and deſpiſe the wholſome Laws of the Church herein, be a thing which offendeth God; whether truly it may not be ſaid, that penitent both weeping and faſting are means to blot out ſin, means whereby through God's unſpeakable and undeſerved mercy we obtain or procure to our ſelves pardon, which attainment unto any gracious benefit by him beſtowed, the phraſe of Antiquity uſeth to expreſs by the name of Merit; but if either Saint *Auguſtine* or St. *Ambroſe* have taught any wrong opinion, ſeeing they which reprove them are not altogether free from Error, I hope they will think it no Error in us ſo to cenſure Mens ſmaller faults, that their virtues be not thereby generally prejudiced. And if in Churches abroad, where we are not ſubject to power or juriſdiction, diſcretion ſhould teach us for Peace and Quietneſs ſake to frame our ſelves to other Men's Example, is it meet that at home where our freedom is leſs, our boldneſs ſhould be more? Is it our duty to oppugn, in the Churches whereof we are Miniſters, the Rites and Cuſtoms, which in Foreign Churches Piety and Modeſty did teach us as ſtrangers not to oppugn, but to keep without ſhew of contradiction or diſlike? Why oppoſe they the name of a Miniſter in this caſe unto the ſtate of a private Man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to Laws? That which their Office and Place requireth, is to ſhew themſelves patterns of reverent ſubjection, not Authors and Maſters of contempt towards Ordinances, the ſtrength whereof, when they ſeek to weaken, they do but in truth diſcover to the World their own imbecillities, which a great deal wiſelier they might conceal. But the practiſe of the Church of Chriſt we ſhall by ſo much the better both underſtand and love, if to that which hitherto hath been ſpoken there be ſomewhat added for more particular declaration, how Hereticks have partly abuſed Faſts, and partly bent themſelves againſt the lawful uſe thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore *Ignatius* hath ſaid, if any keep Sundays or Saturdays Faſts (one only Saturday in the Year excepted) that Man is no better than a murtherer of Chriſt, the cauſe of ſuch his earneſtneſs at that time was the impiety of certain Hereticks, which thought * that this World being corruptible could not be made but by a very evil Author. And therefore as the Jews did by the Feſtival Solemnity of their Sabbath rejoyce in the God that created the World, as in the Author of all Goodneſs, ſo thoſe Hereticks in hatred of the Maker of the World ſorrowed, wept and faſted on that Day, as being the Birth-Day of all evil. And as Chriſtian Men of ſound belief did ſolemnize the Sunday in joyful memory of Chriſt's Reſurrection, ſo likewiſe at the ſelf-ſame time ſuch Hereticks as denyed his Reſurrection, did the contrary to them which held it: When the one ſort rejoyced, the other faſted. Againſt thoſe Hereticks which have urged perpetual abſtinence from certain Meats as being in their very nature unclean, the Church hath ſtill bent her-ſelf as an Enemy, Saint *Paul* giving charge to take heed of them, which under any ſuch opinion ſhould utterly forbid the uſe of Meats or Drinks. The Apoſtles themſelves forbad ſome, as the order taken at *Jeruſalem* declareth; but the cauſe of their ſo doing we all know. Again, when *Tertullian*, together with ſuch as were his followers, began to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the ſeverity of Chriſtian Diſcipline brought in ſundry unaccuſtomed Days of Faſting, continued their Faſts a great deal longer, and made them more rigorous than the uſe of the Church had been, the Minds of Men being ſomewhat moved at ſo great and ſo ſudden novelty, the cauſe was preſently enquired into. After notice taken how the Montaniſts held theſe Additions to be Supplements of the Goſpel, whereunto the Spirit of Propheſie did now mean to put as it were the laſt Hand, and was therefore newly deſcended upon *Montanus*, whoſe orders all Chriſtian Men were no leſs to obey, than the Laws of the Apoſtles themſelves, this Abſtinence the Church abhorred likewiſe, and that juſtly. Whereupon *Tertullian* proclaiming even open War to the Church maintained Montaniſm, wrote a Book in defence of the new Faſt, and intituled the ſame, *A Treatiſe of Faſting againſt the opinion of the Carnal ſort.* In which Treatiſe nevertheleſs becauſe ſo much is ſound and good, as doth either generally concern the uſe, or in particular declare the Cuſtom of the Churches Faſting in thoſe times, Men are not to reject whatſoever is alledged out of that Book for Confirmation of the Truth. His error diſcloſeth it-ſelf in thoſe places, where he defendeth his Faſts to be duties neceſſary for the whole Church of Chriſt to obſerve as commanded by the Holy Ghoſt, and that with the ſame authority from whence all other Apoſtolical Ordinances came, both being the Laws of God himſelf without any other diſtinction or difference, ſaving only that he which before had declared his will by *Paul* and *Peter*, did now farther reveal the ſame by *Montanus* alſo. *Againſt us ye pretend,* ſaith *Tertullian, that the publick Orders which Chriſtianity is bound to keep, were delivered at the firſt, and that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand if you can upon this point, for behold I challenge you for Faſting more than at* Eaſter *your ſelves. But in fine ye anſwer, that theſe things are to be done as eſtabliſhed by the voluntary appointment of Men, and not by virtue or force of any Divine Commandment. Well then* (he addeth) *Ye have removed your firſt footing, and gone beyond that which was delivered, by doing more than was at the firſt impoſed upon you. You ſay, you muſt do that which your own judgments have allowed: We require your obedience to that which God himſelf doth* inſti-

Εἴ τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηςεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτȣ, οὗτος χριςοκτόνος ἐςὶ *Epiſt. ad Philip.*

* *Vide Irenæ. lib. 1 cap.* 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. *Epiph. Hæreſ.* 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28. & 41. 42. *Vide Canon. Apoſt.* 55.

inſtitute. *Is it not ſtrange, that Men to their own wills ſhould yield that, which to God's commandment they will not grant? Shall the pleaſure of Men prevail more with you than the power of God himſelf?* Theſe places of *Tertullian* for Faſting have worthily been put to ſilence. And as worthily *Aerius* condemned for oppoſition againſt Faſting. The one endeavoured to bring in ſuch Faſts as the Church ought not to receive, the other to overthrow ſuch as already it had received and did obſerve: The one was plauſible unto many, by ſeeming to hate carnal looſeneſs and riotous exceſs much more than the reſt of the World did, the other drew hearers by pretending the maintenance of Chriſtian Liberty: The one thought his cauſe very ſtrongly upheld by making invective declamations with a pale and withered countenance againſt the Church, by filling the ears of his ſtarved hearers with ſpeech ſuitable to ſuch Mens humours, and by telling them, no doubt to their marvellous contentment and liking, *Our new Propheſies are refuſed, they are deſpiſed. Is it becauſe* Montanus *doth Preach ſome other God, or diſſolve the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, or overthrow any Canon of Faith and Hope? No, our crime is, We teach that Men ought to Faſt more often than Marry, the beſt Feaſt-maker is with them the perfecteſt Saint, they are aſſuredly meer Spirit, and therefore theſe our corporal devotions pleaſe them not*: Thus the one for *Montanus* and his Superſtition. The other in a clean contrary tune againſt the Religion of the Church. *Theſe ſet Faſts, away with them, for they are Jewiſh, and bring Men under the yoke of ſervitude: If I will faſt, let me chooſe my time, that Chriſtian Liberty be not abridged.* Hereupon their glory was to Faſt eſpecially upon the Sunday, becauſe the order of the Church was on that Day not to Faſt. *On Church-Faſting Days, and eſpecially the week before* Eaſter, *when with us* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) *Cuſtom admitteth nothing but lying down upon the Earth, abſtinence from fleſhly Delights and Pleaſures, ſorrowfulneſs, dry and unſavoury Diet, Prayer, Watching, Faſting, all the Medicines which holy Affections can miniſter, they are up betimes to take in of the ſtrongeſt for the belly, and when their veins were well ſwoln, they make themſelves mirth with laughter at this our ſervice, wherein we are perſwaded we pleaſe God.* By this of *Epiphanius* it doth appear, not only what Faſtings the Church of Chriſt in thoſe times uſed, but alſo what other parts of Diſcipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient uſe and cuſtom of bringing all Men at certain times to a due conſideration and an open Humiliation of themſelves. Two kinds there were of Publick Penitency, the one belonging to notorious offenders, whoſe open wickedneſs had been ſcandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and unto every ſeveral Perſon whom the ſame containeth. It will be anſwered, that touching this latter kind, it may be exerciſed well enough by Men in private. No doubt but Penitency is as Prayer, a thing acceptable unto God, be it in publick or in ſecret. Howbeit, as in the one, if Men were wholly left to their own voluntary Meditations in their Cloſets, and not drawn by Laws and Orders unto the open Aſſemblies of the Church, that there they may joyn with others in Prayers, it may be ſoon conjectured, what Chriſtian devotion that way would come unto in a ſhort time: Even ſo in the other, we are by ſufficient experience taught how little it booteth, to tell Men of waſhing away their Sins with tears of Repentance, and ſo to leave them altogether unto themſelves. O Lord, what heaps of grievous tranſgreſſions have we committed, the beſt, the perfecteſt, the moſt righteous amongſt us all, and yet clean paſs them over unſorrowed for and unrepented of, only becauſe the Church hath forgotten utterly how to beſtow her wonted times of Diſcipline, wherein the publick example of all was unto every particular Perſon a moſt effectual mean to put them often in mind, and even in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and clean forget, as if Penitency were no part of a Chriſtian Man's duty! Again, beſides our private offences which ought not thus looſely to be overſlipt, ſuppoſe we the Body and Corporation of the Church ſo juſt, that at no time it needeth to ſhew it-ſelf openly caſt down, in regard of thoſe Faults and Tranſgreſſions, which though they do not properly belong unto any one, had notwithſtanding a ſpecial Sacrifice appointed for them in the Law of *Moſes*, and being common to the whole Society which containeth all muſt needs ſo far concern every Man in particular, as at ſome time in ſolemn manner to require acknowledgment, with more than daily and ordinary teſtifications of Grief. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be deviſed, than that memorable Commination ſet down in the Book of Common Prayer, if our practiſe in the reſt were ſuitable. The Head already ſo well drawn doth but wiſh a proportionable Body. And by the Preface to that very part of the Engliſh Liturgy it may appear, how at the firſt ſetting down thereof no leſs was intended. For ſo we are to interpret the meaning of thoſe words, wherein reſtitution of the Primitive Church-Diſcipline is greatly wiſhed for, touching the manner of publick Penance in time of *Lent*. Wherewith ſome being not much acquainted, but having framed in their minds the conceit of a new Diſcipline, far unlike to that of old, they make themſelves believe it is undoubtedly this their Diſcipline, which at the firſt was ſo much deſired. They have long pretended, that the whole Scripture is plain for them. If now the Communion-Book make for them too (I well think the one doth as much as the other) it may be hoped, that being found ſuch a well-willer unto their cauſe, they will more favour it than they have done. Having therefore hitherto ſpoken, both of Feſtival Days, and ſo much of ſolemn Faſts, as may reaſonably ſerve to ſhew the ground thereof in the Law of Nature, the practiſe partly appointed, and partly allowed of God in the Jewiſh Church, the like continued in the Church of Chriſt, together with the ſiniſter oppoſitions, either of Hereticks erroneouſly abuſing the ſame, or of others thereat quarrelling without cauſe, we will only collect the chiefeſt points as well of reſemblance, as of difference between them, and ſo end. Firſt, in this they agree, that

Epiph. Hæreſ. 75.

becauſe Nature is the general Root of both, therefore both have been always common to the Church with Infidels and Heathen Men. Secondly, they alſo herein accord, that oft as joy is the cauſe of the one, and grief the Well-ſpring of the other, they are * incompatible. A third degree of affinity between them, is, that neither being acceptable to God of it-ſelf, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him muſt neceſſarily depend on that which they ought to import and ſignifie: So that if herein the mind diſpoſe not it-ſelf aright, whether we (*a*) reſt or (*b*) faſt, we offend. A fourth thing common unto them is, that the greateſt part of the World hath always groſly and palpably offended in both; Infidels, becauſe they did all in relation to falſe gods; godleſs, ſenſual and careleſs minds, for that there is in them no conſtant, true and ſincere affection towards thoſe things which are pretended by ſuch exerciſe; yea, certain flattering over-ſights there are, wherewith ſundry, and they not of the worſt ſort, may be eaſily in theſe caſes led awry, even through abundance of love and liking to that which muſt be imbraced by all means, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, whether we celebrate their glory, or follow them in humility, whether we laugh or weep, mourn or rejoyce with them, is, (as in all things the affection of Love) apt to deceive, and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchful guide, ſeeing there is manifeſtly both ways even in them whom we honour, that which we are to obſerve and ſhun. The beſt have not ſtill been ſufficiently mindful, that God's very Angels in Heaven are but Angels, and that bodily exerciſe conſidered (*c*) in it-ſelf is no great matter. Finally, ſeeing that both are Ordinances well deviſed for the good of Man, and yet not Man created purpoſely for them, as for (*d*) other Offices of Virtue whereunto God's immutable Law for ever tieth, it is but equity to wiſh or admoniſh, that where by uniform order they are not as yet received, the example of (*e*) *Victors* extremity in the one, and of (*f*) *Johns* Diſciples curioſity in the other, be not followed; yea, where they are appointed by Law, that notwithſtanding (*g*) we avoid Judaiſm, and as in Feſtival days Mens neceſſities for matter of labour, ſo in times of Faſting regard be had to their imbecillities, leſt they ſhould ſuffer harm, doing good. Thus therefore we ſee how theſe two Cuſtoms are in divers reſpects equal. But of Faſting the uſe and exerciſe, though leſs pleaſant, is by ſo much more requiſite than the other, as grief of neceſſity is a more familiar gueſt than the contrary paſſion of mind, albeit gladneſs to all Men be naturally more welcome. For firſt, we our ſelves do many more things amiſs than well, and the fruit of our own ill-doing is remorſe, becauſe nature is conſcious to it-ſelf that it ſhould do the contrary. Again, foraſmuch as the World over-aboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good to other Men, there is no Man ſo ſeldom croſt as pleaſured at the hands of others; whereupon it cannot be choſen, but every Mans Woes muſt double in that reſpect the number and meaſure of his delights. Beſides, concerning the very choice which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well conſidered, there is cauſe why our Saviour ſhould account them happieſt that do moſt mourn, and why *Solomon* might judge it better to frequent Mourning than Feaſting houſes; not better ſimply and in it-ſelf (for then would Nature that way incline) but in regard of us and our common weakneſs better. *Job* was not ignorant that his Childrens Banquets, though tending to amity, needed Sacrifice. Neither doth any of us all need to be taught that in things which delight we (*h*) eaſily ſwerve from mediocrity, and are not eaſily led by a right direct line. On the other ſide, the Sores and Diſeaſes of mind which inordinate pleaſure breedeth, are by Dolour and Grief cured. For which cauſe as all offences uſe to ſeduce by pleaſing, ſo all puniſhments endeavour by vexing to reform tranſgreſſions. We are of our own accord apt enough to give entertainment to things delectable, but patiently to lack what fleſh and blood doth deſire, and by Virtue to forbear what by nature we covet, this no Man attaineth unto, but with labour and long practice. From hence it riſeth, that in former Ages Abſtinence and Faſting more than ordinary was always a ſpecial branch of their praiſe, in whom it could be obſerved and known, were they ſuch as continually gave themſelves to auſtere life or Men that took often occaſions in private virtuous reſpects to lay *Solomons* counſel aſide, *Eat thy Bread with joy*, and to be followers of *Davids* Example, which ſaith, *I humbled my Soul with Faſting*; or but they who otherwiſe worthy of no great commendation, have made of hunger, ſome their Gain, ſome their Phyſick, ſome their Art, that by maſtering ſenſual Appetites without conſtraint they might grow able to endure hardneſs whenſoever need ſhould require: For the body accuſtomed to emptineſs pineth not away ſo ſoon as having ſtill uſed to fill it-ſelf. Many ſingular effects there are, which ſhould make Faſting even in publick Conſiderations the rather to be accepted. For I preſume we are not altogether without experience how great their advantage is in martial Enterpriſes, that lead Armies of Men trained in a School of Abſtinence. It is therefore noted at this day in ſome, that patience of hunger and thirſt hath given them many Victories; in others, that becauſe if they want, there is no Man able to rule them, nor they in plenty to moderate themſelves, he which can either bring them to hunger or overcharge them, is ſure to make them their own overthrow. What Nation ſoever doth feel theſe dangerous inconveniences, may know that ſloth and fulneſs in peaceable times at home is the cauſe thereof, and the remedy, a ſtrict Obſervation of that part of Chriſtian Diſcipline, which teacheth Men, in practice of Ghoſtly warfare againſt themſelves, thoſe things that afterwards may help them, juſtly aſſaulting or ſtanding in lawful defence of themſelves againſt others. The very purpoſe of the Church of God, both in the number and in the order of her Faſts, hath been not only to preſerve thereby throughout all Ages the remembrance of miſeries heretofore ſuſtained, and

* Con. Laod. c. 51. 52. *Vetat Natalitia Martyrum in Quadrageſima celebrari.*

(*a*) Iſai. 1. 13.

(*b*) Iſai. 58. 3.

(*c*) 1 Tim. 4. 8.

(*d*) Ecclef. 12. 13.

Iſai. 58. 6, 7.
Rom. 14. 17.
Jam. 1. 27.
Heb. 12. 14.
Epheſ. 2. 4.

(*e*) *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 5 *c.* 23.

(*f*) Matth. 9. 14.

(*g*) Col. 2. 16.

Matth. 6. 4.
Eccleſ. 7. 4.

Job 1. 5.

(*h*) Ἐν παντὶ δὲ μάλιϛα φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδὺ ϗ τὴν ἡδονήν. οὐ γὰρ ἀδέκαϛοι κρίνομεν αὐτήν. *Ariſt. Eth.* 2. *cap.* 13.

Eccleſ. 9. 7.
Pſal. 35. 13.

of the cauſes in our-ſelves out of which they have ariſen, that Men conſidering the one might fear the other the more, but farther alſo to temper the mind, leſt contrary affections coming in place ſhould make it too profuſe and diſſolute, in which reſpect it ſeemeth that Faſts have been ſet as Uſhers of Feſtival days, for prevention of thoſe diſorders, as much as might be, wherein, notwithſtanding, the World always will deſerve, * as it hath done, blame; becauſe ſuch evils being not poſſible to be rooted out, the moſt we can do is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruit we look for) to create in the minds of Men a love towards a frugal and ſevere life, to undermine the Palaces of wantonneſs, to plant Parſimony as Nature, where Riotouſneſs hath been Studie, to harden whom pleaſure would melt, and to help the tumours which always Fulneſs breedeth, that Children, as it were in the Wool of their Infancy dyed with hardneſs, may never afterwards change colour; that the poor, whoſe perpetual Faſts are of Neceſſity, may with better contentment endure the hunger which Virtue cauſeth others ſo often to chuſe, and by advice of Religion it-ſelf ſo far to eſteem above the contrary; that they which for the moſt part do lead ſenſual and eaſie lives, they which, as the Prophet *David* deſcribeth them, are not plagued like other Men, may by the publick ſpectacle of all be ſtill put in mind what themſelves are; finally, that every Man may be every Mans daily guide and example, as well by faſting to declare humility, as by praiſe to expreſs joy in the ſight of God, although it have herein befallen the Church, as ſometimes *David*, ſo that the ſpeech of the one may be truly the voice of the other, ***My Soul faſted,*** *and even that was alſo turned to my reproof.*

73. In this World there can be no Society durable, otherwiſe than only by propagation. Albeit therefore ſingle Life be a thing more Angelical and Divine, yet ſith the repleniſhing firſt of Earth with bleſſed Inhabitants, and then of Heaven with Saints everlaſtingly praiſing God, did depend upon conjunction of Man and Woman, he which made all things compleat and perfect, ſaw it could not be good to leave Men without any Helper unto the fore-alledged end: In things which ſome farther end doth cauſe to be deſired, choice ſeeketh rather proportion, than abſolute perfection of goodneſs. So that Woman being created for Mans ſake to be his Helper, in regard of the end before mentioned, namely, the having and bringing up of Children, whereunto it was not poſſible they could concur, unleſs there were ſubalternation between them, which ſubalternation is naturally grounded upon inequality, becauſe things equal in every reſpect are never willingly directed one by another. Woman therefore was even in her firſt eſtate framed by Nature, not only after in time, but inferiour in excellency alſo unto Man, howbeit in ſo due and ſweet proportion, as being preſented before our eyes might be ſooner perceived than defined. And even herein doth lie the Reaſon why that kind of love which is the perfecteſt ground of Wedlock, is ſeldom able to yield any reaſon of it-ſelf. Now that which is born of Man muſt be nouriſhed with far more travel, as being of greater price in Nature, and of ſlower pace to perfection, than the Off-ſpring of any other Creature beſides. Man and Woman being therefore to joyn themſelves for ſuch a purpoſe, they were of neceſſity to be linked with ſome ſtreight and inſoluble knot. The bond of Wedlock hath been always more or leſs eſteemed of, as a thing Religious and Sacred. The Title which the very Heathens themſelves do thereunto oftentimes give, (*a*) is, *Holy.* Thoſe Rites and Orders which were inſtituted in the Solemnization of Marriage, the Hebrews term by the Name of Conjugal (*b*) *Sanctifications.* Amongſt our ſelves, becauſe ſundry things appertaining unto the Publick Order of Matrimony, are called in Queſtion by ſuch as know not from whence thoſe Cuſtoms did firſt grow, to ſhew briefly ſome true and ſufficient Reaſon of them ſhall not be ſuperfluous, although we do not hereby intend to yield ſo far unto Enemies of all Church-Orders ſaving their own, as though every thing were unlawful, the true Cauſe and Reaſon whereof at the firſt might hardly perhaps be now rendred. Wherefore, to begin with the times wherein the liberty of Marriage is reſtrained. *There is,* ſaith *Solomon, a time for all things, a time to laugh, and a time to mourn.* That duties belonging unto Marriage, and Offices appertaining to Penance, are things unſuitable and unfit to be matched together, the Prophets and Apoſtles themſelves do witneſs. Upon which ground, as we might right well think it marvellous abſurd to ſee in a Church a Wedding on the day of a publick Faſt, ſo likewiſe in the ſelf-ſame conſideration our Predeceſſors thought it not amiſs to take away the common liberty of Marriages, during the time which was appointed for preparation unto, and for exerciſe of, General Humiliation by Faſting and Praying, Weeping for ſins. As for the delivering up of the Woman either by her Father, or by ſome other, we muſt note that in ancient times (*c*) all Women which had not Husbands nor Fathers to govern them, had their Tutors, (*d*) without whoſe Authority there was no act which they did, warrantable. And for this cauſe they were in Marriage delivered unto their Husbands by others. Which Cuſtom retained hath ſtill this uſe, that it putteth Women in mind of a duty, whereunto the very imbecillity of their nature and Sex doth bind them, namely, to be always directed, guided and ordered, by others, although our Poſitive Laws do not tie them now as Pupils. The cuſtom of laying down Money ſeemeth to have been derived from the *Saxons,* whoſe manner was to buy their Wives. But, ſeeing there is not any great cauſe wherefore the memory of that cuſtom ſhould remain, it skilleth not much, although we ſuffer it to lie dead, even as we ſee it in a manner already worn out.

* *Valde abſurdum eſt nimia ſaturitate velle honorare martyrem, quem ſcias Deo placuiſſe jejuniis.* Hier. Epiſt. ad Euſt.

Pſal. 73. 5.

Pſal. 69. 10.

The celebration of Matrimony. *T.C. l.* 1. *p* 199.

(*a*) Τοὺς ἱεροὺς γάμους. *Dionyſ. Hal. ant. l.* 2.

(*b*) *Kidduſchin in Rituali Heb. de benedictione nuptiarum.*

Eccleſ. 3. 1.

Joel 2. 16. 1 Cor. 7. 5.

(*c*) *Mulieres antiquo jure tutela perpetua continebat. Recedebant verò à tutoris poteſtate, quæ in manum conveniſſent.* Boet. in Topic. Cic.

(*d*) *Nullam ne privatam quidem rem fœminas ſine auctore agere majores noſtri voluerunt.* Liv. lib. 44. The reaſon yielded by *Tully,* this, *Propter infirmitatem conſilii.* Cic. pro Mur. Vide leg. Saxon. tit. 6. & 17.

The Ring hath been always uſed as an eſpecial pledge of Faith and Fidelity. Nothing more fit to ſerve as a token of our purpoſed endleſs continuance in that which we never ought to revoke. This is the cauſe wherefore the Heathens themſelves did in ſuch caſes uſe the Ring, whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, ſaith, that in ancient times (*a*) *No Woman was permitted to wear gold, ſaving only upon one finger, which her Husband had faſtned unto himſelf with that Ring, which was uſually given for aſſurance of future Marriage.* The cauſe why the Chriſtians uſe it, as ſome of the Fathers think, is (*b*) either to teſtifie mutual love, or rather to ſerve for a pledge of Conjunction in heart and mind agreed upon between them. But what rite and cuſtom is there ſo harmleſs, wherein the wit of Man bending it-ſelf to deriſion may not eaſily find out ſomewhat to ſcorn and jeſt at? He that ſhould have beheld the Jews, when they ſtood with (*c*) a four-cornered Garment ſpread over the heads of Eſpouſed Couples, while their Eſpouſals were in making: He that ſhould have beheld their (*d*) praying over a Cup, and their delivering the ſame at the Marriage-feaſt with ſet Forms of Benediction, as the Order amongſt them was, might being lewdly affected take thereat as juſt occaſion of ſcornful cavil, as at the uſe of the Ring in Wedlock amongſt Chriſtians. But of all things the moſt hardly taken is the uttering theſe words, *With my body I thee worſhip*, in which words, when once they are underſtood, there will appear as little cauſe as in the reſt for any wiſe Man to be offended. Firſt therefore, inaſmuch as unlawful copulation doth pollute and (*e*) diſhonour both parties, this Proteſtation that we do worſhip and honour another with our bodies, may import a denial of all ſuch Lets and Impediments to our knowledge, as might cauſe any ſtain, blemiſh, or diſgrace that way; which kind of conſtruction being probable, would eaſily approve that ſpeech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly, in that the Apoſtle doth ſo expreſly affirm, that parties married have not any longer entire power over themſelves, but each hath intereſt in others perſon, it cannot be thought an abſurd conſtruction to ſay, that worſhipping with the body is the imparting of that intereſt in the body unto another, which none before had, ſave only our ſelves. But if this were the natural meaning, the words ſhould perhaps be as requiſite to be uſed on the one ſide as on the other; and therefore a third ſenſe there is, which I rather rely upon. Apparent it is, that the ancient difference between a lawful Wife and a Concubine was only (*f*) in the different purpoſe of Man betaking himſelf to the one or the other. If his purpoſe were only fellowſhip, there grew to the Woman by this means no worſhip at all, but the contrary. In profeſſing that his intent was to add by his perſon honour and worſhip unto hers, he took her plainly and clearly to Wife. This is it which the Civil Law doth mean, when it maketh a Wife to differ from a Concubine in (*g*) dignity; a Wife to be taken where (*h*) Conjugal honour and affection do go before. The worſhip that grew unto her being taken with declaration of this intent, was that her children became by this mean legitimate and free; her-ſelf was made a Mother over his Family. Laſt of all, ſhe received ſuch advancement of ſtate, as things annexed unto his perſon might augment her with, yea, a right of participation was thereby given her both in him, and even in all things which were his. This doth ſomewhat the more plainly appear, by adding alſo that other Clauſe, *With all my worldly goods I thee endow.* The former branch having granted the principal, the latter granteth that which is annexed thereunto. To end the Publick Solemnity of Marriage with receiving the Bleſſed Sacrament, is a Cuſtom ſo Religious and ſo holy, that if the Church of *England* be blameable in this reſpect, it is not for ſuffering it to be ſo much, but rather for not providing that it may be more put in ure. (*i*) The Laws of *Romulus* concerning Marriage are therefore extolled above the reſt amongſt the Heathen which were before, in that they eſtabliſhed the uſe of certain ſpecial Solemnities, whereby the minds of Men were drawn to make the greater Conſcience of Wedlock, and to eſteem the Bond thereof a thing, which could not be without impiety diſſolved. If there be any thing in Chriſtian Religion ſtrong and effectual to like purpoſe, it is the Sacrament of the holy Euchariſt, in regard of the force whereof (*k*) *Tertullian* breaketh out into theſe words concerning Matrimony therewith ſealed, *Unde ſufficiam ad enarrandam fœlicitatem ejus Matrimonii, quod Eccleſia conciliat & confirmat Oblatio? I know not which way I ſhould be able to ſhew the happineſs of that Wedlock, the knot whereof the Church doth faſten, and the Sacrament of the Church confirm.* Touching Marriage therefore let thus much be ſufficient.

74. The Fruit of Marriage is Birth, and the Companion of Birth Travail, the grief whereof being ſo extream, and the danger always ſo great, dare we open our mouths againſt the things that are holy, and preſume to cenſure it, as a fault in the Church of Chriſt, that Women after their Deliverance do publickly ſhew their thankful minds unto God? But behold what reaſon there is againſt it: Forſooth, *if there ſhould be ſolemn and expreſs giving of Thanks in the Church for every benefit, either equal, or greater than this, which any ſingular perſon in the Church doth receive, we ſhould not only have no Preaching of the Word, nor Miniſtring of the Sacraments, but we ſhould not have ſo much leiſure as to do any corporal or bodily work, but ſhould be like thoſe* Maſſilian *Hereticks which do nothing elſe but pray.* Surely, better a great deal to be like unto thoſe Hereticks which do nothing elſe but pray, than thoſe which do nothing elſe but quarrel. Their heads it might haply trouble ſomewhat more than as yet they are aware of, to find out ſo many benefits greater than this, or equivalent thereunto, for which if ſo be our Laws did require ſolemn and expreſs Thankſgiving in the Church, the ſame were like to prove a thing ſo greatly cumberſome as is pretended. But if there be ſuch ſtore of Mercies, even ineſtimable, poured every day upon thouſands (as indeed the Earth is full of the Bleſſings of the Lord, which are day-by-day renewed without number, and above meaſure

(*a*) *Aurum nulla norat præter unico digito quem ſponſus oppignoraſſet pronubo annulo* Tertul. Apol. c. 6.

(*b*) *Iſidor. de Eccleſ. Offic. l.* 2. *c.* 19

(*c*) *Elias Theſb. in dict. Hupha.*

(*d*) *In Ritual. de benedict. nuptiarum.*

(*e*) Rom. 1. 24. 1 Cor. 7. 4.

(*f*) *L. penul. D. de concub.*

(*g*) *L item legato ſect. penult D. de leg.* 3.

(*h*) *L. Donationes D de donationibus.*

(*i*) Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τάς τε γυναῖκας ἠνάγκασε τὰς γαμητὰς, ἅτε μηδεμίαν ἐχούσας ἑτέραν ἀποστροφὴν πρὸς ἕνα τὸν τοῦ γεγαμηκότος ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ ἀναφαιρέτου χρήματος τῆς γυναῖκος κρατεῖν. *Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib* 2.

(*k*) *Tertul. lib.* 2. *ad uxorem.*

Churching of Women. *T.C. l.* 1. *p.* 150.

ſhall it not be lawful to cauſe ſolemn Thanks to be given unto God for any benefit, than which greater, or whereunto equal are received, no Law binding Men in regard thereof to perform the like duty? Suppoſe that ſome Bond there be, that tieth us at certain times to mention publickly the names of ſundry our Benefactors. Some of them it may be are ſuch, that a day would ſcarcely ſerve to reckon up together with them the Catalogue of ſo many Men beſides, as we are either more, or equally beholden unto. Becauſe no Law requireth this impoſſible labour at our hands, ſhall we therefore condemn that Law, whereby the other being poſſible, and alſo dutiful, is enjoyned us? So much we owe to the Lord of Heaven, that we can never ſufficiently praiſe him, nor give him thanks for half thoſe benefits, for which this Sacrifice were moſt due. Howbeit God forbid, we ſhould ceaſe performing this duty, when publick Order doth draw us unto it, when it may be ſo eaſily done, when it hath been ſo long executed by devout and virtuous people. God forbid, that being ſo many ways provoked in this caſe unto ſo good a duty we ſhould omit it, only becauſe there are other caſes of like nature, wherein we cannot ſo conveniently, or at leaſtwiſe do not, perform the ſame moſt virtuous Office of Piety. Wherein we truſt that as the action it-ſelf pleaſeth God, ſo the order and manner thereof is not ſuch as may juſtly offend any. It is but an over-flowing of Gall, which cauſeth the Womans abſence from the Church, during the time of her lying in, to be traduced and interpreted, as though ſhe were ſo long judged *unholy*, and were thereby ſhut out or ſequeſtred from the Houſe of God, according to the ancient Levitical Law. Whereas the very Canon-Law it-ſelf doth not ſo hold, but directly profeſſeth the contrary, (a) ſhe is not barred from thence in ſuch ſort as they interpret it, nor in reſpect of any unholineſs forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abſtaining from publick Aſſemblies, and her abode in ſeparation for the time † be moſt convenient. To ſcoff at the manner of attire, than which there could be nothing deviſed for ſuch a time more grave and decent, to make it a token of ſome folly committed, for which they are loth to ſhew their faces, argueth that great Divines are ſometime more merry than wiſe. As for the Women themſelves, God accepting the ſervice which they faithfully offer unto him, it is no great diſgrace, though they ſuffer pleaſant-witted Men a little to intermingle with zeal, ſcorn. The name of *Oblations* applied, not only here to thoſe ſmall and petit payments which yet are a part of the Miniſters right, but alſo generally given unto all ſuch allowances as ſerve for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and convenient. For as the life of the Clergy is ſpent in the Service of God, ſo it is ſuſtained with his Revenue. Nothing therefore more proper than to give the name of *Oblations* to ſuch payments, in token that we offer unto him whatſoever his Miniſters receive.

75. But to leave this, there is a duty which the Church doth owe to the faithful departed, Of the Rites
wherein for as much as the Church of *England* is ſaid to do thoſe things which are, though of Burial.
not unlawful, yet *inconvenient*, becauſe it appointeth a preſcript Form of Service at Burials, *T.C.l.* 3.*p.*236.
ſuffereth mourning Apparel to be worn, and permitteth Funeral Sermons, a word or two concerning this point will be neceſſary, although it be needleſs to dwell long upon it. The end of Funeral duties is, firſt, to ſhew that love towards the party deceaſed, which Nature requireth; then, to do him that honour which is fit both generally for Man, and particularly for the quality of his perſon: Laſt of all, to teſtifie the care which the Church hath to comfort the living, and the hope which we all have concerning the Reſurrection of the dead. For ſignification of love towards them that are departed, Mourning is not denied to be a thing convenient. As in truth the Scripture every where doth approve lamentation made unto this end. The Jews by our Saviour's tears therefore gathered in this caſe, that his
love towards *Lazarus* was great. And that as Mourning at ſuch times is fit, ſo likewiſe that John 11.36.
there may be a kind of Attire ſuitable to a ſorrowful affection, and convenient for Mourners to
wear, how plainly doth *Davids* example ſhew, who being in heavineſs went up to the Mount 2 Sam.15 30
with his head covered, and all the people that were with him in like ſort? White Garments
being fit to uſe at Marriage-Feaſts and ſuch other times of joy, whereunto *Solomon* alluding, Eccleſ.9.8.
when he requireth continual chearfulneſs of mind, ſpeaketh in this ſort, *Let thy Garments be always White*: What doth hinder the contrary from being now as convenient in grief, as this heretofore in gladneſs hath been? *If there be no ſorrow*, they ſay, *it is hypocritical to pretend it, and if there be, to provoke it by wearing ſuch attire, is dangerous.* Nay, if there be, to ſhew it is natural, and if there be not, yet the ſigns are meet to ſhew what ſhould be, eſpecially ſith it doth not come oftentimes to paſs, that Men are fain to have their Mourning Gowns pulled off their backs, for fear of killing themſelves with ſorrow that way nouriſhed. The honour generally due unto all Men maketh a decent interring of them to be convenient, even
for very humanities ſake. And therefore ſo much as is mentioned in the Burial of the Luke 7.12.
Widows Son, the carrying of him forth upon a Bier, and the accompanying of him to the Earth, hath been uſed even amongſt Infidels, all Men accounting it a very extream deſtitution, not to have at the leaſt this honour done them. Some Mans eſtate may require a great deal more, according as the faſhion of the Country where he dieth doth afford. And
unto this appertained the ancient uſe of the Jews, to embalm the Corps with ſweet Odors, Pſal. 79.3.
John 15.40.
Matth. 23 27.

(a) Dict. 5. cap. Hæc quæ. *In lege præcipiebatur, ut mulier ſi maſculum pareret* 40. *ſi fœminam* 80. *diebus à templi ceſſaret ingreſſu. Nunc autem ſtatim poſt partum Eccleſiam ingredi non prohibetur.* (b) Leo Conſt. 17. *Quod profecto non tam propter muliebrem immunditiem, quam ob alias cauſas in intima legis ratione reconditas, & veteri probibitum eſſe lege, & gratiæ tempus traditionis loco ſuſcepiſſe puto. Exiſtimo ſiquidem ſacram legem id præſcripſiſſe, quo protervam eorum qui intemperanter viverent concupiſcentiam caſtigaret quemadmodum & alia multa per alia præcepta ordinantur & præſcribuntur, quo indomitus quorundum in mulieres ſtimulus retundatur. Quin & hæc providentiæ quæ legem conſtituit voluntas eſt, ut partus à depravatione liberi ſint. Quia enim quicquid naturæ ſupervacaneum eſt, idem corruptivum eſt & inutile, quod hic ſanguis ſuperfluus ſit, quæ illi obnoxia eſſent in immunditie ad id temporis vivere illa Lex jubet, quo ipſo etiam nominis ſono laſcivi concupiſcentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili & corrupta materia ipſum animans coagmentetur.*

and to adorn the Sepulchres of certain. In regard of the quality of Men, it hath been judged fit to commend them unto the World at their death, amongſt the Heathen in Funeral Orations, 2 Sam. 1. 19. amongſt the Jews in Sacred Poems; and why not in Funeral Sermons alſo amongſt Chriſtians? Us it ſufficeth, that the known benefit hereof doth countervail Millions of ſuch inconveniencies as are therein ſurmiſed, although they were not ſurmiſed only, but found therein. The life and the death of Saints is precious in God's ſight. Let it not ſeem odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other be ſpoken of, then eſpecially, when the preſent occaſion doth make Mens minds the more capable of ſuch ſpeech. The care no doubt of the Living both to live and to dye well muſt needs be ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded up in ſilence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Moreover, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with their Brethren in their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they give to God, and the joy which they have or ſhould have by reaſon of their fellowſhip and communion with Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their own diſſolution? Again, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſs the ears of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute in life, but it cauſeth them one time or other to wiſh, O that I might dye the death of the Righteous, and that my end might be like his! Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at thoſe times by ſpeech concerning the dead, beſides the benefit of publick inſtruction common unto Funeral with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whoſe minds are through natural affection penſive in ſuch caſes, no Man can juſtly miſlike the cuſtom which the Jews had to end their Burials Jerem. 16. 7. with Funeral Banquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet *Jeremy* ſpake, concerning the people whom God had appointed unto a grievous manner of deſtruction, ſaying, that Men ſhould not *give them the Cup of Conſolation to drink for their Father or for their Mother*, becauſe it ſhould not be now with them as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their Anceſtors unto the Grave with weeping eyes, have notwithſtanding means wherewith to be re- Prov. 31. 6. comforted. *Give wine*, ſaith *Solomon*, *unto them that have grief of heart.* Surely, he that *1 Chron. 19. 2. miniſtreth unto them * comfortable ſpeech, doth much more than give them wine. But Job 2. 11. the greateſt thing of all other about this duty of Chriſtian Burial, is an outward teſtification of the hope which we have touching the Reſurrection of the dead. For which purpoſe let any Man of reaſonable judgment examine, whether it be more convenient for a company of Men, as it were in a dumb ſhow, to bring a Corſe to the place of Burial, there to leave it covered with Earth, and ſo end, or elſe to have the Exequies devoutly performed with ſolemn recital of ſuch Lectures, Pſalms and Prayers, as are purpoſely framed for the ſtirring up of Mens minds unto a careful conſideration of their eſtate, both here and hereafter. Whereas therefore it is objected, that neither the people of God under the Law, nor the Church in the Apoſtles times, did uſe any form of ſervice in Burial of their dead, and therefore that this order is taken up without any good example or precedent followed therein; firſt, while the World doth ſtand, they ſhall never be able to prove, that all things which either the one or the other did uſe at Burials, are ſet down in holy Scripture, which doth not any where of purpoſe deliver the whole manner and form thereof, but toucheth only ſometime one thing, and ſometime another which was in uſe, as ſpecial occaſions require any of them to be either mentioned or inſinuated. Again, if it might be proved that no ſuch thing was uſual amongſt them, hath Chriſt ſo deprived his Church of judgment, that what Rites and Orders ſoever the later Ages thereof have deviſed, the ſame muſt needs be inconvenient? Furthermore, that the Jews before our Saviour's coming had any ſuch form of ſervice, although in Scripture it be not affirmed, yet neither is it there denied (for the forbidding of Prieſts to be preſent at Burials, letteth not but that others might diſcharge that duty, ſeeing all were not Prieſts which had Rooms of publick Function in their Synagogues) and if any Man be of opinion, that they had no ſuch form of ſervice, thus much there is to make the contrary more probable. The Jews at this day have, as appeareth in their form of Funeral Prayers, and in certain of their Funeral Sermons publiſhed, neither are they ſo affected towards Chriſtians, as to borrow that order from us, beſides, that the form thereof is ſuch as hath in it ſundry things, which the very words of the Scripture it-ſelf do ſeem to allude unto, as namely, after departure from the Sepulchre unto the Houſe whence the dead was brought, it ſheweth the manner of their Burial-Feaſt, and a conſolatory form of prayers, appointed for the Maſter of the Synagogue thereat to utter, albeit I may not deny, but it hath alſo ſome things which are not perhaps ſo ancient as the Law and the Prophets. But whatſoever the Jews cuſtom was before the days of our Saviour Chriſt, hath it once at any time been heard of, that either Church or Chriſtian Man of ſound belief did ever judge this a thing unmeet, undecent, unfit for Chriſtianity, till theſe miſerable days, wherein under the colour of removing ſuperſtitious abuſes, the moſt effectual means, both to teſtifie and to ſtrengthen true Religion, are plucked at, and in ſome places even pulled up by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to ſhew at Burials the peculiar hope of the Church of God concerning the Dead, and in the manner of thoſe dumb Funerals what one thing is there, whereby the World may perceive we are Chriſtian Men?

Of the nature of that miniſtry, which ſerveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God, and how happineſs not eternal only, but alſo temporal, doth depend upon it.

76. I come now unto that function, which undertaketh the publick miniſtry of holy things, according to the Laws of Chriſtian Religion. And becauſe the nature of things conſiſting as this doth in action, is known by the object whereabout they are converſant, and by the

end or ſcope whereunto they are referred, we muſt know that the object of this function is both God and Men; God, in that he is publickly worſhipped of his Church, and Men, in that they are capable of happineſs, by means which Chriſtian Diſcipline appointeth. So that the ſum of our whole labour in this kind, is to honour God, and to ſave Men. For whether we ſeverally take and conſider Men one by one, or elſe gather them into one Society and Body, as it hath been before declared, that every Mans Religion is in him the Well-ſpring of all other ſound and ſincere virtues, from whence both here in ſome ſort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full joy and felicity ariſeth, becauſe while they live, they are bleſſed of God, and when they die, their works follow them: So at this preſent we muſt again call to mind, how the very Worldly peace and proſperity, the ſecular happineſs, the temporal and natural good eſtate both of all Men and of all Dominions, hangeth chiefly upon Religion, and doth evermore give plain teſtimony, that as well in this as in other conſiderations the Prieſt is a pillar of that Common-wealth, wherein he faithfully ſerveth God. For if theſe Aſſertions be true, firſt, that nothing can be enjoyed in this preſent World, againſt his will which hath made all things: Secondly, that albeit God doth ſometime permit the impious to *have*, yet impiety permitteth them not to *enjoy*, no not temporal bleſſings on earth: Thirdly, that God hath appointed thoſe bleſſings to attend as Hand-Maids upon Religion: And fourthly, that without the work of the miniſtry, Religion by no means can poſſibly continue, the uſe and benefit of that ſacred Function, even towards all Mens worldly happineſs muſt needs be granted.

Now the * firſt being a Theorem both underſtood and confeſt of all, to labour in proof thereof were ſuperfluous. The ſecond perhaps may be called in queſtion, except it be perfectly underſtood. By good things temporal therefore, we mean length of days, health of body, ſtore of friends and well-willers, quietneſs, proſperous ſucceſs of thoſe things we take in hand, riches with fit opportunities to uſe them during life, reputation following us both alive and dead, children, or ſuch as in ſtead of children we wiſh to leave ſucceſſors and partakers of our happineſs. Theſe things are naturally every Mans deſire, becauſe they are good. And on whom God beſtoweth the ſame, them we confeſs he graciouſly bleſſeth. Of earthly bleſſings the meaneſt is wealth, reputation the chiefeſt. For which cauſe we eſteem the gain of honour an ample recompence for the loſs of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certain perpetuity of goodneſs, nature hath taught to affect theſe things, not for their own ſake, but with reference and relation to ſomewhat independently good, as is the exerciſe of virtue and ſpeculation of truth. None, whoſe deſires are rightly ordered, would wiſh to live, to breathe and move, without performance of thoſe actions which are beſeeming Mans excellency. Wherefore, having not how to imploy it, we wax weary even of life it-ſelf. Health is precious, becauſe ſickneſs doth breed that pain which diſableth action. Again, why do Men delight ſo much in the multitude of Friends, but for that the actions of life being many, do need many helping hands to further them? Between troubleſome and quiet days we ſhould make no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other uphold, our liberty of action. Furthermore, if thoſe things we do, ſucceed, it rejoyceth us not ſo much for the benefit we thereby reap, as in that † it probably argueth our actions to have been orderly and well guided. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly preſumed a ſign of more than ordinary virtue and merit, by means whereof when ambitious minds thirſt after it, their indeavours are teſtimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to poſſeſs that body, the very ſhadow whereof is ſet at ſo high a rate. Finally, ſuch is the pleaſure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forſaketh us, ſtill our deſires to continue action and to work, though not by our ſelves, yet by them whom we leave behind us, cauſeth us providently to reſign into other Mens hands the helps we have gathered for that purpoſe, deviſing alſo the beſt we can to make them perpetual. It appeareth therefore, how all the parts of temporal felicity are only good in relation to that which uſeth them as inſtruments, and that they are no ſuch good as wherein a right deſire doth ever ſtay or reſt it-ſelf. Now temporal bleſſings are enjoyed of thoſe which have them, know them, *eſteem them according to that they are in their own nature.* Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate, his uſual and ordinary ſpeeches are, That blood-thirſty and deceitful Men ſhall not live out half their days; that God ſhall cauſe a peſtilence to cleave unto the wicked, and ſhall ſtrike them with conſuming grief, with fevers, burning diſeaſes and ſores which are paſt cure; that when the impious are fallen, all Men ſhall tread them down, and none ſhew countenance of love towards them, as much as by pitying them in their miſery; that the ſins of the ungodly ſhall bereave them of peace; that all counſels, complots, and practiſes againſt God ſhall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the unjuſt is beggary; that the name of unrighteous perſons ſhall putrifie, and the poſterity of Robbers ſtarve. If any think that Iniquity and Peace, Sin and Proſperity, can dwell together, they err, becauſe they diſtinguiſh not aright between the matter, and that which giveth it the form of happineſs, between poſſeſſion and fruition, between the having and the enjoying of good things. The impious cannot enjoy that they have, partly becauſe they receive it not as at God's hands, which only conſideration maketh temporal bleſſings comfortable, and partly becauſe through error placing it above things of far more price and worth, they turn that to poyſon which might be food, they make

†οἰόμεθα γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα πάντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς. Eurip. Heracl.

Pſal. 55. 23.

Deut. 28. 22.

Prov. 10.

---

* *Si creaturæ Dei merito & diſpenſatio D i ſumus: Quis enim magis diligit, quàm ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit, quàm is qui & fecit & diligit? Quis vero ſapientius & fortius ordinare & regere facta poteſt, quam qui & facienda providit, & proviſa perfecit? Quapropter omnem poteſtatem à Deo eſſe omnemque ordinationem, & qui non legerunt ſentiunt, & qui legerunt cognoſcunt* Paul. Oroſ. Hiſt. adver. Pagan lib. 2. Οὔτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βρότοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν δὲ ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα, Eurip. Phœniſ.

their proſperity their own ſnare, in the neſt of their higheſt growth they lay fooliſhly thoſe Eggs, out of which their woful overthrow is afterwards hatcht. Hereby it cometh to paſs, that wiſe and judicious Men, obſerving the vain behaviour of ſuch as are riſen to unwonted greatneſs, have thereby been able to prognoſticate their ruin. So that in very truth no impious or wicked Man doth proſper on Earth, but either ſooner or later the World may perceive eaſily, how at ſuch time as others thought them moſt fortunate, they had but only the good eſtate which fat Oxen have above lean, when they appeared to grow, their climbing was towards ruin. The groſs and beſtial conceit of them which want underſtanding, is only that the fulleſt bellies are happieſt. Therefore the greateſt felicity they wiſh to the Common-wealth wherein they live, is that it may but abound and ſtand, that they which are riotous may have to pour out without ſtint, that the poor may ſleep, and the rich feed them, that nothing unpleaſant may be commanded, nothing forbidden Men which themſelves have a luſt to follow, that Kings may provide for the eaſe of their Subjects, and not be too curious about their manners, that wantonneſs, exceſs and lewdneſs of Life may be left free, and that no fault may be capital, beſides diſlike of things ſetled in ſo good terms. But be it far from the Juſt to dwell, either in or near to the Tents of theſe ſo miſerable felicities. Now whereas we thirdly affirm, that Religion and the fear of God as well induceth ſecular proſperity, as everlaſting bliſs in the World to come, this alſo is true. For otherwiſe Godlineſs could not be ſaid to have the promiſes of both lives, to be that ample Revenue, wherein there is always ſufficiency, and to carry with it a general diſcharge of want, even ſo general, that *David* himſelf ſhould proteſt, he never ſaw the juſt forſaken. Howbeit to this we muſt add certain ſpecial limitations, as firſt, that we do not forget how crazed and diſeaſed minds (whereof our heavenly Phyſicians muſt judge) receive oftentimes moſt benefit by being deprived of thoſe things which are to others beneficially given, as appeareth in that which the Wiſe-man hath noted concerning them whoſe lives God mercifully doth abridge, leſt wickedneſs ſhould alter their underſtanding, again, that the meaſure of our outward proſperity be taken by proportion with that which every Man's eſtate in this preſent life requireth. External abilities are inſtruments of action. It contenteth wiſe Artificers to have their Inſtruments proportionable to their Work, rather fit for uſe, than huge and goodly to pleaſe the eye: Seeing then the actions of a Servant do not need that which may be neceſſary for Men of Calling and Place in the World, neither Men of inferiour condition many things which greater Perſonages can hardly want, ſurely they are bleſſed in worldly reſpects, that have wherewith to perform (*a*) ſufficiently what their ſtation and place asketh, though they have no more. For by reaſon of Mans imbecillity and proneneſs to elation of Mind, (*b*) too high a flow of proſperity is dangerous, too low an ebb again as dangerous, for that the virtue of patience is rare, and the Hand of neceſſity ſtronger than ordinary virtue is able to withſtand, *Solomon's* diſcreet and moderate deſire we all know. *Give me, O Lord, neither Riches nor Penury.* (*c*) Men over-high exalted either in honour, or in power, or in nobility, or in wealth; they likewiſe that are as much on the contrary hand ſunk either with beggary, or through dejection, or by baſeneſs, do not eaſily give ear to reaſon, but the one exceeding apt unto outrages, and the other unto petty miſchiefs. For greatneſs delighteth to ſhew it-ſelf by effects of Power, and baſeneſs to help it-ſelf with ſhifts of Malice. For which cauſe, a moderate, indifferent temper, between fulneſs of bread and emptineſs, hath been evermore thought and found (all circumſtances duly conſidered) the ſafeſt and happieſt for all Eſtates, even for Kings and Princes themſelves. Again we are not to look, that theſe things ſhould always concur, no not in them which are accounted happy, neither that the courſe of Mens lives or of publick affairs ſhould continually be drawn out as an even thread (for that the nature of things will not ſuffer) but a juſt ſurvey being made, as thoſe particular Men are worthily reputed good, whoſe virtues be great, and their faults tolerable; ſo him we may regiſter for a Man fortunate, and that for a proſperous and happy State, which having flouriſhed, doth not afterwards feel any tragical alteration, ſuch as might cauſe them to be a ſpectacle of miſery to others. Beſides, whereas true felicity conſiſteth in the higheſt operations of that nobler part of Man, which ſheweth ſometime greateſt perfection, not in uſing the benefits which delight nature, but in ſuffering what nature can hardlieſt endure, there is no cauſe why either the loſs of good, if it tend to the purchaſe of better, or why any miſery, the iſſue whereof is their greater praiſe and honour that have ſuſtained it, ſhould be thought to impeach that temporal happineſs, wherewith Religion, we ſay, is accompanied, but yet in ſuch meaſure, as the ſeveral degrees of Men may require by a competent eſtimation, and unleſs the contrary do more advance, as it hath done thoſe moſt Heroical Saints, whom afflictions have made glorious. In a word, not to whom no calamity falleth, but whom neither miſery nor proſperity is able to move from a right mind, them we may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatſoever doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbity, for which it appeareth in the eyes of ſound and impartial Judges to have proceeded from Divine revenge, it paſſeth in the number of human caſualties whereunto we are all alike ſubject. No miſery is reckoned more than common or human, if God ſo diſpoſe that we paſs thro' it, and come ſafe to ſhore; even as contrariwiſe, Men do not uſe to think thoſe flouriſhing days happy, which do end with tears. It ſtandeth therefore with theſe cautions firm and true, yea, ratified by all Mens unfeigned confeſſions drawn from the very heart of experience, that whether we compare Men of note in the world with others of like degree and ſtate, or elſe the ſame Men with themſelves, whether we confer one Dominion with another, or elſe the different times of one and the ſame Dominion, the manifeſt odds between their very outward condition, as long as they ſtedfaſtly were obſerved to ho-

nour

Prov. 16. 18. *Ante ruinam elatio.* Φιλέει ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα κολούειν. οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ἢ ἑαυτόν. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

(a) Ἐπεὶ ταγ' ἀρκοῦνθ ἱκανὰ τοῖς γε σώφροσιν. *Eurip. Phœniſ.*

(b) ταπεινοτέρων ὁ λογισμός ἴσως, ἀλλ' οὖν ἀσφαλεςέρων, ἴσον ἀπέχειν καὶ ὕψους καὶ πτώματος. *Greg. Naz. Apol.* 3

(c) They may ſeem haply the moſt deject, but they are the wiſeſt for their own ſafety, which fear climbing, no leſs than falling. *Ariſt. Polit. lib.* 4. *c.* 11.

nour God, and their ſucceſs, being fallen from him, are remonſtrances more than ſufficient, how all our welfare even on earth dependeth wholly upon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion. Yet ſuch as that little was which they knew, it much impaired or bettered always their worldly affairs, as their love and zeal towards it did wain or grow. Of the Jews, did not even their moſt malicious and mortal Adverſaries all acknowledge, that to ſtrive againſt them it was in vain, as long as their amity with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but Apoſtaſie? In the whole courſe of their own proceedings, did they ever find it otherwiſe, but that, during their faith and fidelity towards God, every Man of them was in war as a thouſand ſtrong, and as much as a grand Senate for counſel in peaceable deliberations; contrariwiſe, that if they ſwerved, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimity forſook them utterly, their Soldiers and military Men trembled at the ſight of the naked Sword; when they entered into mutual conference, and ſat in council for their own good, that which Children might have ſeen, their graveſt Senators could not diſcern, their Prophets ſaw darkneſs inſtead of Viſions, the wiſe and prudent were as Men bewitcht, even that which they knew (being ſuch as might ſtand them in ſtead) they had not the grace to utter, or if any thing were well propoſed, it took no place, it entered not into the minds of the reſt to approve and follow it, but as Men confounded with ſtrange and unuſual amazements of ſpirit, they attempted tumultuouſly they ſaw not what, and by the iſſues of all attempts they found no certain concluſion but this, *God and Heaven are ſtrong againſt us in all we do.* The cauſe whereof was ſecret fear, which took heart and courage from them, and the cauſe of their fear, an inward guiltineſs that they all had offered God ſuch apparent wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may be the caſe is now altogether changed, and that in Chriſtian Religion there is not the like force towards Temporal felicity. Search the ancient Records of time, look what hath happened by the ſpace of theſe ſixteen-hundred years, ſee if all things to this effect be not luculent and clear, yea all things ſo manifeſt, that for evidence and proof herein, we need not by uncertain, dark conjectures ſurmiſe any to have been plagued of God for contempt, or bleſt in the courſe of faithful obedience towards true Religion, more than only them, whom we find in that reſpect on the one ſide guilty by their own confeſſions, and happy on the other ſide by all Mens acknowledgment, who beholding the proſperous eſtate of ſuch as are good and virtuous, impute boldly the ſame to God's moſt eſpecial favour, but cannot in like manner pronounce, that whom he afflicteth above others, with them he hath cauſe to be more offended. For Virtue is always plain to be ſeen, rareneſs cauſeth it to be obſerved, and goodneſs to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquity and ſin, it lyeth many times hid, and becauſe we be all offenders, it becometh us not to incline towards hard and ſevere ſentences touching others, unleſs their notorious wickedneſs did ſenſibly before proclaim that which afterwards came to paſs. Wherefore the ſum of every Chriſtian Man's duty is, to labour by all means towards that which other Men ſeeing in us may juſtifie, and what we our ſelves muſt accuſe, if we fall into it, that by all means we can to avoid, conſidering eſpecially, that as hitherto upon the Church there never yet fell tempeſtuous ſtorm, the vapours whereof were not firſt noted to riſe from coldneſs in affection and from backwardneſs in duties of Service towards God; ſo if that which the tears of antiquity have uttered concerning this point ſhould be here ſet down, it were aſſuredly enough to ſoften and to mollifie an Heart of ſteel. On the contrary part, although we confeſs with Saint *Auguſtine* moſt willingly, that the chiefeſt happineſs for which we have ſome Chriſtian Kings in ſo great admiration above the reſt, is not becauſe of their long Reign; their calm and quiet departure out of this preſent life; the ſetled eſtabliſhment of their own fleſh and blood, ſucceeding them in Royalty and Power; the glorious overthrow of foreign enemies, or the wiſe prevention of inward danger, and of ſecret attempts at home; all which ſolaces and comforts of this our unquiet life, it pleaſeth God oftentimes to beſtow on them which have no ſociety or part in the joys of Heaven, giving thereby to underſtand, that theſe in compariſon are toys and trifles, far under the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands; but in truth the reaſon wherefore we extol their felicity is, if ſo be they have virtuouſly reigned, if honour have not filled their hearts with pride, if the exerciſe of their power have been ſervice and attendance upon the Majeſty of the moſt High, if they have feared him as their own inferiours and ſubjects have feared them, if they have loved neither pomp nor pleaſure more than Heaven, if revenge have ſlowly proceeded from them, and mercy willingly offered it-ſelf, if ſo they have tempered rigour with lenity, that neither extream ſeverity might utterly cut them off in whom there was manifeſt hope of amendment, nor yet the eaſineſs of pardoning offences embolden offenders, if knowing that whatſoever they do their potency may bear it out, they have been ſo much the more careful not to do any thing but that which is commendable in the beſt, rather than uſual with greateſt Perſonages, if the true knowledge of themſelves have humbled them in God's ſight, no leſs than God in the eyes of Men hath raiſed them up, I ſay albeit we reckon ſuch to be the happieſt of them that are mightieſt in the World, and albeit thoſe things alone are happineſs, nevertheleſs, conſidering what force there is even in outward bleſſings to comfort the minds of the beſt-diſpoſed, and to give them the greater joy when Religion and Peace, Heavenly and Earthly happineſs are wreathed in one Crown, as to the worthieſt of Chriſtian Princes it hath by the providence of the Almighty hitherto befallen. Let it not ſeem to any Man a needleſs and ſuperfluous waſte of labour, that there hath been thus much ſpoken, to declare how in them eſpecially it hath been ſo obſerved, and withal univerſally noted even from the higheſt to the very meaneſt, how this peculiar benefit, this ſingular grace and pre-eminence Religion hath, that either it guardeth as an heavenly ſhield from all calamities, or elſe conducteth us ſafe through them and permitteth them not to be miſeries; it either giveth honours, promotions and wealth, or elſe more benefit by wanting them than if we had them at will; it either filleth our Houſes with plenty of all good things, or maketh a Sallad of green Herbs more ſweet than all the Sacrifices of the ungodly. Our fourth Propoſition before ſet down was, that Religion without the help of ſpiritual Miniſtry is unable to plant it-ſelf, the fruits thereof not poſſible to grow of their own accord. Which laſt Aſſertion is herein as the firſt, that it needeth no farther confirmation: If it did, I could eaſily declare, how all things which are of God, he hath by wonderful art and wiſdom ſodered as it were together with the glue of mutual aſſiſtance, appointing the loweſt to receive from the neareſt to themſelves, what the influence of the higheſt yieldeth. And therefore the Church being the moſt abſolute of all his works, was in reaſon to be alſo ordered with like harmony, that what he worketh, might no leſs in grace than in nature be effected by Hands and Inſtruments duly ſubordinated unto the power of his own Spirit. A thing both needful for the humiliation of Man, which would not willingly be debtor to any but to himſelf, and of no ſmall effect to nouriſh that divine love, which now maketh each embrace other, not as Men, but as Angels of God. Miniſterial actions tending immediately unto God's honour and Mans happineſs, are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal work of the Miniſtry, or elſe they are parts of that principal work of Adminiſtration it-ſelf, which work conſiſteth in doing the ſervice of God's Houſe, and in applying unto Men the ſoveraign medicines of Grace already ſpoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appear, that we * owe to the Guides of our Souls even as much as our Souls are worth, although the debt of our Temporal bleſſings ſhould be ſtricken off.

Luke 12.42. 1 Cor. 4. 1. Tit. 1. 7. 1 Pet. 4. 10. Epheſ. 3. 2.

* *καὶ σεαυτόν μοι προσοφείλεις. Epiſt. ad Philem.*

Of power given unto Men to execute that heavenly Office, of the gift of the Holy Ghoſt in Ordination, and whether conveniently the power of Order may be ſought or ſued for.

77. The Miniſtry of things divine is a Function, which as God did himſelf inſtitute, ſo neither may Men undertake the ſame, but by Authority and Power given them in lawful manner. That God, which is no way deficient or wanting unto Man in neceſſaries, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly Truth, becauſe without that ineſtimable benefit we muſt needs have wandered in darkneſs to our endleſs perdition and woe, hath in the like abundance of mercies ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requiſite Parts and Offices therein preſcribed for the good of the whole World, which Men thereunto aſſigned do hold their authority from him, whether they be ſuch as himſelf immediately, or as the Church in his name inveſteth, it being neither poſſible for all, nor for every Man without diſtinction convenient, to take upon him a Charge of ſo great importance. They are therefore Miniſters of God, not only by way of ſubordination as Princes and Civil Magiſtrates, whoſe execution of Judgment and Juſtice the ſupream hand of Divine Providence doth uphold, but Miniſters of God, as from whom their authority is derived, and not from Men. For in that they are Chriſt's Embaſſadors and his labourers, who ſhould give them their Commiſſion, but he whoſe moſt inward affairs they manage? Is not God alone the Father of Spirits? Are not Souls the purchaſe of Jeſus Chriſt? What Angel in Heaven could have ſaid to Man, as our Lord did unto Peter, *Feed my Sheep? Preach? Baptize? Do this in remembrance of me? Whoſe Sins ye retain they are retained, and their offences in Heaven pardoned, whoſe faults you ſhall on Earth forgive?* What think we? Are theſe terreſtial ſounds, or elſe are they voices uttered out of the Clouds above? The power of the Miniſtry of God tranſlateth out of darkneſs into glory, it raiſeth Men from the Earth, and bringeth God himſelf from Heaven, by bleſſing viſible Elements it maketh them inviſible grace, it giveth daily the Holy Ghoſt, it hath to diſpoſe of that fleſh which was given for the life of the World, and the Blood which was poured out to redeem Souls, when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they periſh, when it revoketh the ſame, they revive. O wretched blindneſs, if we admire not ſo great power, more wretched, if we conſider it aright, and notwithſtanding imagine that any but God can beſtow it! To whom Chriſt hath imparted power, both over that Myſtical Body which is the ſociety of Souls, and over that natural, which is himſelf for the knitting of both in one, (a work which antiquity doth call the making of Chriſt's Body) the ſame power is in ſuch not amiſs both termed a kind of Mark or Character, and acknowledged to be indeleble. Miniſterial power is a mark of ſeparation, becauſe it ſevereth them that have it from other Men, and maketh them a ſpecial *order* conſecrated unto the ſervice of the moſt High, in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other Men, is in that they are a diſtinct *order*. So *Tertullian* calleth them. And St. *Paul* himſelf dividing the body of the Church of Chriſt into two Moyeties, nameth the one part ἰδιώτας, which is as much as to ſay, the order of the Laity, the oppoſite part whereunto we in like ſort term the order of God's Clergy, and the Spiritual power which he hath given them, the power of their *order*, ſo far forth as the ſame conſiſteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affairs of God. For of the power of their juriſdiction over Men's Perſons we are to ſpeak in the Books following. They which have once received this power may not think to put it off and on like a Cloak, as the weather ſerveth to take it, reject and reſume it as oft as themſelves liſt, of which prophane and impious contempt theſe later times have yielded, as of all other kinds of Iniquity and Apoſtaſie, ſtrange examples: But let them know which put their Hands to this Plough, that once conſecrated unto God, they are made his peculiar inheritance for ever. Suſpenſions may ſtop, and degradations utterly cut off, the uſe or exerciſe of Power before given, but voluntarily it is not in the power of Man to ſeparate and pull aſunder what God by his authority

Tertul. de Adhort. Caſtit.

Heb. 2. 17.

authority coupleth. So that although there may be through miſ-deſert degradation, as there may be cauſe of juſt ſeparation after Matrimony, yet if (as ſometimes it doth) reſtitution to former dignity, or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one nor the other ever iterate the firſt knot. Much leſs is it neceſſary, which ſome have urged concerning the re-ordination of ſuch, as others in times more corrupt did conſecrate heretofore. Which Error already quelled by Saint *Jerome* doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I grant there are, which make for reſtraint of thoſe Men from admittance again into Rooms of Spiritual Function, whoſe fall by Hereſie, or want of conſtancy in profeſſing the Chriſtian Faith, hath been once a diſgrace to their calling. Nevertheleſs, as there is no Law which bindeth, ſo there is no cauſe that ſhould always lead, to ſhew one and the ſame ſeverity towards Perſons culpable. Goodneſs of nature it-ſelf more inclineth to clemency than rigour. And we in other Mens offences do behold the plain image of our own imbecillity. Beſides alſo, them that wander out of the way (*a*) it cannot be inexpedient to win with all hopes of favour, leſt ſtrictneſs uſed towards ſuch as reclaim themſelves ſhould make others more obſtinate in error. Wherefore (*b*) after that the Church of *Alexandria* had ſomewhat recovered it-ſelf from the tempeſts and ſtorms of Arianiſm, being in conſultation about the re-eſtabliſhment of that which by long diſturbance had been greatly decayed and hindred, the ferventer ſort gave quick ſentence, that touching them which were of the Clergy, and had ſtained themſelves with Hereſie, there ſhould be none ſo received into the Church again, as to continue in the order of the Clergy. The reſt which conſidered how many Mens caſes it did concern, thought it much more ſafe and conſonant to bend ſomewhat down towards them which were fallen, to ſhew ſeverity upon a few of the chiefeſt Leaders, and to offer to the reſt a friendly reconciliation, without any other demand, ſaving only the abjuration of their error, as in the Goſpel that waſteful young Man which returned home to his Fathers Houſe, was with joy both admitted and honoured, his elder Brother hardly thought of for repining thereat, neither commended ſo much for his own fidelity and virtue, as blamed for not embracing him freely, whoſe unexpected recovery ought to have blotted out all remembrance of miſdemeanors and faults paſt. But of this ſufficient. A thing much ſtumbled at in the manner of giving Orders, is our uſing thoſe memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt.* The Holy Ghoſt, they ſay, we cannot give, and therefore we (*c*) *fooliſhly* bid Men receive it. Wiſe Men, for their Authorities ſake, muſt have leave to befool them whom they are able to make wiſe by better inſtruction. Notwithſtanding, if it may pleaſe their wiſdom, as well to hear what Fools can ſay, as to controul that which they do, thus we have heard ſome Wiſe Men teach, namely, that the (*d*) *Holy Ghoſt* may be uſed to ſignifie, not the Perſon alone, but the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and we know that Spiritual Gifts are not only abilities to do things Miraculous, as to ſpeak with Tongues which were never taught us, to cure Diſeaſes without art, and ſuch like, but alſo that the very authority and power which is given Men in the Church to be Miniſters of Holy things, this is contained within the number of thoſe Gifts whereof the the Holy Ghoſt is Author; and therefore he which giveth this Power may ſay without abſurdity or folly, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*, ſuch power as the Spirit of Chriſt hath endued his Church withal, ſuch Power as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor *Cæſar* on Earth can give. So that if Men alone had deviſed this form of ſpeech, thereby to expreſs the heavenly well-ſpring of that Power which Eccleſiaſtical Ordinations do beſtow, it is not ſo fooliſh but that Wiſe Men might bear with it. If then our Lord and Saviour himſelf have uſed the ſelf-ſame form of Words, and that in the ſelf-ſame kind of action, although there be but the leaſt ſhew of probability, yea or any poſſibility, that his meaning might be the ſame which ours is, it ſhould teach ſober and grave Men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impoſſible to have in it more profoundneſs of wiſdom than fleſh and blood ſhould preſume to controul. Our Saviour after his reſurrection from the dead gave his Apoſtles their Commiſſion, ſaying, *All power is given me in Heaven and in Earth: Go therefore and teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you.* In ſum, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* Whereunto St. *John* doth add farther, that *having thus ſpoken, he breathed on them and ſaid, Receive the Holy Ghoſt.* By which words he muſt of likelyhood underſtand ſome gift of the Spirit, which was preſently at that time beſtowed upon them, as both the ſpeech of actual delivery in ſaying *Receive*, and the viſible ſign thereof, his Breathing, did ſhew. Abſurd it were to imagine our Saviour did both to the ear, and alſo to the very eye, expreſs a real donation, and they at that time receive nothing. It reſteth then that we ſearch what ſpecial grace they did at that time receive. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, moſt apparent it is, that as then they received it not, but the promiſe thereof was to be ſhortly after performed. The words of St. *Luke* concerning that power are therefore ſet down with, ſignification of the time to come, *Behold I will ſend* the promiſe of my Father upon you, but tarry you in the City of *Jeruſalem*, until ye be endued with power from on high. Wherefore, undoubtedly, it was ſome other effect of the Spirit, the Holy Ghoſt in ſome other kind, which our Saviour did then beſtow. What other likelier than that which himſelf doth mention, as it ſhould ſeem of purpoſe to take away all ambiguous conſtructions, and to declare that the Holy Ghoſt, which he then gave, was an holy and a ghoſtly authority, authority over the Souls of Men, authority, a part whereof conſiſteth in Power to remit and retain ſins? Receive the Holy Ghoſt, *Whoſe ſins ſoever ye remit, they are remitted; whoſe ſins ye retain, they are retained.* Whereas therefore the other Evangeliſts had ſet down, that Chriſt did before his

Matth. 19.

Matth. 28.18.

John 20.21.

Luc. 24. 49.

John 20. 23.

(*a*) *In 12 tabulis cautum eſt ut idem juris eſſet ſanantibus quod fortibus. id eſt, bonis & qui nunquam defecerunt à populo Romano.* Feſt, in ver. Samnites.

(*b*) *Ruffin. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 1. *c.* 28.

(*c*) *Papiſticus quidam ritus, ſtultè quidem ab illis & ſine ullo Scripturæ fundamento inſtitutus & à diſciplinæ noſtræ autoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno prim… judicio acceptus, minore adhuc in Eccleſia noſtra retinetur.* Eccleſiaſt. diſcip. p. 53.

(*d*) *Eccleſ. diſcip. fol* 52. *p.* 2. *lin.* 8.

ſuffering promiſe to give his Apoſtles the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and being riſen from the dead promiſe moreover at that time a miraculous power of the Holy Ghoſt: St. *John* addeth, that he alſo inveſted them even then with the power of the Holy Ghoſt for caſtigation and relaxation of ſin, wherein was fully accompliſhed that which the promiſe of the Keys did import. Seeing therefore that the ſame power is now given, why ſhould the ſame form of words expreſſing it be thought fooliſh? The cauſe why we breathe not as Chriſt did on them unto whom he imparted power, is for that neither Spirit nor Spiritual authority may be thought to proceed from us, who are but Delegates or Aſſigns to give Men poſſeſſion of his Graces. Now beſides that the power and authority delivered with thoſe words is it-ſelf χάρισμα, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth beſtow, we may moſt aſſuredly perſwade our ſelves, that the hand which impoſeth upon us the function of our Miniſtry, doth under the ſame form of words ſo tye it-ſelf thereunto, that he which * receiveth the burden, is thereby for ever warranted to have the Spirit with him and in him for his aſſiſtance, aid, countenance and ſupport in whatſoever he faithfully doth to diſcharge duty. Knowing therefore that when we take Ordination, we alſo receive the preſence of the Holy Ghoſt, partly to guide, direct and ſtrengthen us in all our ways, and partly to aſſume unto it-ſelf for the more authority thoſe actions that appertain to our Place and Calling, can our ears admit ſuch a ſpeech uttered in the reverend performance of that ſolemnity; or can we at any time renew the memory, and enter into ſerious cogitation thereof, but with much admiration and joy? Remove what theſe fooliſh words do imply, and what hath the Miniſtry of God beſides wherein to glory? Whereas now, foraſmuch as the Holy Ghoſt, which our Saviour in his firſt Ordinations gave, doth no leſs concur with Spiritual vocations throughout all ages, than the (*a*) Spirit, which God derived from *Moſes* to them that aſſiſted him in his Government, did deſcend from them to their Succeſſors in like Authority and Place, we have for the leaſt and meaneſt Duties performed by virtue of Miniſterial power, that to dignifie, grace and authoriſe them, which no other Offices on Earth can challenge. Whether we Preach, Pray, Baptize, Communicate, Condemn, give Abſolution, or whatſoever, as Diſpoſers of God's Myſteries; our words, judgments, acts and deeds, are not ours, but the Holy Ghoſt's. Enough, if unfeignedly and in heart we did believe it, enough to baniſh whatſoever may juſtly be thought corrupt, either in beſtowing, or in uſing, or in eſteeming the ſame otherwiſe than is meet. For profanely to beſtow, or looſely to uſe, or vilely to eſteem of the Holy Ghoſt, we all in ſhew and profeſſion abhor. (*b*) Now becauſe the Miniſtry is an Office of dignity and honour, ſome are doubtful whether any Man may ſeek for it without offence; or to ſpeak more properly, doubtful they are not, but rather bold to accuſe our Diſcipline in this reſpect, as not only permitting but requiring alſo ambitious ſuits, and other oblique ways or means whereby to obtain it. Againſt this they plead, that our Saviour did ſtay till his Father ſent him, and the Apoſtles till he them; that the ancient Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt were examples and patterns of the ſame modeſty. Whereupon in the end they infer, *Let us therefore at the length amend that cuſtom of repairing from all parts unto the Biſhop at the day of Ordination, and of ſeeking to obtain Orders; let the cuſtom of bringing commendatory Letters be removed; let Men keep themſelves at home, expecting there the voice of God, and the Authority of ſuch as may call them to undertake charge.* Thus ſeverely they cenſure and controul ambition, if it be ambition, which they take upon them to reprehend. For of that there is cauſe to doubt. Ambition, as we underſtand it, hath been accounted a Vice which ſeeketh after Honours inordinately. Ambitious minds eſteeming it their greateſt happineſs to be admired, reverenced, and adored above others, uſe all means lawful and unlawful which may bring them to high Rooms. But as for the power of Order conſidered by it-ſelf, and as in this caſe it muſt be conſidered, ſuch reputation it hath in the eye of this preſent World, that they which affect it rather need encouragement to bear contempt, than deſerve blame as Men that carry aſpiring minds. The work whereunto this power ſerveth is commended, and the deſire thereof allowed by the Apoſtle for good. Nevertheleſs, becauſe the burden thereof is heavy and the charge great, it cometh many times to paſs, that the minds even of virtuous Men are drawn into clean contrary affections; ſome in humility declining that by reaſon of hardneſs, which others in regard of goodneſs only do with fervent alacrity covet. So that there is not the leaſt degree in this ſervice, but it may be both * in reverence ſhunned, and of very devotion longed for. If then the deſire thereof may be holy, religious and good, may not the profeſſion of that deſire be ſo likewiſe? We are not to think it ſo long good as it is diſſembled, and evil if once we begin to open it. And allowing that it may be opened without ambition, what offence, I beſeech you, is there in opening it, there where it may be furthered and ſatisfied, in caſe they to whom it appertaineth think meet? In vain are thoſe deſires allowed, the accompliſhment whereof it is not lawful for Men to ſeek. Power therefore of Eccleſiaſtical order may be deſired, the deſire thereof may be profeſſed, they which profeſs themſelves that way inclined, may endeavour to bring their deſires to effect, and in all this no neceſſity of evil. Is it the bringing of teſtimonial Letters wherein ſo great obliquity conſiſteth? What more ſimple, more plain, more harmleſs, more agreeable with the law of common humanity, than that Men where they are not known, uſe for their eaſier acceſs the credit of ſuch as can beſt give teſtimony of them? Letters of any other conſtruction our Church-diſcipline alloweth not; and theſe to allow, is neither to require ambitious ſuings, nor to approve any indirect or unlawful act. The Prophet

Iſaiah

* *Et ſi neceſſarium eſt trepidare de merito, religioſum eſt tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi oneris eſt autor, ipſe fiet adminiſtrationis adjutor; & ne magnitudine gratiæ ſuccumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem, qui contulit dignitatem.* Leo. ſer. 1. in Anniver. die A.

Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ἐις τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην. *Greg. Nazian.*

(*a*) *Num.* 11. 17.

(*b*) *Author. libel diſcipl. Eccleſiaſt.*

1 Tim. 3. 1.

---

† τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς ἐυδοκιμωτάτους ἀνασκοπῶν ἐυρίσκω ὅσους πώποτε ἐις ἐπιςασίαν ἢ προφήτειαν ἡ χάρις προυβάλετο τοὺς μὲν ἐιξαντας προθύμως τῇ κλήσει τοὺς δὲ ἀναβαλλομένους τὸ χάρισμα, κ) ὀυδετέρων μεμπτὴν ὄυτε τῶν ὑποχωρησάντων τὴν δειλίαν, ὄυτε τῶν ὁρμησάντων τὴν προθυμίαν. ὁι μὲν γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τὸ μέγεθος ἐυλαβήθησαν, ὁι δὲ τῷ καλοῦντι πιςεύσαντες ἠκολούθησαν. *Greg. Nazian. Apologet.*

Iſaiah receiving his meſſage at the hands of God, and his charge by heavenly viſion, heard the voice of the Lord ſaying, *Whom ſhall I ſend, who ſhall go for us?* Iſaiah 6. 8. Whereunto he recordeth his own anſwer, *Then I ſaid, Here Lord I am, ſend me.* Which in effect is the Rule and Canon, whereby touching this point the very order of the Church is framed.

The appointment of times for ſolemn Ordination, is but the publick demand of the Church in the name of the Lord himſelf, *Whom ſhall I ſend, who ſhall go for us?* The confluence of Men whoſe inclinations are bent that way, is but the anſwer thereunto, whereby the labours of ſundry being offered, the Church hath freedom to take whom her Agents in ſuch caſe think meet and requiſite. As for the example of our Saviour Chriſt, who took not to himſelf this honour to be made our High-Prieſt, but received the ſame from him which ſaid, *Thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedeck,* Heb. 5. 5. his waiting, and not attempting to execute the Office till God ſaw convenient time, may ſerve in reproof of uſurped honours, for as much as we ought not of our own accord to aſſume dignities, whereunto we are not called as Chriſt was. But yet it ſhould be withal conſidered, that a proud uſurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingneſs to obtain admittance; which willingneſs of mind I ſuppoſe did not want in him, whoſe anſwer was to the voice of his heavenly calling, *Behold I am come to do thy Will.* Heb. 10. 8. And had it been for him, as it is for us, expedient to receive his Commiſſion ſigned with the hands of Men, to ſeek it might better have beſeemed his humility, than it doth our boldneſs, to reprehend them of Pride and Ambition, that make no worſe kind of ſuits than by Letters of information. Himſelf in calling his Apoſtles prevented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be ſaid of them, *Ye choſe not me, but I of mine own voluntary motion made choice of you.* Which kind of undeſired nomination to Eccleſiaſtical Places befel divers of the moſt famous amongſt the ancient Fathers of the Church in a clean contrary conſideration. For our Saviour's election reſpected not any merit or worth, but took them which were fartheſt off from likelihood of fitneſs; that afterwards their ſupernatural ability and performance, beyond hope, might cauſe the greater admiration; whereas in the other, meer admiration of their ſingular and rare virtues was the reaſon why honours were inforced upon them, which they of meekneſs and modeſty did what they could to avoid. But did they ever judge it a thing unlawful to wiſh or deſire the Office, the only charge and bare Function of the Miniſtry? Towards which labour what doth the bleſſed Apoſtle elſe but encourage, ſaying, *He which deſireth it, is deſirous of a good Work?* What doth he elſe by ſuch ſentences but ſtir, kindle and inflame ambition, if I may term that deſire ambition, which coveteth more to teſtifie love by painfulneſs in God's ſervice, than to reap any other benefit? Although of the very honour it-ſelf, and of other emoluments annexed to ſuch labours for more encouragement of Mans induſtry, we are not ſo to conceive neither, as if no affection could be caſt towards them without offence. Only, as the Wiſe-Man giveth counſel, Eccleſ. 7. 6. *Seek not to be made a Judge, leſt thou be not able to take away iniquity, and leſt thou fearing the perſon of the mighty ſhouldeſt commit an offence againſt thine uprightneſs,* ſo it always behoveth Men to take good heed, leſt affection to that, which hath in it as well difficulty as goodneſs, ſophiſticate the true and ſincere judgment which before-hand they ought to have of their own ability, for want whereof many forward minds have found inſtead of contentment, repentance. But for as much as hardneſs of things in themſelves moſt excellent cooleth the fervency of Mens deſires, unleſs there be ſomewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of ſpeculative knowledge doth by things which we ſenſibly perceive conduct to that which is in nature more certain, though leſs ſenſible, and the method of virtuous actions is alſo to train Beginners at the firſt by things acceptable unto the taſte of natural appetite, till our minds at the length be ſettled to embrace things precious in the eye of reaſon, meerly and wholly for their own ſakes) howſoever inordinate deſires do hereby take occaſion to abuſe the Polity of God and Nature, either affecting without worth, or procuring by unſeemly means that, which was inſtituted and ſhould be reſerved for better minds to obtain by more approved courſes, in which conſideration the Emperors *Anthemius* and *Leo* did worthily oppoſe againſt ſuch ambitious practiſes that ancient and famous Conſtitution, wherein they have theſe ſentences: *Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward or upon requeſt, who ſhould be ſo far ſequeſtred from all ambition, that they which advance him might be fain to ſearch where he hideth himſelf, to entreat him drawing back, and to follow him till importunity have made him yield, let nothing promote him but his excuſes to avoid the burden, they are unworthy of that Vocation which are not thereunto brought unwillingly*; notwithſtanding, we ought not therefore with the odious name of Ambition to traduce and draw into hatred every poor requeſt or ſuit, wherein Men may ſeem to affect honour; ſeeing that Ambition and Modeſty do not always ſo much differ in the mark they ſhoot at, as in the manner of their Proſecutions. Yea, even in this may be Error alſo, if we ſtill imagine them leaſt ambitious, which moſt forbear to ſtir either hand or foot towards their own Preferments. For there are that make an Idol of their great ſufficiency, and becauſe they ſurmiſe the place ſhould be happy that might enjoy them, they walk every where like grave Pageants, obſerving whether Men do not wonder why ſo ſmall account is made of ſo rare worthineſs; and in caſe any other Mans advancement be mentioned, they either ſmile or bluſh at the marvellous folly of the world, which ſeeth not where dignities ſhould offer themſelves. Seeing therefore that ſuits after ſpiritual Functions may be as ambitiouſly forborn as proſecuted, it remaineth that the * eveneſt line of moderation between both, is neither to follow them *without conſcience,* nor *of pride* to withdraw our ſelves utterly from them.

---

* Μέσος εἰμὶ τις τῶν τε ἄγαν τολμηρῶν ϗ τῶν λίαν δειλῶν, τῶν μὲν πάσαις ἐπιπηδώντων προστασίαις δειλότερος, τῶν δὲ φευγόντων πάσας θαρσαλεώτερος. *Greg. Nazian. Apologet.*

Of Degrees, whereby the power of Order is diſtinguiſhed: and concerning the Attire of Miniſters.

78. It pleaſed Almighty God to chuſe to himſelf, for diſcharge of the * legal Miniſtry, one only Tribe out of twelve others, the Tribe of *Levi*; not all unto every divine ſervice, but *Aaron* and his Sons to one charge, the reſt of that ſanctified Tribe to another. With what Solemnities they were admitted into their Functions, in what manner *Aaron* and his ſucceſſors the High-Prieſts aſcended every Sabbath and Feſtival-day, offered and miniſtred in the Temple; with what Sin-offering once every year they reconciled firſt themſelves and their own houſe, afterwards the People unto God; how they confeſſed all the iniquities of the Children of *Iſrael*, laid all their treſpaſſes upon the head of a ſacred Goat, and ſo carried them out of the City; how they purged the Holy place from all uncleanneſs, with what reverence they entred within the Veil, preſented themſelves before the Mercy-ſeat, and conſulted with the Oracle of God: What ſervice the other Prieſts did continually in the Holy Place, how they miniſtred about the Lamps, Morning and Evening; how every Sabbath they placed on the Table of the Lord thoſe twelve Loaves with pure incenſe, in perpetual remembrance of that mercy which the Fathers, the Twelve Tribes had found by the providence of God for their food, when hunger cauſed them to leave their natural ſoyl, and to ſeek for ſuſtenance in *Egypt*; how they imployed themſelves in ſacrifice day-by-day; finally, what Offices the Levites diſcharged, and what Duties the reſt did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into if I ſhould collect that which Scriptures and other ancient Records do mention. Beſides theſe, there were indifferently out of all Tribes from time to time ſome called of God as Prophets, fore-ſhewing them things to come, and giving them counſel in ſuch particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; ſome choſen of Men to read, ſtudy and interpret the Law of God, as the Sons or Scholars of the old Prophets, in whoſe room afterwards Scribes and Expounders of the Law ſucceeded. And becauſe where ſo great variety is, if there ſhould be equality, confuſion would follow, the Levites were in all their Service at the appointment and direction of the Sons of *Aaron*, or Prieſts, they ſubject to the principal Guides and Leaders of their own Order, and they all in obedience under the High-Prieſt. Which difference doth alſo manifeſt it-ſelf in the very Titles, that Men for Honours ſake gave unto them, terming *Aaron* and his Succeſſors, High or Great; the Ancients over the Companies of Prieſts, Arch-Prieſts, Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and Interpreters of the Law, Maſters. Touching the Miniſtry of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, the whole Body of the Church being divided into Laity and Clergy, the Clergy are either Presbyters or Deacons. I rather term the one ſort Presbyters than (*a*) Prieſts, becauſe in a matter of ſo ſmall moment I would not willingly offend their ears, to whom the name of Prieſthood is odious, though without cauſe. For as things are diſtinguiſhed one from another by thoſe true eſſential forms, which being really and actually in them, do not only give them the very laſt and higheſt degree of their natural perfection, but are alſo the knot, foundation and root whereupon all other inferiour perfections depend; ſo if they that firſt do impoſe names, did always underſtand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then, by hearing the terms of vulgar ſpeech, we ſhould ſtill be taught what the things themſelves moſt properly are. But becauſe words have ſo many Artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with ſo many varieties, it is not always apparent, what the firſt Inventors reſpected, much leſs what every Mans inward conceit is which uſeth their words. For any thing my-ſelf can diſcern herein, I ſuppoſe that they which have bent their ſtudy to ſearch more diligently ſuch matters, do for the moſt part find that Names adviſedly given, had either regard unto that which is naturally moſt proper; or if perhaps to ſome other ſpeciality, to that which is ſenſibly moſt eminent in the thing ſignified; and concerning popular uſe of words, that which the wiſdom of their Inventors did intend thereby, is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceived in groſs, as may appear in that if you ask of the common ſort what any certain word, for example, what a Prieſt doth ſignifie, their manner is not to anſwer, a Prieſt is a Clergy man which offereth ſacrifice to God, but they ſhew ſome particular Perſon, whom they uſe to call by that name. And if we liſt to deſcend to Grammar, we are told by maſters in thoſe Schools, that the word *Prieſt* hath his right place ἐπὶ τοῦ ψιλῶς προεςῶτος τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ θεοῦ, in him whoſe meer Function or Charge is the ſervice of God. *Etymol. magn.* Howbeit, becauſe the eminenteſt part both of *Heatheniſh* and *Jewiſh* ſervice did conſiſt in Sacrifice, when Learned Men declare what the word *Prieſt* doth *properly* ſignifie, *according to the mind of the firſt impoſer* of that name, their ordinary (*b*) Scholies do well expound it to imply Sacrifice. Seeing then that Sacrifice is now no part of the Church-Miniſtry, how ſhould the name of Prieſthood be thereunto rightly applyed? Surely even as St. *Paul* applyeth the name of (*c*) *Fleſh* unto that very ſubſtance of Fiſhes, which hath a proportionable correſpondence to Fleſh, although it be in nature another thing. Whereupon when Philoſophers will ſpeak warily, they (*d*) make a difference between Fleſh in one ſort of living Creatures, and that other ſubſtance in the reſt which hath but a kind of analogy to Fleſh: the Apoſtle contrariwiſe having matter of greater importance whereof to ſpeak, nameth indifferently both Fleſh. The Fathers of the Church of Chriſt with like ſe-

---

* Πρὸς διατήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν ὁσιότητος καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἃ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν ἀναφέρονται. *Philo. p.* 297.

(*a*) *T. C. lib.* 1. *pag.* 198. For ſo much as the common and uſual ſpeech of *England* is to note by the word *Prieſt*, not a Miniſter of the Goſpel, but a *Sacrificer*, which the Miniſter of the Goſpel is not, therefore we ought not to call the Miniſters of the Goſpel, *Prieſts*. And that this is the Engliſh ſpeech, it appeareth by all the Engliſh Tranſlations, which tranſlate always ἱερεῖς, which were Sacrificers, *Prieſts*, and do not on the other ſide, for any that ever I read, tranſlate πρεσβύτερον a *Prieſt*. Seeing therefore a Prieſt with us, and in our Tongue, doth ſignifie both by the Papiſts Judgment, in reſpect of their abominable Maſs, and alſo by the Judgment of the Proteſtants, in reſpect of the Beaſts which were offered in the Law, *a ſacrificing Office*, which the Miniſter of the Goſpel neither doth nor can execute; it is manifeſt, that it cannot be without great offence ſo uſed.

(*b*) ἱερεῦσαι, θυσιάσαι. *H ſy Chriſtus homo dicitur, quia natus eſt; Propheta, quia futura revelavit; Sacerdos, quia pro nobis hoſtiam ſe obtulit.* Iſid. Orig. l. 7. c. 2.

(*c*) 1 Cor. 15. 39. (*d*) Ἔχει δ' ἀπορίαν τὶ τὸ αἰσθητήριον τὸ τοῦ ἁπτοῦ ἁπτικὸν, πότερον ἡ σὰρξ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ οὔ. *Ariſt. de Anim. l.* 2. *c.* 11.

curity of ſpeech call uſually the Miniſtry of the Goſpel *Prieſthood*, in regard of that which the Goſpel hath *proportionable* to ancient Sacrifices, namely, the *Communion* of the bleſſed Body and Blood of Chriſt, although it have properly now no Sacrifice. As for the People, when they hear the name, it draweth no more *their Minds* to any cogitation of Sacrifice, than the name of a Senator or of an Alderman cauſeth them to think upon old age, or to imagine that every one ſo termed muſt needs be ancient, becauſe years were reſpected in the firſt nomination of both. Wherefore, to paſs by the name, let them uſe what dialect they will, whether we call it a Prieſthood, a Presbyterſhip, or a Miniſtry, it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth ſeem more fit, and in propriety of ſpeech more agreeable than *Prieſt* with the drift of the whole Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. For what are they that embrace the Goſpel, but Sons of God? What are Churches, but his Families? Seeing therefore we receive the Adoption and ſtate of Sons by their Miniſtry, whom God hath choſen out for that purpoſe; ſeeing alſo that when we are the Sons of God, our continuance is ſtill under their care which were our Progenitors, what better Title could there be given them than the reverend name of *Presbyters* or fatherly Guides? The Holy Ghoſt throughout the body of the New Teſtament, making ſo much mention of them, doth not any where call them Prieſts. The Prophet *Iſaiah*, I grant, doth, but in ſuch ſort as the ancient Fathers, by way of analogy. *A Presbyter*, according to the proper meaning of the New Teſtament, *is he, unto whom our Saviour Chriſt hath communicated the power of Spiritual procreation.* Out of twelve Patriarchs iſſued the whole multitude of *Iſrael* according to the fleſh. And according to the myſtery of heavenly birth, our Lords Apoſtles we all acknowledge to be the Patriarchs of his whole Church. St. *John* therefore beheld ſitting about the Throne of God in Heaven (*a*) four and twenty Presbyters, the one half Fathers of the old, (*b*) the other of the new *Jeruſalem*. In which reſpect the Apoſtles likewiſe gave themſelves the ſame Title, albeit that name were not proper, but common unto them with others. For of Presbyters, ſome were greater, ſome leſs in power, and that by our Saviour's own appointment; the greater, they which received fulneſs of Spiritual power, the leſs, they to whom leſs was granted. The Apoſtles peculiar charge was to publiſh the Goſpel of Chriſt unto all Nations, and to deliver them his Ordinances received by *immediate revelation* (*c*) *from himſelf*. Which pre-eminence excepted, to all other Offices and Duties incident into their order, it was in them to ordain and conſecrate whomſoever they thought meet, even as our Saviour did himſelf aſſign ſeventy other of his own Diſciples, inferiour Presbyters, whoſe Commiſſion to Preach and Baptize was the ſame, which the Apoſtles had. (*d*) Whereas therefore we find, that the very firſt Sermon which the Apoſtles did publickly make, was the converſion of above three-thouſand Souls, unto whom there were every day more and more added, they having no open place permitted them for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, think we that Twelve were ſufficient to teach and adminiſter Sacraments in ſo many private places, as ſo great a multitude of People did require? This harveſt our Saviour, (no doubt) foreſeeing, provided accordingly Labourers for it before-hand. By which means it came to paſs, that the growth of that Church being ſo great and ſo ſudden, they had notwithſtanding in a readineſs Presbyters enough to furniſh it. And therefore the Hiſtory doth make no mention by what occaſion Presbyters were inſtituted in *Jeruſalem*, only we read of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elſewhere. To theſe two Degrees appointed of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, his Apoſtles ſoon after annexed Deacons: Deacons therefore muſt know, ſaith *Cyprian*, that our Lord himſelf did elect Apoſtles; but Deacons after his aſcenſion into Heaven, the Apoſtles ordained. Deacons were Stewards of the Church, unto whom at the firſt was committed the diſtribution of Church-goods, the care of providing therewith for the Poor, and the charge to ſee that all things of expence might be religiouſly and faithfully dealt in. A part alſo of their Office, was attendance upon their Presbyters at the time of Divine Service. For which cauſe *Ignatius*, to ſet forth the dignity of their Calling, ſaith, that they are in ſuch caſe to the Biſhop, as if Angelical Powers did ſerve him. Theſe only being the uſes for which Deacons were firſt made, if the Church have ſithence extended their Miniſtry further than the circuit of their labour at the firſt was drawn, we are not herein to think the Ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appear ſome prohibition, which hath abridged the Church of that liberty. Which I note chiefly, in regard of them to whom it ſeemeth a thing ſo monſtrous, that Deacons ſhould ſometime be licenſed to preach, whoſe inſtitution was at the firſt to another end. To charge them for this as Men not contented with their own Vocations, and as breakers into that which appertaineth unto others, is very hard. For when they are thereunto once admitted, it is a part of their own Vocation, it appertaineth now unto them as well as others; neither is it intruſion for them to do it being in ſuch ſort called, but rather in us it were temerity to blame them for doing it. Suppoſe we the Office of Teaching to be ſo repugnant unto the Office of Deaconſhip, that they cannot concur in one and the ſame Perſon? What was there done in the Church by Deacons, which the Apoſtles did not firſt diſcharge being Teachers? Yea, but the Apoſtles found the burden of Teaching ſo heavy, that they judged it meet to cut off that other charge, and to have Deacons which might undertake it. Be it ſo. The multitude of Chriſtians increaſing in *Jeruſalem*, and waxing great, it was too much for the Apoſtles to teach, and to miniſter unto Tables alſo. The former was not to be ſlacked, that this latter might be followed. Therefore unto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this Axiom, that when the ſubject, wherein one Man's Labours of ſundry kinds are imployed, doth wax ſo great, that the ſame Men are no longer able to manage it ſufficiently as before, the

Iſaiah 66. 21.

(*a*) Revel. 4. 4.

(*b*) Rev. 21. 14. Mat. 19. 28. 1 Pet. 5. 1.

(*c*) Οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν θεοπαραδότων νομοθεταὶ. *Dionyſ. Areop. p.* 113.

(*d*) Acts 2. 41, 47.

Cypr. Ep. 9. l. 3. ad Rogatianum.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Tral.

moſt natural way to help this, is by dividing their Charge into ſlipes, and ordaining of Under-Officers, as our Saviour under twelve Apoſtles ſeventy Presbyters, and the Apoſtles by his example ſeven Deacons to be under both. Neither ought it to ſeem leſs reaſonable, that when the ſame Men are ſufficient both to continue in that which they do, and alſo to undertake ſomewhat more, a combination be admitted in this caſe, as well as diviſion in the former. We may not therefore diſallow it in the Church of *Geneva*, that *Calvin* and *Beza* were made both Paſtors and Readers of Divinity, being Men ſo able to diſcharge both. To ſay they did not content themſelves with their Paſtoral vocations, but break into that which belonged to others, to alledge againſt them, *He that exhorteth in exhortation*, as againſt us, *He that diſtributeth in ſimplicity*, is alledged in great diſlike of granting licence for Deacons to Preach, were very hard. The ancient cuſtom of the Church was to yield the poor much relief, eſpecially Widows. But as poor People are always querulous and apt to think themſelves leſs reſpected than they ſhould be, we ſee that when the Apoſtles did what they could without hindrance to their weightier buſineſs, yet there were which grudged that others had too much, and they too little, the *Grecian* Widows ſhorter Commons than the *Hebrews*. By means whereof the Apoſtles ſaw it meet to ordain Deacons. Now tract of time having clean worn out thoſe firſt occaſions, for which the Deaconſhip was then moſt neceſſary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other Services, and ſo remain, as at this preſent Day, a Degree in the Clergy of God which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did inſtitute. That the firſt ſeven Deacons were choſen out of the ſeventy Diſciples, is an error in *Ephiphanius*. For to draw Men from places of weightier unto Rooms of meaner labour, had not been fit. The Apoſtles, to the end they might follow teaching with more freedom, committed the Miniſtry of Tables unto Deacons. And ſhall we think they judged it expedient to chuſe ſo many out of thoſe ſeventy to be Miniſters unto Tables, when Chriſt himſelf had before made them teachers? It appeareth therefore, how long theſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Order have continued in the Church of Chriſt, the higheſt and largeſt, that which the Apoſtles, the next that which Presbyters, and the loweſt that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets, they were ſuch Men as having otherwiſe learned the Goſpel, had from above beſtowed upon them a ſpecial gift of expounding Scriptures, and of foreſhewing things to come. Of this ſort *Agabus* was, and beſides him in *Jeruſalem* ſundry others, who notwithſtanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the Clergy, becauſe no Mans gifts or qualities can make him a Miniſter of holy things, unleſs Ordination do give him power. And we no where find Prophets to have been made by Ordination, but all whom the Church did ordain, were either to ſerve as Presbyters or as Deacons. Evangeliſts were Presbyters of principal ſufficiency, whom the Apoſtles ſent abroad, and uſed as Agents in Eccleſiaſtical affairs whereſoever they ſaw need. They whom we find to have been named in Scripture, Evangeliſts, as (*a*) *Ananias*, (*b*) *Apollos*, (*c*) *Timothy*, and others, were thus employed. And concerning Evangeliſts, afterwards in *Trajans* days, the Hiſtory Eccleſiaſtical noteth that many of the Apoſtles Diſciples and Scholars which were then alive, and did with ſingular love of Wiſdom affect the Heavenly Word of God, to ſhew their willing minds in executing that which Chriſt firſt of all required at the Hands of Men, they ſold their Poſſeſſions, gave them to the poor, and betaking themſelves to travel, undertook the labour of Evangeliſts, that is, they painfully preached Chriſt, and delivered the Goſpel to them, who as yet had never heard the Doctrine of Faith. Finally, whom the Apoſtle nameth Paſtors and Teachers, what other were they than Presbyters alſo, howbeit ſetled in ſome certain charge, and thereby differing from Evangeliſts? I beſeech them therefore which have hitherto troubled the Church with queſtions about Degrees and Offices of Eccleſiaſtical Calling, becauſe they principally ground themſelves upon two places, that, all partiality laid aſide, they would ſincerely weigh and examine, whether they have not miſ-interpreted both places, and all by ſurmiſing incompatible Offices, where nothing is meant but ſundry graces, gifts and abilities which Chriſt beſtowed. To them of *Corinth* his words are theſe, *God placed in the Church firſt of all, ſome Apoſtles, ſecondly, Prophets, thirdly, Teachers, after them Powers, then gifts of Cures, Aids, Governments, kinds of Languages. Are all Apoſtles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Is there power in all? Have all grace to cure? Do all ſpeak with Tongues? Can all interpret? But be you deſirous of the better graces*. They which plainly diſcern firſt that ſome *one general* thing there is which the Apoſtle doth here divide into all theſe branches, and do ſecondly conceive that general to be Church-Offices, beſides a number of other difficulties, can by no means poſſibly deny but that many of theſe might concur in one Man, and peradventure in ſome one all, which mixture notwithſtanding their form of Diſcipline doth moſt ſhun. On the other ſide, admit that *Communicants of ſpecial infuſed grace*, for the benefit of Members knit into one body the Church of Chriſt, are here ſpoken of, which was in truth the plain drift of that whole Diſcourſe, and ſee if every thing do not anſwer in due place with that fitneſs, which ſheweth eaſily what is likelieſt to have been meant. For why are Apoſtles the firſt, but becauſe unto them was granted the Revelation of all Truth from Chriſt immediately? Why Prophets the ſecond, but becauſe they had of ſome things knowledge in the ſame manner? Teachers the next, becauſe whatſoever was known to them it came by hearing, yet God withal made them able to inſtruct, which every one could not do that was taught. After Gifts of Edification there follow general abilities to work things above Nature, Grace to cure Men of bodily Diſeaſes, ſupplies againſt occurrent defects and impediments, Dexterities to govern and direct by counſel; Finally, aptneſs to ſpeak or interpret foreign Tongues. Which Graces, not poured out equally, but diverſly ſorted and given, were

Rom. 12. 8.

Epiph. l. 1. *c.* 21.

Acts 21. 10.
Acts 11. 27.

(*a*) Acts 9. 18.
(*b*) Acts 18. 24.
(*c*) 2 Tim. 4. 5, 9.
1 Tim. 3 15. 5. 14. 2. 8.
Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 3. *c* 34.

1 Cor. 12. 28.

a cauſe why not only they all did furniſh up the whole Body, but each benefit and help other. Again, the ſame Apoſtle other-where in like ſort, *To every one of us is given Grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherefore he ſaith, When he aſcended up on high, he led Captivity captive, and gave gifts unto Men. He therefore gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and Teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the work of the Miniſtry, for the edification of the Body of Chriſt.* In this place none but gifts of Inſtruction are expreſt. And becauſe of Teachers ſome were Evangeliſts, which neither had any part of their knowledge by Revelation as the Prophets, and yet in ability to teach were far beyond other Paſtors, they are, as having received one way leſs than Prophets, and another way more than Teachers, ſet accordingly between both. For the Apoſtle doth in neither place reſpect what any of them were by Office or Power given them through Ordination, but what by grace they all had obtained through miraculous infuſion of the Holy Ghoſt. For in Chriſtian Religion this being the ground of our whole belief, that the promiſes which God of old had made by his Prophets concerning the wonderful Gifts and Graces of the Holy Ghoſt, wherewith the reign of the true *Meſſias* ſhould be made glorious, were immediately after our Lord's Aſcenſion performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apoſtles did take more often occaſion to ſpeak. Out of Men thus endued with gifts of the Spirit upon their Converſion to Chriſtian Faith, the Church had her Miniſters choſen, unto whom was given Eccleſiaſtical power by Ordination. Now becauſe the Apoſtle in reckoning degrees and varieties of Grace doth mention Paſtors and Teachers, although he mention them not in reſpect of their Ordination to exerciſe the Miniſtry, but as examples of Men eſpecially enriched with the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, divers learned and ſkilful Men have ſo taken it, as if thoſe places did intend to teach what Orders of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons there ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which thing we are not to learn from thence, but out of other parts of Holy Scripture, whereby it clearly appeareth, that Churches Apoſtolick did know but three degrees in the power of Eccleſiaſtical Order, at the firſt Apoſtles, Presbyters and Deacons, afterwards inſtead of Apoſtles, Biſhops, concerning whoſe Order we are to ſpeak in the ſeventh Book. There is an error which beguileth many who do much intangle both themſelves and others by not diſtinguiſhing *Services*, *Offices*, and *Orders* Eccleſiaſtical: The firſt of which three, and in part the ſecond, may be executed by the Laity, whereas none have, or can have the third, but the Clergy. Catechiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, Singers, and the reſt of like ſort, if the Nature only of their Labours and pains be conſidered, may in that reſpect ſeem Clergy-men, even as the Fathers for that cauſe term them uſually Clerks, as alſo in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up, which was to be ordered when years and experience ſhould make them able. Notwithſtanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laity longer than during that Work of Service, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tyed by irrevocable Ordination, we find them always exactly ſevered from that body, whereof thoſe three before rehearſed Orders alone are natural parts. Touching Widows, of whom ſome Men are perſwaded, that if ſuch as St. *Paul* deſcribeth may be gotten, we ought to retain them in the Church for ever. Certain mean Services there were of Attendants, as about Women at the time of their Baptiſm, about the Bodies of the ſick and dead, about the neceſſities of Travellers, Wayfaring Men, and ſuch like, wherein the Church did commonly uſe them when need required, becauſe they lived of the Alms of the Church, and were fitteſt for ſuch purpoſes. St. *Paul* doth therefore, to avoid Scandal, require that none but Women well experienced and virtuouſly given, neither any under threeſcore years of Age, ſhould be admitted of that number. Widows were never in the Church ſo highly eſteemed as Virgins. But ſeeing neither of them did or could receive Ordination, to make them Eccleſiaſtical Perſons were abſurd. The ancienteſt therefore of the Fathers mention thoſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Order ſpecified, and no more. *When your Captains* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *that is to ſay, the Deacons, Presbyters and Biſhops fly, who ſhall teach the Laity, that they muſt be conſtant?* Again, *what ſhould I mention Lay-men* (ſaith *Optatus*) *yea, or divers of the Miniſtry it-ſelf? To what purpoſe Deacons, which are in the third, or Presbyters in the ſecond degree of Prieſthood, when the very Heads and Princes of all, even certain of the Biſhops themſelves* were content to redeem life with the loſs of Heaven? Heaps of Allegations in a caſe ſo evident and plain are needleſs. I may ſecurely therefore conclude, that there are at this Day in the Church of *England* no other than the ſame Degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Order, namely, Biſhops, Presbyters and Deacons, which had their beginning from Chriſt, and his bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves. As for Deans, Prebendaries, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, Arch-deacons, Chancellors, Officials, Commiſſaries and ſuch other the like Names, which being not found in Holy Scripture, we have been thereby through ſome Mens error thought to allow of Eccleſiaſtical Degrees not known, nor ever heard of in the better ages of former times, all theſe are in truth but Titles of Office, whereunto partly Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and partly others are in ſundry forms and conditions admitted, as the ſtate of the Church doth need, degrees of Order ſtill continuing the ſame they were from the firſt beginning. Now what habit or attire doth beſeem each Order to uſe in the courſe of common life, both for the gravity of his Place, and for examples ſake to other Men, is a matter frivolous to be diſputed of. A ſmall meaſure of Wiſdom may ſerve to teach them how they ſhould cut their coats. But ſeeing all well-ordered Polities have ever judged it meet and fit by certain ſpecial diſtinct Ornaments to ſever each ſort of Men from other, when they are in publick, to the end that all may receive ſuch Complements of

Epheſ. 4. 7.
Pſal. 68. 18.

T. C. l. 1. p. 191.
1 Tim. 5. 9.

Tertul. de Perſecut.
Optat. l. 1.

Civil Honour, as are due to their Rooms and Callings, even where their Perſons are not known, it argueth a diſproportioned mind in them whom ſo decent Orders diſpleaſe.

Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tythes, all intended for perpetuity of Religion, which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certain and ſufficient maintenance, muſt needs by alienation of Church-livings be made fruſtrate.

79. We might ſomewhat marvel, what the Apoſtle St. *Paul* ſhould mean, to ſay that Covetouſneſs is Idolatry, if the daily practiſe of Men did not ſhew, that whereas Nature requireth God to be honoured with Wealth, we honour for the moſt part Wealth as God. Fain we would teach our-ſelves to believe, that for Worldly Goods it ſufficeth frugally and honeſtly to uſe them to our own benefit, without detriment and hurt of others; or if we go a degree farther, and perhaps convert ſome ſmall contemptible portion thereof to Charitable uſes, the whole duty which we owe unto God herein is fully ſatisfied. But for as much as we cannot rightly honour God, unleſs both our Souls and Bodies be ſometime imployed meerly in his ſervice; again, ſith we know that Religion requireth at our Hands the taking away of ſo great a part of the time of our lives quite and clean from our own buſineſs, and the beſtowing of the ſame in his; ſuppoſe we that nothing of our Wealth and Subſtance is immediately due to God, but all our own to beſtow and ſpend as our-ſelves think meet? Are not our riches as well his, as the days of our life are his? Wherefore, unleſs with part we acknowledge his Supream Dominion, by whoſe benevolence we have the whole, how give we Honour to whom Honour belongeth, or how hath God the things that are God's? I would know what Nation in the World did ever honour God, and not think it a point of their duty to do him honour with their very goods. So that this we may boldly ſet down as a principle clear in nature, an axiom that ought not to be called in queſtion, a Truth manifeſt and infallible, that Men are eternally bound to honour God with their ſubſtance, in token of thankful acknowledgment that all they have is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by ſpending them in lawful manner, and by uſing them without offence, but alſo by alienating from our ſelves ſome reaſonable part or portion thereof, and by offering up the ſame to him as a ſign that we gladly confeſs his ſole and Sovereign Dominion over all, is a duty which all Men are bound unto, and a part of that very Worſhip of God, which as the Law of God and Nature it-ſelf requireth, ſo we are the rather to think all Men no leſs ſtrictly bound thereunto than to any other natural duty, inaſmuch as the Hearts of Men do ſo cleave to theſe earthly things, ſo much admire them for the ſway they have in the World, impute them ſo generally either to Nature, or to Chance and Fortune, ſo little think upon the Grace and Providence from which they come, that unleſs by a kind of continual tribute we did acknowledge God's Dominion, it may be doubted that in ſhort time Men would learn to forget whoſe Tenants they are, and imagine that the World is their own abſolute, free and independant inheritance. Now concerning the kind or quality of gifts which God receiveth in that ſort, we are to conſider them, partly as firſt they proceed from us, and partly as afterwards they are to ſerve for divine uſes. In that they are teſtimonies of our affection towards God, there is no doubt, but ſuch they ſhould be as beſeemeth moſt his Glory to whom we offer them. In this reſpect the fatneſs of *Abels* Sacrifice is commended, the flower of all Mens increaſe aſſigned to God by *Solomon*, the Gifts and Donations of the People rejected, as oft as their cold affection to God-ward made their Preſents to be little worth. Somewhat the Heathens ſaw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they unto their Gods did not think they might conſecrate any thing which was *impure* or *unſound*, or *already given* or elſe *not truly their own to give*. Again, in regard of uſe, for as much as we know that God hath himſelf no need of worldly Commodities, but taketh them becauſe it is our good to be ſo exerciſed, and with no other intent accepteth them, but to have them uſed for the endleſs continuance of Religion, there is no place left of doubt or controverſie, but that we in the choice of our gifts are to level at the ſame mark, and to frame our ſelves to his known intents and purpoſes. Whether we give unto God therefore that which himſelf by commandment requireth, or that which the publick conſent of the Church thinketh good to allot, or that which every Man's private devotion doth beſt like, in as much as the gift which we offer proceedeth not only as a teſtimony of our affection towards God, but alſo as a mean to uphold Religion, the exerciſe whereof cannot ſtand without the help of temporal commodities: If all Men be taught of Nature to wiſh, and as much as in them lyeth, to procure the perpetuity of good things, if for that very cauſe we honour and admire their Wiſdom, who having been Founders of Common-weals, could deviſe how to make the benefit they left behind them durable, if eſpecially in this reſpect we prefer *Lycurgus* before *Solon*, and the *Spartan* before the *Athenian* Polity, it muſt needs follow, that as we do unto God very acceptable ſervice in honouring him with our ſubſtance, ſo our ſervice that way is then moſt acceptable, when it tendeth to perpetuity. The firſt permanent donations of honour in this kind are Temples. Which Works do ſo much ſet forward the exerciſe of Religion, that while the World was in love with Religion, it gave to no ſort greater reverence than to whom it could point and ſay, *Theſe are the Men that have built us Synagogues*. But of Churches we have ſpoken ſufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the Ornaments of Churches, memorials which Mens devotion hath added to remain in the treaſure of God's Houſe, not only for uſes wherein the exerciſe of Religion preſently needeth them, but alſo partly for ſupply of future caſual neceſſities, whereunto the Church is on Earth ſubject, and partly to the end, that while they are kept they may continually ſerve as teſtimonies, giving all Men to underſtand, that God hath in every Age and Nation ſuch as think it no burthen to honour him with their ſubſtance. The riches, firſt of the Tabernacle of God, and then of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, ariſing out of voluntary Gifts and Donations, were, as we commonly

Purum, probum, profanum, ſuum. Feſt. lib. 14.

ſpeak, *a Nemo ſcit*, the value of them above that which any Man would imagine. After that the Tabernacle was made, furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and ſet up, although in the Wilderneſs their ability could not poſſibly be great, the very metal of thoſe Veſſels which the Princes of the twelve Tribes gave to God for their firſt Preſents, amounted even then to two-thouſand and four-hundred ſhekels of Silver, an hundred and twenty ſhekels of Gold, every ſhekel weighing half an ounce. What was given to the Temple which *Solomon* erected, we may partly conjecture, when over and beſides Wood, Marble, Iron, Braſs, Veſtments, Precious Stones and Money, the ſum which *David* delivered into *Solomon's* Hands for that purpoſe, was of Gold in Maſs eight-thouſand, and of Silver ſeventeen-thouſand Cichars, every Cichar containing a thouſand and eight-hundred ſhekels, which riſeth to nine-hundred ounces in every one Cichar: Whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount unto thirty Cichars. After their return out of *Babylon* they were not preſently in caſe to make their ſecond Temple of equal magnificence and glory with that which the Enemy had deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding, what they could, they did. Inſomuch, that the building finiſhed, there remained in the Coffers of the Church to uphold the Fabrick thereof, ſix-hundred and fifty Cichars of Silver, one hundred of Gold. Whereunto was added by *Nehemias* of his own gift a thouſand drams of Gold, fifty veſſels of Silver, five-hundred and thirty Prieſts Veſtments, by other the Princes of the Fathers twenty-thouſand drams of Gold, two-thouſand and two-hundred pieces of Silver; by the reſt of the People twenty-thouſand of Gold, two-thouſand of Silver, threeſcore and ſeven attires of Prieſts. And they furthermore bound themſelves towards other Charges to give by the Pole, in what part of the World ſoever they ſhould dwell, the third of a Shekel, that is to ſay, the ſixth part of an ounce yearly. (*a*) This out of foreign Provinces they always ſent in Gold. Whereof (*b*) *Mithridates* is ſaid to have taken up by the way, before it could paſs to *Jeruſalem* from *Aſia*, in one adventure eight-hundred talents; *Craſſus* after that to have borrowed of the Temple it-ſelf eight-thouſand: At which time *Eleazar* having both many other rich Ornaments, and all the Tapeſtry of the Temple under his cuſtody, thought it the ſafeſt way to grow unto ſome compoſition, and ſo to redeem the reſidue by parting with a certain beam of Gold about ſeven-hundred and an half in weight, a prey ſufficient for one Man, as he thought, who had never bargained with *Craſſus* till then, and therefore upon the confidence of a ſolemn Oath that no more ſhould be looked for, he ſimply delivered up a large morſel, whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed, and the whole loſt. Such being the caſualties whereunto moveable Treaſures are ſubject, the Law of *Moſes* did both require eight and twenty Cities together with their Fields and whole Territories in the Land of *Jury*, to be reſerved for God himſelf, and not only provided for the liberty of farther additions, if Men of their own accord ſhould think good, but alſo for the ſafe preſervation thereof unto all Poſterities, that no Man's avarice or fraud, by defeating ſo virtuous intents might diſcourage from like purpoſes. God's third endowment did therefore of old conſiſt in Lands. Furthermore, ſome cauſe no doubt there is, why beſides ſundry other more rare Donations of uncertain rate, the Tenth ſhould be thought a Revenue ſo natural to be allotted out unto God. For of the ſpoils which *Abraham* had taken in War, he delivered unto *Melchiſedeck* the Tithes. The vow of *Jacob*, at ſuch time as he took his journey towards *Haran*, was, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this voyage which I am to go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Cloathes to put on, ſo that I may return to my Father's Houſe in ſafety, then ſhall the Lord be my God, and this Stone which I have ſet up as a Pillar, the ſame ſhall be God's Houſe, and of all thou ſhalt give me I will give unto thee the Tithe.* And as *Abraham* gave voluntarily, as *Jacob* vowed to give God Tithes, ſo the Law of *Moſes* did require at the Hands of all Men the ſelf-ſame kind of Tribute, the Tenth of their Corn, Wine, Oyl, Fruit, Cattle and whatſoever increaſe his heavenly Providence ſhould ſend. Inſomuch that Painims, being herein followers of their ſteps, paid Tithes likewiſe: Imagine we that this was for no cauſe done, or that there was not ſome ſpecial inducements to judge the Tenth of our Worldly profits the moſt convenient for God's Portion? Are not all things by him created in ſuch ſort, that the forms which give them their diſtinction are number, their operations meaſure, and their matter weight? *Three* being the myſtical number of God's unſearchable perfection within himſelf, *Seven* the number whereby our own perfections through grace are moſt ordered, and (*d*) *Ten* the number of Natures perfections (for the Beauty of Nature is Order, and the foundation of Order, Number, and of Number, Ten the higheſt we can riſe unto without iteration of Numbers under it) could Nature better acknowledge the power of the God of Nature, than by aſſigning unto him that quantity which is the continent of all ſhe poſſeſſeth? There are in *Philo* the Jew many Arguments to ſhew the great congruity and fitneſs of this number in things conſecrated unto God. But becauſe over-nice and curious ſpeculations become not the earneſtneſs of holy things, I omit what might be farther obſerved, as well out of others, as out of him, touching the quantity of this general ſacred Tribute, whereby it cometh to paſs, that the meaneſt and the very pooreſt amongſt Men, yielding unto God as much in proportion as the greateſt, and many times in affection more, have this as a ſenſible token always aſſuring their minds, that in his ſight from whom all good is expected, they are concerning acceptation, protection, divine priviledges and pre-eminences whatſoever, Equals and Peers with them unto whom they are otherwiſe in earthly reſpects Inferiors, being furthermore well aſſured, that the top as it were thus preſented to God is neither loſt, nor unfruitfully beſtowed, but doth ſanctifie to them again the whole Maſs, and that he by receiving a little undertaketh to bleſs all. In which conſideration the Jews were accuſtomed to name their

Num. 7. 85, 86.

1 Chro. 29. Exod. 25. 28. & 37. 24.

Ezra. 2. 68, 69.

Hag. 2. 4.

Ezra. 8. 24.

Nehem. 7. 70.

Neho. 10. 32.

(*a*) Cic. orat pro L. Flac. *Cum aurum, Judæorum nomine, quotannis ex Italia & ex omnibus veſtris Provinciis Hieroſolymam exportari ſoleret, Flaccus ſanxit edicto, ne ex Aſia exportari liceret.*

(*b*) *Joſeph Anti. l. 14. c. 12.*

(*c*) Every Talent in value 600. Crowns.

Numb. 35.

Levit. 25. 34. & 27. 38.

Gen. 14. 20.

Gen. 28. 20.

Deut. 14. 22.

Plin. hiſt. nat. l. 12. c. 14.

(*d*) Δεκὰς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐςὶ πέρας τελειότατον. *Philo.* περὶ Ἀποικ.

Tithes, the † *hedge* of their Riches. Albeit a hedge do only fence and preſerve that which is contained, whereas their Tithes and Offerings did more, becauſe they procured increaſe of the heap out of which they were taken. God demandeth no ſuch debt for his own need, but for their only benefit that owe it. Wherefore detaining the ſame, they hurt not him whom they wrong; and themſelves whom they think they relieve, they wound; except Men will haply affirm, that God did by fair ſpeeches and large promiſes delude the world in ſaying, *Bring ye all the Tithes into the Store-houſe, that there may be meat in mine Houſe*, (deal truly, defraud not God of his due, but bring all) *and prove if I will not open unto you the Windows of Heaven, and pour down upon you an immeaſurable bleſſing.* That which St. *James* hath concerning the effect of our Prayers unto God, is for the moſt part of like moment in our gifts: We pray and obtain not, becauſe he which knoweth our hearts, doth ſee our deſires are evil. In like manner we give, and we are not the more accepted, becauſe he beholdeth how unwiſely we ſpill our Gifts in the † bringing. It is to him which needeth nothing all one, whether any thing or nothing be given him. But for our own good it always behoveth, that whatſoever we offer up into his Hands, we bring it ſeaſoned with this cogitation, *Thou, Lord, art worthy of all honour.* With the Church of Chriſt touching theſe matters it ſtandeth, as it did with the whole World before *Moſes.* Whereupon for many Years Men being deſirous to honour God in the ſame manner, as other virtuous and holy Perſonages before had done, both during the time of their life, and, if farther ability did ſerve, by ſuch device as might cauſe their works of piety to remain always, it came by theſe means to paſs that the Church from time to time had Treaſure, proportionable unto the Poorer or Wealthier Eſtate of Chriſtian Men. And as ſoon as the ſtate of the Church could admit thereof, they eaſily condeſcended to think it moſt natural and moſt fit, that God ſhould receive, as before, of all Men his ancient accuſtomed Revenues of Tithes. Thus therefore both God and Nature have taught to convert things temporal to eternal uſes, and to provide for the perpetuity of Religion, even by that which is moſt tranſitory. For to the end that, in worth and value, there might be no abatement of any thing once aſſigned to ſuch purpoſes, the Law requireth preciſely the beſt of what we poſſeſs; and to prevent all damages by way of commutation, where inſtead of natural Commodities, or other rights, the price of them might be taken, the Law of *Moſes* determined their rates, and the payments to be always made by the Shekel of the Sanctuary, wherein there was great advantage of weight above the ordinary currant Shekel. The trueſt and ſureſt way for God to have always his own, is by making him payment in kind out of the very ſelf-ſame riches, which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yield. This, where it may be without inconvenience, is for every Mans Conſcience ſafe. That which cometh from God to us by the natural courſe of his providence, which we know to be innocent and pure, is perhaps beſt accepted, becauſe leaſt ſpotted with the ſtain of unlawful or indirect procurement. Beſides, whereas prices daily change, Nature, which commonly is one, muſt needs be the moſt indifferent and permanent Standard between God and Man. But the main foundation of all, whereupon the ſecurity of theſe things dependeth, as far as any thing may be aſcertained amongſt Men, is that the Title and Right which Man had in every of them before Donation, doth by the Act, and from the time of any ſuch Donation, Dedication, or Grant, remain the proper poſſeſſion of God till the Worlds end, unleſs himſelf renounce or relinquiſh it. For if equity have taught us, that every one ought to enjoy his own; that what is ours no other can alienate from us, but with our (*a*) own (*b*) deliberate conſent; finally, that no Man having paſt his conſent or deed, may (*c*) change it to the prejudice of any other, ſhould we preſume to deal with God worſe than God hath allowed any Man to deal with us? Albeit therefore we be now free from the Law of *Moſes*, and conſequently, not thereby bound to the payment of Tithes; yet becauſe Nature hath taught Men to honour God with their Subſtance, and Scripture hath left us an example of that particular proportion, which for moral conſiderations hath been thought fitteſt by him whoſe wiſdom could beſt judge; furthermore, ſeeing that the Church of Chriſt hath long ſithence entred into like obligation, it ſeemeth in theſe days a queſtion altogether vain and ſuperfluous, whether Tithes be a matter of Divine Right; becauſe howſoever at the firſt it might have been thought doubtful, our caſe is clearly the ſame now with theirs unto whom Saint *Peter* ſometimes ſpake, ſaying, * *While it was whole, it was whole thine.* When our Tithes might have probably ſeemed our own, we had colour of liberty to uſe them as we our ſelves ſaw good. But having made them His whoſe they are, let us be warned by other Mens example, what it is νοσφίσασθαι, to waſh or clip that coin which hath on it the mark of God. For that all theſe are his poſſeſſions, and that he doth himſelf ſo reckon them, appeareth † by the form of his own ſpeeches. Touching Gifts and Oblations, *Thou ſhalt give them me*; touching Oratories and Churches, *My Houſe* ſhall be called the Houſe of Prayer; touching Tithes, *Will a Man ſpoil God?* Yet behold, even me your God ye have (*d*) *ſpoiled*, notwithſtanding ye aſk wherein, as though ye were ignorant, what injury there hath been offered in *Tithes*; ye are heavily accurſed, becauſe with a kind of publick conſent ye have joyned your ſelves in one to rob me, imagining the commonneſs of your offence to be every Mans particular juſtification; touching Lands, (*e*) *Ye ſhall offer to the Lord a ſacred portion of ground, and that ſacred portion ſhall belong to the Prieſts.* Neither did God only thus ordain amongſt the Jews, but the very purpoſe, intent and meaning of all that have honoured him with their ſubſtance, was to inveſt him with the property of thoſe benefits, the uſe whereof muſt needs be committed to the hands of Men. In which reſpect the ſtile of ancient Grants and Charters, is, *We have given unto God*

† *Maſſoreth ſepes eſt legis; divitiarum ſepes decimæ.* R. Aquiba in Pirk. Aboth.

Mal. 3.

† *Nemo libenter dedit quod non accepit ſed expreſſit.* Sen. de Benef. l. 1. c. 1.

Levit. 27. 25.

(*a*) *Lib.* 11. *de Reg. Jur.*

(*b*) *Cujus per errorem dati repetitio eſt, ejus conſulto dati donatio eſt.* l. 1. D. de cond. indeb. This is the ground of *Conſideration* in alienations from Man to Man.

(*c*) *Nemo poteſt mutare conſilium ſuum in alterius præjudicium.* l. 75. de Reg Jur.

* Acts 5. 4.

† Exod. 32. 29. 30. Matth. 21 13. Mal 3 8.

(*d*) *Non videntur rem amittere quibus propria non fuit.* l 83. de Reg Jur.

(*e*) Ezech. 45. 1. 4.

Mag. Char. c. 1.

God both for Us and our Heirs for ever. Yea, We know, ſaith *Charles* the Great, that *the goods of the Church are the ſacred endowments of God, to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatſoever we deliver unto his Church.* Whereupon the Laws Imperial do likewiſe divide all things in ſuch ſort, that they make ſome to belong by right of Nature indifferently unto every Man, ſome to be the certain goods and poſſeſſions of Common-weals, ſome to appertain unto ſeveral Corporations or Companies of Men, ſome to be privately Mens own in particular, and ſome to be ſeparated quite (*a*) from all Men; which laſt branch compriſeth things ſacred and holy; becauſe thereof God alone is Owner. The ſequel of which received opinion, as well without as within the Walls of the Houſe of God, touching ſuch poſſeſſions is, as hath been ever, that there is not an act more honourable, than by all means to amplifie and to defend the patrimony of Religion, not any more (*b*) impious and hateful, than to impair thoſe poſſeſſions which Men in former times, when they gave unto holy uſes, were wont at the Altar of God, and in preſence of their ghoſtly Superiours, to make, as they thought, inviolable by words of fearful execration, ſaying, *Theſe things we offer to God, from whom if any take them away (which we hope no Man will attempt to do) but if any ſhall, Let his account be without favour in the laſt day, when he cometh to receive the doom which is due for Sacriledge againſt that* Lord *and God unto whom we dedicate the ſame.* The beſt and moſt renowned Prelates of the Church of Chriſt have in this conſideration rather ſuſtained the wrath, than yielded to ſatisfie the hard deſire of their greateſt Commanders on earth, coveting with ill advice and counſel that which they willingly ſhould have ſuffered God to enjoy. There are of Martyrs, whom poſterity doth much honour, for that having under their hands the cuſtody of ſuch (*c*) treaſures, they could by virtuous deluſion invent how to ſave them from prey, even when the ſafety of their own lives they gladly neglected; as one, ſometime an Arch-Deacon under *Xyſtus* the Biſhop of *Rome*, did, whom when his Judge underſtood to be one of the Church-Stewards, thirſt of blood began to ſlake, and another humour to work, which firſt by a favourable countenance, and then by quiet ſpeech did thus calmly diſcloſe it-ſelf, *You that profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, make great complaint of the wonderful cruelty we ſhew towards you. Neither peradventure altogether without cauſe. But for my-ſelf, I am far from any ſuch bloody purpoſe. Ye are not ſo willing to live, as I unwilling that out of theſe lips ſhould proceed any capital ſentence againſt you. Your Biſhops are ſaid to have rich Veſſels of Gold and Silver, which they uſe in the exerciſe of their Religion; beſides the fame is, that numbers ſell away their Lands and Livings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church-coffers; by which means the devotion, that maketh them and their whole Poſterity poor, muſt needs mightily enrich you, whoſe God we know was no Coiner of Money, but left behind him many wholeſome and good Precepts, as namely, that* Cæſar *ſhould have of you the things that are fit for, and due to* Cæſar. *His Wars are coſtly and chargeable unto him. That which you ſuffer to ruſt in corners, the affairs of the Common-wealth do need. Your Profeſſion is not to make account of things tranſitory. And yet if ye can be contented but to forego that which ye care not for, I dare undertake to warrant you both ſafety of life, and freedom of uſing your conſcience, a thing more acceptable to you than wealth.* Which fair Parly the happy Martyr quietly hearing, and perceiving it neceſſary to make ſome ſhift for the ſafe concealment of that which being now deſired was not unlikely to be more narrowly afterwards ſought, he craved reſpite for three days, to gather the riches of the Church together, in which ſpace againſt the time the Governour ſhould come to the doors of the Temple, big with hope to receive his prey, a miſerable rank of poor, lame and impotent Perſons was provided, their names delivered him up in writing as a true Inventory of the Churches goods, and ſome few words uſed to ſignifie how proud the Church was of theſe Treaſures. If Men did not naturally abhor Sacriledge, to reſiſt or defeat ſo impious attempts would deſerve ſmall praiſe. But ſuch is the general deteſtation of rapine in this kind, that whereas nothing doth either in Peace or War more uphold Mens reputation than proſperous ſucceſs, becauſe in common conſtruction, unleſs notorious improbity be joyned with proſperity, it ſeemeth to argue favour with God; they which once have ſtained their hands with theſe odious ſpoils, do thereby faſten unto all their actions an eternal prejudice, in reſpect whereof, for that it paſſeth through the World as an undoubted Rule and Principle, that Sacriledge is open defiance to God, whatſoever afterwards they undertake, if they proſper in it, Men reckon it but *Dionyſius* his Navigation; and if any thing befall them otherwiſe, it is not, as commonly, ſo in them aſcribed to the great uncertainty of caſual events, wherein the providence of God doth controul the purpoſes of Men oftentimes, much more for their good than if all things did anſwer fully their hearts deſire, but the cenſure of the World is ever directly againſt them both (*d*) bitter and peremptory. To make ſuch actions therefore leſs odious, and to mitigate the envy of them, many colourable ſhifts and inventions have been uſed, as if the World did hate only Wolves, and think the Fox a goodly Creature. The (*e*) time it may be will come, when they that either violently have ſpoiled, or thus ſmoothly defrauded God, ſhall find they did but deceive themſelves. In the mean while there will be always ſome skilful Perſons, which can teach a way how to grind treatably the Church with jaws that ſhall ſcarce move, and yet devour in the end more than they that come ravening with open mouth, as if they would

Capit. Carul. l. 6. c. 284.

(*a*) *Nullius autem ſunt res ſacræ & religioſæ & ſanctæ. Quod enim divini juris eſt, id nullius in bonis eſt.* Inſt. l. 2. tit. 1.

(*b*) *Soli cum Diis ſacrilegi pugnant.* Curt. l. 7. *Sacrum ſacrove commendatum qui clepſerit rapſeritve, parricida eſto,* Leg. 12. tab. Capit. Carul. l. 6. c. 285.

(*c*) *Depoſita pietatis,* Tertul. Apologet. Prudent. Periſteph.

(*d*) *Novimus multa regna, & reges eorum, propterea cecidiſſe, quia Eccleſias ſpoliaverunt, reſque earum vaſtaverunt, alienaverunt vel diripuerunt, Epiſcopiſque & Sacerdotibus, atque, quod magis eſt, Eccleſiis eorum abſtulerunt, & pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide ſtabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt; ſed terga multi vulnerati, & plures interfecti verterunt, regnaque & regiones, & quod pejus eſt, regna cœleſtia perdiderunt, atque propriis hæreditatibus caruerunt, & hactenus carent.* Verba Carol. Ma. in Capitu. Carul. l. 7. c. 104.

(*e*) *Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum Intactum Pallanta, & cum ſpolia iſta diemque Oderit.* Virg. Æn. lib. 10.

Ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀισχύνη ὀυδεμιας ἐλάττων ζημία τοῖς γε σώφροσι. Demoſt.

Pœnam non dico legum, quas ſæpe perrumpunt, ſed ipſius turpitudinis quæ acerbiſſima eſt non vident. Cic. Offic. l. 3.

Impunita tu credes eſſe, quæ inviſa ſunt? aut ullum ſupplicium gravius exiſtimas publico odio? Sen. de Benef. l. 3. c. 17.

worry the whole in an inſtant; others alſo, who having waſtefully eaten out their own Patrimony would be glad to repair, if they might, their decayed Eſtates, with the ruin they care not of what nor of whom, ſo the ſpoil were theirs, whereof in ſome part if they happen to ſpeed, yet commonly they are Men born under that conſtellation which maketh them, I know not how, as unapt to enrich themſelves, as they are ready to impoveriſh others; it is their lot to ſuſtain during life, both the miſery of Beggars, and the infamy of Robbers. But though no other Plague and Revenge ſhould follow ſacrilegious violations of holy things, the natural ſecret diſgrace and ignominy, the very turpitude of ſuch actions in the eye of a wiſe underſtanding heart, is it-ſelf a heavy puniſhment. Men of virtuous quality are by this ſufficiently moved to beware how they anſwer and requite the mercies of God with injuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not abſolutely ſay concerning the goods of the Church, that they may in no caſe be ſeized on by Men, or that no Obligation, Commerce and Bargain made between Man and Man, can ever be of force to alienate the property which God hath in them. Certain caſes I grant there are, wherein it is not ſo dark what God himſelf doth warrant, but that we may ſafely preſume him as willing to forego for our benefit, as always to uſe and convert to our benefit whatſoever our Religion hath honoured him withal. But ſurely under the name of that which may be, many things that ſhould not be are often done. By means whereof the Church moſt commonly for Gold hath Flanel; and whereas the uſual Saw of old was *Glaucus his change*, the Proverb is now, *A Church-bargain*. And for fear leſt Covetouſneſs alone ſhould linger out the time too much, and not be able to make havock of the Houſe of God with that expedition, which the mortal enemy thereof did vehemently wiſh, he hath by certain ſtrong inchantments ſo deeply bewitcht Religion it-ſelf, as to make it in the end an earneſt Solicitor, and an eloquent Perſwader of Sacriledge, urging confidently, that the very beſt ſervice which Men of Power can do to Chriſt, is without any more Ceremony to ſweep all, and to leave the Church as bare as in the day it was firſt born; that fulneſs of Bread having made the Children of the Houſhold wanton, it is without any ſcruple to be taken away from them, and thrown to Dogs; that they which laid the prices of their Lands as offerings at the Apoſtles Feet, did but ſow the Seeds of Superſtition; that they which indowed Churches with Lands, poyſoned Religion; that Tithes and Oblations are now in the ſight of God as the ſacrificed Blood of Goats; that if we give him our Hearts and Affections, our Goods are better beſtowed otherwiſe; that *Irenæus Polycarps* Diſciple ſhould not have ſaid, *We offer unto God our goods as tokens of thankfulneſs for that we receive*; neither Origen, *He which worſhippeth God, muſt by Gifts and Oblations acknowledge him the Lord of all*; In a word, that to give unto God is error; reformation of error, to take from the Church that which the blindneſs of former Ages did unwiſely give: By theſe or the like ſuggeſtions, received with all joy, and with like ſedulity practiſed in certain parts of the Chriſtian World, they have brought to paſs, that as *David* doth ſay of Man, ſo it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole Religion and Service of God, *The time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threeſcore and ten years, or if ſtrength do ſerve unto fourſcore, what followeth is likely to be ſmall joy for them, whoſoever they be that behold it.* Thus have the beſt things been overthrown, not ſo much by puiſſance and might of Adverſaries, as through defect of counſel, in them that ſhould have upheld and defended the ſame.

Irenæ.l 4.c 34. *Orig. in* 18. *Num. hom.*11.

Pſal. 90. 10.

Of Ordinations lawful without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their quality is, that enter into holy Orders.

80. There are in a Miniſter of God theſe four things to be conſidered, his Ordination, which giveth him power to meddle with things ſacred, the charge or portion of the Church allotted unto him for exerciſe of his Office; the performance of his Duty, according to the exigence of his Charge; and laſtly, the maintenance which in that reſpect he receiveth. All Eccleſiaſtical Laws and Canons, which either concern the beſtowing or the uſing of the power of Miniſterial Order, have relation to theſe four. Of the firſt we have ſpoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more convenient diſcharge of Eccleſiaſtical Duties, as the body of the People muſt needs be ſevered by divers Precincts, ſo the Clergy likewiſe accordingly diſtributed. Whereas therefore Religion did firſt take place in Cities, and in that reſpect was a cauſe why the name of *Pagans*, which properly ſignifieth Country people, came to be uſed in common ſpeech for the ſame that Infidels and Unbelievers were, it followed thereupon that all ſuch Cities had their Eccleſiaſtical Colledges, conſiſting of Deacons and of Presbyters, whom firſt the Apoſtles or their Delegates the Evangeliſts did both ordain and govern. Such were the Colledges of *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, *Epheſus*, *Rome*, *Corinth*, and the reſt, where the Apoſtles are known to have planted our Faith and Religion. Now becauſe Religion and the cure of Souls was their general charge in common over all that were near about them, neither had any one Presbyter his ſeveral Cure apart, till *Evariſtus* Biſhop in the See of *Rome* about the year 112. began to aſſign Precincts unto every Church or Title, which the Chriſtians held, and to appoint unto each Presbyter a certain compaſs, whereof himſelf ſhould take charge alone, the commodiouſneſs of this invention cauſed all parts of Chriſtendom to follow it, and at the length amongſt the reſt our own Churches, about the year 636. became divided in like manner. But other diſtinction of Churches there doth not appear any in the Apoſtles Writings, ſave only, according to thoſe (*a*) Cities wherein they planted the Goſpel of Chriſt, and erected Eccleſiaſtical Colledges. Wherefore to ordain (*b*) κατὰ πόλιν, throughout every City, and (*c*) κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν, throughout every Church, do in them ſignifie the ſame thing. Churches then neither were, not could be in ſo convenient ſort limited as now they are; firſt, by the bounds of each ſtate, and then within each ſtate by more particular Precincts, till at the length we deſcend unto ſeveral Congregations, termed *Pariſhes*, with far narrower reſtraint, than this

(*a*) Acts 15. 36. Apoc. 1. 20.
(*b*) Tit. 1. 5.
(*c*) Acts 14. 23.

Name at the firſt was uſed. And from hence hath grown their error, who as oft as they read of the duty which Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are now to perform towards the Church, their manner is always to underſtand by that Church, ſome particular Congregation, or Pariſh-Church. They ſuppoſe that there ſhould now be no Man of Eccleſiaſtical Order, which is not tyed to ſome certain Pariſh. Becauſe the names of all Church-Officers are words of relation, becauſe a Shepherd muſt have his Flock, a Teacher his Scholars, a Miniſter his Company which he miniſtreth unto, therefore it ſeemeth a thing in their eyes abſurd and unreaſonable, that any Man ſhould be ordained a Miniſter, otherwiſe than only for ſome particular Congregation. Perceive they not, how by this mean they make it unlawful for the Church to imploy Men at all, in converting Nations? For if ſo be the Church may not lawfully admit to an Eccleſiaſtical Function, unleſs it tye the party admitted unto ſome particular Pariſh, then ſurely a thankleſs labour it is, whereby Men ſeek the Converſion of Infidels, which know not Chriſt; and therefore cannot be as yet divided into their ſpecial Congregations and Flocks. But to the end it may appear how much this one thing amongſt many more hath been miſtaken, there is firſt no Precept, requiring that Presbyters and Deacons be made in ſuch ſort, and not otherwiſe. Albeit therefore the Apoſtles did make them in that order, yet is not their Example ſuch a Law, as without all exception bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Again, if we will conſider that which the Apoſtles themſelves did, ſurely no Man can juſtly ſay, that herein we practiſe any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordained only in each Chriſtian City a Colledge of Presbyters and Deacons to adminiſter holy things. *Evariſtus* did a hundred years after the birth of our Saviour Chriſt begin the diſtinction of the Church into Pariſhes. Presbyters and Deacons having been ordained before to exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Functions in the Church of *Rome* promiſcuouſly, he was the firſt that tyed them each one to his own ſtation. So that of the two, indefinite Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons doth come more near the Apoſtles Example, and the tying of them to be made only for particular Congregations, may more juſtly ground it-ſelf upon the Example of *Evariſtus* than of any Apoſtle of Chriſt. It hath been the opinion of wiſe and good Men heretofore, that nothing was ever deviſed more ſingularly beneficial unto God's Church, than this which our honourable Predeceſſors have to their endleſs praiſe found out by the erecting of ſuch Houſes of Study, as thoſe two moſt famous Univerſities do contain, and by providing that choice Wits, after reaſonable time ſpent in contemplation, may at the length either enter into that holy Vocation, for which they have been ſo long nouriſhed and brought up, or elſe give place, and ſuffer others to ſucceed in their rooms, that ſo the Church may be always furniſhed with a number of Men, whoſe ability being firſt known by publick tryal in Church-labours there where Men can beſt judge of them, their calling afterwards unto particular charge abroad may be accordingly. All this is fruſtrate, thoſe worthy Foundations we muſt diſſolve, their whole device and religious purpoſe which did erect them is made void, their Orders and Statutes are to be cancelled and diſannulled, in caſe the Church be forbidden to grant any power of Order, unleſs it be with reſtraint to the Party ordained unto ſome particular Pariſh or Congregation. Nay, might we not rather affirm of Presbyters and of Deacons, that the very nature of their Ordination is unto neceſſary local reſtraint a thing oppoſite and repugnant? The Emperor *Juſtinian* doth ſay of Tutors, *Certæ rei vel cauſæ tutor dari non poteſt, quia perſonæ non cauſæ vel rei tutor datur.* He that ſhould grant a Tutorſhip, reſtraining his grant to ſome one certain thing or cauſe, ſhould do but idly, becauſe Tutors are given for perſonal defence generally, and not for managing of a few particular things or cauſes. So he that ordaining a Presbyter or a Deacon ſhould, in the form of Ordination, reſtrain the one or the other to a certain place, might, with much more reaſon, be thought to uſe a vain and a frivolous addition, than they reaſonably to require ſuch local reſtraint, as a thing which muſt of neceſſity concur evermore with all lawful Ordinations. Presbyters and Deacons are not by Ordination conſecrated unto Places, but unto Functions. In which reſpect, and in no other it is, that ſith they are by virtue thereof bequeathed unto God, ſevered and ſanctified to be imployed in his Service, which is the higheſt advancement that mortal Creatures on Earth can be raiſed unto, the Church of Chriſt hath not been acquainted in former Ages with any ſuch prophane and unnatural Cuſtom, as doth hallow Men with Eccleſiaſtical Functions of Order only for a time, and then diſmiſs them again to the common Affairs of the World. Whereas contrariwiſe, from the Place or Charge where that Power hath been exerciſed, we may be by ſundry good and lawful occaſions tranſlated, retaining nevertheleſs the ſelf-ſame Power which was firſt given. It is ſome grief to ſpend thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath ſo little ground to uphold it, eſpecially ſith they themſelves that teach it do not ſeem to give thereunto any great credit, if we may judge their minds by their actions. There are amongſt them that have done the work of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, ſometime in the Families of Noblemen, ſometime in much more publick and frequent Congregations; there are that have ſucceſſively gone through perhaps ſeven or eight particular Churches after this ſort; yea, ſome that at one and the ſame time have been, ſome which at this preſent hour are, in real Obligation of Eccleſiaſtical duty, and poſſeſſion of Commodity thereto belonging, even in ſundry particular Churches within the Land; ſome there are amongſt them which will not ſo much abridge their liberty, as to be faſtned or tyed unto any place; ſome which have bound themſelves to one place only for a time, and that time being once expired, have afterwards voluntarily given unto other places the like experience and tryal of them. All this I preſume they would not do, if their perſwaſion were as ſtrict as their words pretend. But for the avoiding

Juſt. lib. 3. *tit.* 14. *ſect.* 4.

of theſe and ſuch other the like confuſions as are incident into the cauſe and queſtion whereof we preſently treat, there is not any thing more material, than firſt to ſeparate exactly the nature of the Miniſtry from the uſe and exerciſe thereof; Secondly, to know that the only true and proper Act of Ordination is, to inveſt Men with that power which doth make them Miniſters by conſecrating their Perſons to God and his Service in Holy things during term of life, whether they exerciſe that power or no; Thirdly, that to give them a Title or Charge where to uſe their Miniſtry, concerneth not the making, but the placing of God's Miniſters, and therefore the Laws which concern only their Election or Admiſſion unto place of Charge, are not applicable to infringe any way their Ordination; Fourthly, that as oft as any ancient Conſtitution, Law, or Canon is alledged, concerning either Ordinations or Elections, we forget not to examine whether the preſent caſe be the ſame which the ancient was, or elſe do contain ſome juſt reaſon, for which it cannot admit altogether the ſame Rule, which former Affairs of the Church now altered, did then require. In the queſtion of making Miniſters without a *Title*, which to do they ſay is a thing unlawful, they ſhould at the very firſt have conſidered what the name of *Title* doth imply, and what affinity or coherence Ordinations have with Titles, which thing obſerved would plainly have ſhewed them their own error. They are not ignorant, that when they ſpeak of a Title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a Miniſter in ſome charge, that the place of Charge wherein a Miniſter doth execute his Office, requireth ſome Houſe of God for the People to reſort unto, ſome definite number of Souls unto whom he there adminiſtreth holy things, and ſome certain allowance whereby to ſuſtain life, that the Fathers at the firſt named *Oratories* and Houſes of Prayer, Titles, thereby ſignifying how God was intereſſed in them, and held them as his own Poſſeſſions. But becauſe they know that the Church had Miniſters before Chriſtian Temples and Oratories were, therefore ſome of them underſtand by a Title, a *definite Congregation* of People only, and ſo deny that any Ordination is lawful which maketh Miniſters, that have no certain Flock to attend: Forgetting how the Seventy whom Chriſt himſelf did ordain Miniſters, had their Calling in that manner, whereas yet no certain Charge could be given them. Others referring the name of a Title eſpecially to the *maintenance* of the Miniſter, infringe all Ordinations made, (*a*) except they which receive Orders be firſt intituled to a competent Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, and (which is moſt ridiculouſly ſtrange) except beſides their preſent Title to ſome ſuch Benefice, they have likewiſe ſome other Title of Annual Rent or Penſion, whereby they may be relieved in caſe through infirmity, ſickneſs or other lawful impediment they grow unable to execute their Eccleſiaſtical Function. So that every Man lawfully ordained muſt bring a Bow which hath two ſtrings, a Title of preſent Right, and another to provide for future poſſibility or chance. Into theſe abſurdities and follies they ſlide by miſconceiving the true purpoſe of certain Canons, which indeed have forbidden to ordain a Miniſter without a Title, not that ſimply it is unlawful ſo to ordain, but becauſe it might grow to an inconveniency, if the Church did not ſomewhat reſtrain that liberty. For, ſeeing they which have once received Ordination cannot again return into the World, it behoveth them which ordain to fore-ſee how ſuch ſhall be afterwards able to live, leſt their poverty and deſtitution ſhould redound to the diſgrace and diſcredit of their Calling. Which evil prevented, thoſe very Laws which in that reſpect forbid, do expreſly admit Ordinations to be made at large and without Title, namely, if the Party ſo ordained have of his own for the ſuſtenance of this life, or if the Biſhop which giveth him Orders will find him competent allowance, till ſome place of Miniſtration, from whence his maintenance may ariſe, be provided for him, or if any other fit and ſufficient means be had againſt the danger before mentioned. Abſolutely therefore it is not true, that any ancient Canon of the Church, which is or ought to be with us in force, doth make Ordinations at large unlawful, and as the ſtate of the Church doth ſtand, they are moſt neceſſary. If there be any Conſcience in Men touching that which they write or ſpeak, let them conſider, as well what the preſent condition of all things doth now ſuffer, as what the Ordinances of former Ages did appoint; as well the weight of thoſe Cauſes, for which our Affairs have altered, as the reaſons in regard whereof our Fathers and Predeceſſors did ſometime ſtrictly and ſeverely keep that which for us to obſerve now, is neither meet nor always poſſible. In this our preſent Cauſe and Controverſie, whether any not having Title of Right to a Benefice may be lawfully ordained a Miniſter, is it not manifeſt in the Eyes of all Men, that whereas the name of a Benefice doth ſignifie ſome ſtanding Eccleſiaſtical Revenue taken out of the Treaſure of God, and allotted to a Spiritual Perſon, to the end he may uſe the ſame and enjoy it as his own for term of Life, unleſs his default cauſe Deprivation, the Clergy for many years after Chriſt had no other Benefices, but only their Canonical Portions or Monthly Dividends allowed them according to their ſeveral degrees and qualities, out of the common Stock of ſuch Gifts, Oblations, and Tithes, as the Fervour of Chriſtian Piety did then yield? Yea, that even when Miniſters had their Churches and Flocks aſſigned unto them in ſeveral, yet for maintenance of life their former kind of allowance continued, till ſuch time as Biſhops and Churches Cathedral being ſufficiently endowed with Lands, other Presbyters enjoyed, inſtead of their firſt Benefices, the Tithes and Profits of their own Congregations whole to themſelves? Is it not manifeſt, that in this Realm, and ſo in other the like Dominions, where the tenure of Lands is altogether grounded on Military Laws, and held as in Fee under Princes which are not made heads of the People

(*a*) Unlawful to ordain a Miniſter without a Title. *Abſtrac. pag.* 243. & *pag.* 246. The Law requireth, that every one admitted unto Orders having for his preſent Relief ſome Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, ſhould alſo have ſome other Title unto ſome Annual Rent or Penſion whereby he might be relieved in caſe he were not able through infirmity, ſickneſs, or other lawful impediment to execute his Eccleſiaſtical Office and Function.

ple by force of voluntary Election, but born the Soveraign Lords of thoſe whole and intire Territories, which Territories their famous Progenitors obtaining by way of Conqueſt retained what they would in their own hands, and divided the reſt to others with reſervation of Soveraignty and Capital Intereſt, the building of Churches, and conſequently the aſſigning of either Pariſhes or Benefices, was a thing impoſſible without conſent of ſuch as were principal owners of Land, in which conſideration, for their more encouragement hereunto, they which did ſo far benefit the Church, had by common conſent granted (as great equity and reaſon was) a right for them and their Heirs till the Worlds end to nominate in thoſe Benefices Men, whoſe quality the Biſhop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifeſt, that from hence inevitably ſuch inequality of Pariſhes hath grown, as cauſeth ſome through the multitude of People which have reſort unto one Church, to be more than any one Man can weild, and ſome to be of that Nature by reaſon of Chappels annexed, that they which are Incumbents ſhould wrong the Church, if ſo be they had not certain Stipendaries under them, becauſe where the Corps of the profit or Benefice is but one, the Title can be but one Man's, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention therefore any other reaſon, whereby it may clearly appear how expedient it is and profitable for this Church to admit Ordinations without Title, this little may ſuffice to declare, how impertinent their allegations againſt it are out of ancient Canons, how untrue their confident aſſeverations, that only through negligence of Popiſh Prelates the cuſtom of making ſuch kind of Miniſters hath prevailed in the Church of *Rome* againſt their Canons, and that with us it is expreſly againſt the Laws of our own Government, when a Miniſter doth ſerve as a Stipendary Curate, which kind of Service nevertheleſs the greateſt Rabbins of that part do altogether follow. For howſoever they are loth peradventure to be named Curates, Stipendaries they are, and the labour they beſtow is in other Mens Cures, a thing not unlawful for them to do, yet unſeemly for them to condemn which practiſe it. I might here diſcover the like over-ſight throughout all their Diſcourſes, made in behalf of the Peoples pretended right to elect their Miniſters before the Biſhop may lawfully ordain. But becauſe we have otherwhere at large diſputed of popular Elections, and of the right of Patronage, wherein is drowned whatſoever the People under any pretence of colour may ſeem to challenge about Admiſſion and Choice of the Paſtors that ſhall feed their Souls, I cannot ſee what one Duty there is which always ought to go before Ordination, but only care of the Parties worthineſs, as well for integrity and virtue, as knowledge; yea, for virtue more, in as much as defect of knowledge may ſundry ways be ſupplied, but the ſcandal of vicious and wicked life is a deadly evil.

Of the Learning in Miniſters, their reſidence, and the number of their Livings.

81. The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greateſt is that three-fold blot or blemiſh of notable ignorance, unconſcionable abſence from the Cures whereof Men have taken charge, and unſatiable hunting after Spiritual preferments without either care or conſcience of the publick good. Whereof, to the end that we may conſider as in God's own ſight and preſence with all uprightneſs, ſincerity and truth, let us particularly weigh and examine in every of them; Firſt, how far forth they are reproveable by Reaſons and Maxims of Common right; Secondly, whether that which our Laws do permit, be repugnant to thoſe Maxims, and with what equity we ought to judge of things practiſed in this caſe, neither on the one hand defending that which muſt be acknowledged out of ſquare, nor on the other ſide condemning raſhly whom we liſt, for whatſoever we diſallow. Touching Arguments therefore taken from the principles of Common right, to prove that Miniſters ſhould (*a*) be learned, that they ought to be (*b*) Reſident upon their Livings, and that (*c*) more than one only Benefice or Spiritual Living may not be granted unto one Man; the firſt, becauſe St. *Paul* requireth in a Miniſter ability to teach, to convince, to diſtribute the Word rightly, becauſe alſo the Lord himſelf hath proteſted, they ſhall be no Prieſts to him which have rejected knowledge, and becauſe if the blind lead the blind, they muſt both needs fall into the Pit the ſecond, becauſe teachers are Shepherds; whoſe Flocks can be at no time ſecure from danger, they are Watchmen, whom the Enemy doth always beſiege, their labours in the Word and Sacraments admit no intermiſſion, their duty requireth inſtruction and conference with Men in private, they are the living Oracles of God, to whom the People muſt reſort for counſel, they are commanded to be Patterns of Holineſs, Leaders, Feeders, Superviſors amongſt their own, it ſhould be their grief, as it was the Apoſtles, to be abſent, though neceſſarily, from them over whom they have taken charge; finally, the laſt, becauſe Plurality and Reſidence are oppoſite, becauſe the placing of one Clark in two Churches is a point of Merchandize and filthy gain, becauſe no Man can ſerve two Maſters, becauſe every one ſhould remain in that Vocation whereto he is called; what conclude they of all this? Againſt Ignorance, againſt Non-reſidence, and againſt Plurality of Livings, is there any Man ſo raw and dull, but that the Volumns which have been written, both of old and of late, may make him in ſo plentiful a cauſe eloquent? For if by that which is generally juſt and requiſite we meaſure what knowledge there ſhould be in a Miniſter of the Goſpel of Chriſt, the Arguments which Light of Nature offereth, the Laws and Statutes which Scripture hath, the Canons that are taken out of ancient Synods, the Decrees and Conſtitutions of ſincereſt Times, the Sentences of all Antiquity, and in a word, even every Man's full conſent and conſcience is againſt Ignorance in them that have Charge and Cure of Souls. Again, what availeth it if we be Learned and not faithful? Or what benefit hath the Church of Chriſt, if there be in us ſufficiency without endeavour or care to do that good which our place exacteth? Touching the pains and induſtry therefore, wherewith Men are in conſcience bound to attend the work of their

(*a*) T. C. l. 1. p. 70.
(*b*) 66.
(*c*) 69.
1 Tim. 3. 2.
Titus 1. 9.
2 Tim. 2. 15.
Hoſea 4. 6.
Mat. 15. 14.
Luke 2. 8.
Acts 20. 2.
1 Sam. 1. 19.
1 Tim. 4. 12.
John 10. 4.
1 Pet 5. 2.
Acts 20. 28.
1 Theſſ. 2. 17.
Concil. Nic. cap 15.
Matth. 6. 24.
1 Cor. 7. 24.

Heavenly Calling, even as much as in them lyeth, bending thereunto their whole endeavour, without either fraud, ſophiſtication, or guile, I ſee not what more effectual Obligation or bond of Duty there ſhould be urged, than their own only Vow and Promiſe made unto God himſelf, at the time of their Ordination. The work which they have undertaken requireth both care and fear. Their ſloth that negligently perform it maketh them ſubject to malediction. Beſides, we alſo know that the fruit of our pains in this Function is life both to our ſelves and others. And do we yet need incitements to labour? Shall we ſtop our ears both againſt thoſe conjuring exhortations which Apoſtles, and againſt the fearful comminations which Prophets, have uttered out of the Mouth of God, the one for prevention, the other for reformation Acts 20. 27. of our ſluggiſhneſs in this behalf? Saint *Paul, Attend to your ſelves, and to all the Flock, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Over-ſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.* Again, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which ſhall* Jer. 23. 2. *judge the quick and the dead at his coming, Preach the Word, be inſtant.* Jeremiah, *Wo unto the Paſtors that deſtroy and ſcatter the Sheep of my Paſture, I will viſit you for the wickedneſs of your Works, ſaith the Lord, the remnant of my Sheep I will gather together out of all Countries, and will bring them again to their Folds, they ſhall grow and increaſe, and I will ſet up Shep-* Ezek. 34. 2. *herds over them which ſhall feed them.* Ezekiel, *Should not the Shepherds, ſhould they not feed the Flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe your-ſelves with the wool, but the weak ye have not ſtrengthned, the ſick ye have not cured, neither have ye bound up the broken, nor brought home again that which was driven away; ye have not inquired after that which was loſt, but with cruelty and rigour ye have ruled.* And verſ. 8. *Wherefore, as I live, I will require,* &c. Nor let us think to excuſe our ſelves, if haply we labour, though it be at random, and ſit not altogether idle abroad. For we are bound to attend that part of the Flock of Chriſt, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made us Over-ſeers. The reſidence of Miniſters upon their own peculiar Charge, is by ſo much the rather neceſſary, for that abſenting themſelves from the place where they ought to labour, they neither do the good which is looked for at their Hands, nor reap the comfort which ſweetneth life to them that ſpend it in theſe Travels upon their own. For it is in this as in all things elſe, which are through private intereſt dearer than what concerneth either others wholly, or us but in part, and according to the rate of a general regard. As for Plurality, it hath not only the ſame inconveniencies which are obſerved to grow by abſence, but over and beſides, at the leaſt in common conſtruction, a ſhew of that worldly humour which Men do think ſhould not reign ſo high. Now from hence their Collections are, as followeth, firſt, a repugnancy or contradiction between the Principles of common right, and that which our Laws in ſpecial conſiderations have allowed: Secondly, a nullity or fruſtration of all ſuch acts, as are by them ſuppoſed oppoſite to thoſe Principles, an invalidity in all Ordinations of Men unable to Preach, and in all diſpenſations which mitigate the Law of common *Abſtract. p. 117.* right for the other two. And why ſo? Forſooth, becauſe whatſoever we do in theſe three caſes, and not by virtue of Common right, we muſt yield of neceſſity done by warrant of peculiar right or priviledge. Now a Priviledge is ſaid to be that, that for favour of certain Perſons cometh forth *againſt* Common right; things *prohibited* are diſpenſed with, becauſe things *permitted* are diſpatched by Common right, but things *forbidden* require Diſpenſations. By which deſcriptions of a Priviledge and Diſpenſation it is (they ſay) apparent, that a Priviledge muſt licenſe and authoriſe the ſame, which the Law againſt ignorance, non-reſidence, and plurality doth infringe, and ſo be a Law contrariant or repugnant to the Law of Nature, and the Law of God, becauſe all the reaſons whereupon the Poſitive Law of Man againſt theſe three was firſt eſtabliſhed, are taken and drawn from the Law of Nature, and the Law of God. For anſwer whereunto, we will but lead them to anſwer themſelves. Firſt therefore if they will grant (as they muſt) that all direct oppoſitions of ſpeech require one and the ſelf-ſame ſubject, to be meant on both parts where oppoſition is pretended, it will follow that either the Maxims of Common right do inforce *the very ſame things* not to be good which we ſay are good, grounding our-ſelves on the reaſons by virtue whereof our priviledges are eſtabliſhed, or if the one do not reach unto that particular ſubject for which the other have provided, then is there no contradiction between them. In all contradictions, if the one part be true, the other eternally muſt be falſe. And therefore if the Principles of Common right do at any time truly enforce *that particular* not to be good, which Priviledges make good, it argueth invincibly, that ſuch priviledges have been grounded upon error. But to ſay, that every Priviledge is oppoſite unto the Principles of Common right, becauſe it diſpenſeth with that which Common right doth prohibit, hath groſs abſurdity. For the voice of Equity and Juſtice is, that a general Law doth never derogate from a ſpecial Priviledge, whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a general Law being in force ſhould always diſſolve a Priviledge. The reaſon why many are deceived by imagining that ſo it ſhould do, and why Men of better inſight conclude directly it ſhould not, doth reſt in the *ſubject* or *matter* it-ſelf, which matter *indefinitely* conſidered in Laws of Common right, is in Priviledges conſidered as *beſet and limitted with ſpecial circumſtances*, by means whereof, to them which reſpect it but by way of generality it ſeemeth one and the ſame in both, although it be not the ſame, if once we deſcend to particular conſideration thereof. Precepts do always propoſe perfection, not ſuch as none can attain unto, for then in vain ſhould we ask or require it at the Hands of Men, but ſuch perfection as all Men muſt aim at, to the end that as largely as Human providence and care can extend it, it may take Place. Moral Laws are the rules of Politick, thoſe Politick, which are made to order the whole Church of God, rules unto all particular Churches, and the Laws of every particular Church, Rules unto every particular Man, within the Body of the ſame Church; Now, becauſe the higher we aſcend in theſe Rules, the further ſtill we remove from thoſe ſpecialities, which being proper to the ſubject, whereupon our actions muſt work, and therefore chiefly conſidered by us, by them leaſt thought upon that wade altogether in the two firſt kinds of general directions, their Judgment cannot be exact and ſound, concerning either Laws of Churches, or Actions of Men in particular, becauſe they determine of effects by a part of the cauſes only out of which they grow, they judge concluſions by demi-premiſes and half-principles, they lay them in the balance ſtript from thoſe neceſſary material circumſtances which ſhould give them weight, and by ſhew of falling uneven with the ſcale of moſt univerſal and abſtracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to weigh it. This is the reaſon why Men altogether converſant in ſtudy to know how to teach, but not how to govern; Men experienced contrariwiſe govern well, yet know not which way to ſet down orderly the precepts and reaſons of that they do. He that will therefore judge rightly of things done, muſt joyn with his forms and conceits of general ſpeculation, the matter wherein our actions are converſant. For by this ſhall appear what equity there is in thoſe Priviledges and peculiar grants or favours, which otherwiſe will ſeem repugnant to juſtice, and becauſe in themſelves conſidered, they have a ſhew of repugnancy; this deceiveth thoſe great Clerks, which hearing a Priviledge defined to be *an eſpecial right brought in by their power and authority, that make it for ſome publick benefit againſt the general courſe of reaſon*, are not able to comprehend how the word *againſt* doth import *exception*, without any *oppoſition* at all. For inaſmuch as the hand of Juſtice muſt diſtribute to every particular what is due, and judge what is due with reſpect had, no leſs of particular circumſtances than of general rules and axioms; it cannot fit all ſorts with one meaſure, the wills, counſels, qualities and ſtates of Men being divers. For example, the Law of Common right bindeth all Men to keep their promiſes, perform their Compacts, and anſwer the Faith they have given either for themſelves, or others. Notwithſtanding he which bargaineth with one under years, can have no benefit by this allegation, becauſe he bringeth it againſt a Perſon which is exempt from the Common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certain Men from the Law of Common right, is againſt God, againſt Nature, againſt whatſoever may avail to ſtrengthen and juſtifie that Law before alledged, or elſe acknowledge (as the truth is) that ſpecial cauſes are to be ordered by ſpecial rules, that if Men grown, unto ripe age, diſadvantage themſelves by bargaining, yet what they have wittingly done, is ſtrong, and in force againſt them, becauſe they are able to diſpoſe and manage their own affairs, whereas youth for lack of experience and judgment, being eaſily ſubject to circumvention, is therefore juſtly exempt from the Law of Common right, whereunto the reſt are juſtly ſubject. This plain inequality between Men of years, and under years, is a cauſe why Equity and Juſtice cannot apply equally the ſame general rule to both, but ordereth the one by Common right, and granteth to the other a ſpecial priviledge. Priviledges are either tranſitory or permanant: Tranſitory, ſuch as ſerve only ſome one turn, or at the moſt extend no farther than to this or that Man, with the end of whoſe natural life they expire; Permanent, ſuch as the uſe whereof doth continue ſtill, for that they belong unto certain kinds of Men and cauſes which never dye. Of this nature are all immunities and pre-eminences, which for juſt conſiderations, one ſort of Men enjoyeth above another, both in the Church and Common-wealth, no Man ſuſpecting them of contrariety to any branch of thoſe Laws or Reaſons whereupon the general right is grounded. Now there being general Laws and Rules whereby it cannot be denied, but the Church of God ſtandeth bound to provide, that the Miniſtry may be learned, that they which have charge may reſide upon it, and that it may not be free for them in a ſcandalous manner to multiply Eccleſiaſtical Livings; it remaineth in the next place to be examined, what the Laws of the Church of *England* do admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alledged, and in what ſpecial conſiderations they ſeem to admit the ſame. Conſidering therefore, that to furniſh all places of Cure in this Realm, it is not an Army of twelve-thouſand Learned Men that would ſuffice, nor two Univerſities that can always furniſh as many as decay in ſo great a number, nor a fourth part of the Livings with Cure, that when they fall are able to yield ſufficient maintenance for Learned Men, is it not plain, that unleſs the greateſt part of the People ſhould be left utterly without the publick uſe and exerciſe of Religion, there is no remedy but to take into the Eccleſiaſtical order, a number of Men meanly qualified in reſpect of Learning? For whatſoever we may imagine in our private Cloſets, or talk for Communication-ſake at our Boards, yea, or write in our Books, through a notional conceit of things needful for performance of each Man's duty, if once we come from the Theory of Learning, to take out ſo many Learned Men, let them be diligently viewed, out of whom the choice ſhall be made, and thereby an eſtimate made, what degree of skill we muſt either admit, or elſe leave numbers utterly deſtitute of Guides; and I doubt not but that Men endued with ſenſe of common equity, will ſoon diſcern, that, beſides eminent and competent knowledge, we are to deſcend to a lower ſtep, receiving knowledge in that degree which is but tolerable. When we commend any Man for Learning, our ſpeech importeth him to be more than meanly qualified that way; but when Laws do require Learning as a quality, which maketh capable of any Function, our meaſure to judge a learned Man by, muſt be ſome certain degree of Learning, beneath which we can hold no Man ſo qualified. And if every Man that liſteth may ſet that degree himſelf, how ſhall we ever know when Laws are broken, when kept, ſeeing one Man may think a lower degree ſufficient, another may judge them unſufficient that are not qualified

Jus ſingulare eſt, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam utilitatem authoritate conſtituentium introductum eſt. Paulus ff. de Legib.

Privilegium perſonale cum perſona extinguitur, & privilegium datum actioni tranſit cum actione. Op. de Regulis. p. 1. 227.

in ſome higher degree. Wherefore of neceſſity, either we muſt have ſome Judge, in whoſe conſcience they that are thought and pronounced ſufficient, are to be ſo accepted and taken, or elſe the Law it-ſelf is to ſet down the very loweſt degree of fitneſs that ſhall be allowable in this kind. So that the queſtion doth grow to this iſſue. Tit. 1. 9. St. *Paul* requireth Learning in Presbyters, yea ſuch Learning as doth inable them to exhort in Doctrine which is ſound, and to diſprove them that gain-ſay it. What meaſure of ability in ſuch things ſhall ſerve to make Men capable of that kind of Office, he doth not himſelf preciſely determine, but referreth it to the Conſcience of *Titus* and others, which had to deal in ordaining Presbyters. We muſt therefore of neceſſity make this demand, whether the Church, lacking ſuch as the Apoſtle would have choſen, may with good conſcience take out of ſuch as it hath in a meaner degree of fitneſs, them that may ſerve to perform the ſervice of publick Prayer, to miniſter the Sacraments unto the People, to ſolemnize Marriage, to viſit the Sick, and bury the Dead, to inſtruct by reading, although by Preaching they be not as yet ſo able to benefit and feed Chriſt's flock. We conſtantly hold, that in this caſe the Apoſtles Law is not broken. He requireth more in Presbyters than there is found in many whom the Church of *England* alloweth. But no Man being tyed unto impoſſibilites, to do that we cannot we are not bound. It is but a ſtratagem of theirs therefore, and a very indirect practiſe, when they publiſh large declamations to prove that Learning is required in the Miniſtry, and to make the ſilly people believe that the contrary is maintained by the Biſhops, and upheld by the Laws of the Land; whereas the queſtion in truth is not, whether Learning be required, but whether a Church, wherein there is not ſufficient ſtore of Learned Men to furniſh all Congregations, ſhould do better to let thouſands of Souls grow ſavage, to let them live without any publick ſervice of God, to let their Children dye unbaptized, to with-hold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this World like Pagans, without any thing, ſo much as read unto them, concerning the way of life, than as it doth in this neceſſity, to make ſuch Presbyters as are ſo far forth ſufficient, although they want that ability of Preaching which ſome others have. In this point therefore we obey neceſſity, and of two evils we take the leſs; in the reſt a publick utility is ſought, and in regard thereof ſome certain inconveniencies tolerated, becauſe they are recompenced with greater good. The Law giveth liberty of Non-reſidence for a time to ſuch as will live in Univerſities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that ſo they may afterwards the more edifie and the better inſtruct their Congregations. The Church in their abſence is not deſtitute, the Peoples ſalvation not neglected for the preſent time, the time of their abſence is in the intendment of Law beſtowed to the Churches great advantage and benefit, thoſe neceſſary helps are procured by it, which turn by many degrees more to the Peoples comfort in time to come, than if their Paſtors had continually abidden with them. So that the Law doth hereby provide in ſome part to remedy and help that evil, which the former neceſſity hath impoſed upon the Church. For compare two Men of equal meanneſs, the one perpetually reſident, the other abſent for a ſpace, in ſuch ſort as the Law permitteth. Allot unto both ſcme nine years continuance with Cure of Souls. And muſt not three years abſence in all probability and likelihood make the one more profitable than the other unto God's Church, by ſo much as the increaſe of his knowledge, gotten in thoſe three years, may add unto ſix years travel following? For the greater ability there is added to the inſtrument, wherewith it pleaſeth God to ſave Souls, the more facility and expedition it hath to work that which is otherwiſe hardlier effected. As much may be ſaid touching abſence granted to them that attend in the Families of Biſhops; which Schools of gravity, diſcretion and wiſdom, preparing Men againſt the time that they come to reſide abroad, are, in my poor opinion, even the fitteſt places that any ingenious mind can wiſh to enter into, between departure from private ſtudy and acceſs to a more publick charge of Souls; yea no leſs expedient for Men of the beſt ſufficiency and moſt maturity in knowledge, than the very Univerſities themſelves are for the ripening of ſuch as be raw. Imployment in the Families of Noblemen, or in Princes Courts, hath another end, for which the ſelf-ſame leave is given, not without great reſpect to the good of the whole Church. For aſſuredly, whoſoever doth well obſerve, how much all inferiour things depend upon the orderly courſes and motions of thoſe greater Orbs, will hardly judge it either meet or good, that the Angels aſſiſting them ſhould be driven to betake themſelves to other ſtations, although by nature they were not tyed where they now are, but had charge alſo elſewhere, as long as their abſence from beneath might but tolerably be ſupplied, and by deſcending their rooms above ſhould become vacant. For we are not to dream in this caſe of any platform, which bringeth equally high and low unto Pariſh-Churches, nor of any conſtraint to maintain at their own charge Men ſufficient for that purpoſe; the one ſo repugnant to the Majeſty and Greatneſs of Engliſh Nobility, the other ſo improbable and unlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both, ſeem not indeed to have conceived what either is. But the eye of Law is the eye of God, it looketh into the hearts and ſecret diſpoſitions of Men, it beholdeth how far one ſtar differeth from another in glory, and as Mens ſeveral degrees require, accordingly it guideth them; granting unto principal Perſonages priviledges correſpondent to their high Eſtates, and that not only in Civil, but even in Spiritual Affairs, to the end they may love that Religion the more, which no way ſeeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminiſheth their dignity and greatneſs, but to do them good doth them honour alſo, and by ſuch extraordinary favours teacheth them to be in the Church of God the ſame which the Church of God eſteemeth them, more worth than thouſands. It appeareth therefore in what reſpect the Laws of this Realm have given liberty of Non-reſidence to ſome, that their knowledge may be increaſed, and their labours by that mean be made afterwards the more profitable to others, leſt the Houſes of Great Men ſhould want that daily exerciſe of Religion, wherein their example availeth as much, yea many times peradventure more than the Laws themſelves with the common ſort. A third thing reſpected both in permitting abſence, and alſo in granting to ſome that liberty of addition or plurality, which neceſſarily inforceth their abſence, is a meer both juſt and conſcionable regard, that as Men are in quality, and as their ſervices are in weight for the publick good, ſo likewiſe their rewards and encouragements by ſpecial priviledge of Law might ſomewhat declare how the State it-ſelf doth accept their pains, much abhorring from their beſtial and ſavage rudeneſs, which think that Oxen ſhould only labour, and Aſſes feed. Thus to Readers in Univerſities, whoſe very Paper and Book-expences their ancient allowances and ſtipends at this day do either not, or hardly ſuſtain; to Governors of Colledges, leſt the great overplus of charges neceſſarily inforced upon them, by reaſon of their place, and very ſlenderly ſupplied, by means of that change in the preſent condition of things, which their Founders could not fore-ſee; to Men called away from their Cures, and employed in weightier buſineſs, either of the Church or Common-wealth, becauſe to impoſe upon them a burden which requireth their abſence, and not to releaſe them from the duty of Reſidence, were a kind of cruel and barbarous injuſtice; to Reſidents in Cathedral Churches, or upon Dignities Eccleſiaſtical, foraſmuch as theſe being rooms of greater Hoſpitality, places of more reſpect and conſequence than the reſt, they are the rather to be furniſhed with Men of beſt quality, and the Men for their qualities ſake to be favoured above others: I ſay unto all theſe, in regard of their worth and merit, the Law hath therefore given leave, while themſelves bear weightier burdens, to ſupply inferiour by deputation; and in like conſideration partly, partly alſo by way of honour to Learning, Nobility and Authority, permitteth, that Men which have taken Theological degrees in Schools, the Suffragans of Biſhops, the Houſhold Chaplains of Men of Honour, or in great Offices, the Brethren and Sons of Lords Temporal, or of Knights, if God ſhall move the hearts of ſuch to enter at any time into Holy Orders, may obtain to themſelves a faculty or licenſe to hold two Eccleſiaſtical Livings, though having Cure; any Spiritual Perſon of the Queen's Council, three ſuch Livings; her Chaplains, what number of promotions her-ſelf in her own Princely wiſdom thinketh good to beſtow upon them. But as it fareth in ſuch caſes, the gap which for juſt conſiderations we open unto ſome, letteth in others through corrupt practiſes, to whom ſuch favours were neither meant, nor ſhould be communicated. The greatneſs of the Harveſt, and the ſcarcity of able Work-men hath made it neceſſary, that Law ſhould yield to admit numbers of Men but ſlenderly and meanly qualified. Hereupon, becauſe whom all other worldly hopes have forſaken, they commonly reſerve Miniſterial Vocation, as their laſt and ſureſt refuge ever open to forlorn Men; the Church that ſhould nouriſh them, whoſe ſervice ſhe needeth, hath obtruded upon her their ſervice, that know not otherwiſe how to live and ſuſtain themſelves. Theſe finding nothing more eaſie than means to procure the writing of a few lines to ſome one or other which hath authority, and nothing more uſual than too much facility in condeſcending unto ſuch requeſts, are often received into that Vocation whereunto their unworthineſs is no ſmall diſgrace. Did any thing more aggravate the crime of *Jeroboams* prophane Apoſtaſie, than that he choſe to have his Clergy the ſcum and refuſe of his whole Land? Let no Man ſpare to tell it them, that they are not faithful towards God, that burden wilfully his Church with ſuch ſwarms of unworthy Creatures. I will not ſay of all degrees in the Miniſtry, that which St. *Chryſoſtom* doth of the higheſt, *He that will undertake ſo weighty a charge, had need to be a Man of great underſtanding, rarely aſſiſted with Divine grace, for integrity of manners, purity of life, and for all other virtues, to have in him more than a Man*; But ſurely this I will ſay with *Chryſoſtom*, *We need not doubt whether God be highly diſpleaſed with us, or what the cauſe of his anger is, if things of ſo great fear and holineſs as are the leaſt and loweſt duties of his ſervice, be thrown wilfully on them whoſe not only mean, but bad and ſcandalous quality doth defile whatſoever they handle.* Theſe eye-ſores and blemiſhes in continual attendants about the Service of God's Sanctuary, do make them every day fewer that willingly reſort unto it, till at length all affection and zeal towards God be extinct in them through a weariſom contempt of their Perſons, which for a time only live by Religion, and are for recompence, in fine, the death of the Nurſe that feedeth them. It is not obſcure, how incommodious the Church hath found both this abuſe of the liberty, which Law is inforced to grant; and not only this, but the like abuſe of that favour alſo, which Law in other conſiderations already mentioned affordeth touching Reſidence and plurality of Spiritual Livings. Now that which is practiſed corruptly to the detriment and hurt of the Church, againſt the purpoſe of thoſe very Laws, which notwithſtanding are pretended in defence and juſtification thereof, we muſt needs acknowledge no leſs repugnant to the grounds and principles of Common right, than the fraudulent proceedings of Tyrants to the principles of juſt Soveraignty. Howbeit, not ſo thoſe ſpecial priviledges which are but inſtruments wreſted and forced to ſerve malice. There is in the Patriarch of Heathen Philoſophers this Precept, (a) *Let no Husbandman nor no Handy-craftſman be a Prieſt.* The reaſon whereupon he groundeth, is a maxim in the Law of Nature. It importeth greatly the good *of all Men that God be reverenced*, with whoſe honour it ſtandeth not, that they which are publickly imployed in his ſervice ſhould

Chryſoſt. de Sacerd. l. 3. c. 15.

(a) ὄυτε γεώργον ὄυτε βάναυσον ἱερέα καταςατέον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς θέους. *Ariſt. Po.* 7. c. 9.

(a) Acts 20. 34. 1 Cor 4. 12. 1 Theſſ. 2. 9. 2 Theſſ. 3. 8.

live of baſe and manuary Trades. Now compare herewith the Apoſtles words, (a) *Ye know that theſe hands have miniſtred to my neceſſities, and them that are with me.* What think we? Did the Apoſtle any thing oppoſite herein, or repugnant to the Rules and Maxims of the Law of Nature? The ſelf-ſame reaſons that accord his actions with the Law of Nature, ſhall declare our Priviledges and his Laws no leſs conſonant. Thus therefore we ſee, that although they urge very colourably the Apoſtles own Sentences, requiring that a Miniſter ſhould be able to divide rightly the Word of God, that they who are placed in Charge ſhould attend unto it themſelves, which in abſence they cannot do, and that they which have divers Cures muſt of neceſſity be abſent from ſome, whereby the Law Apoſtolick ſeemeth apparently broken, which Law requiring attendance cannot otherwiſe be underſtood, than ſo as to charge them with perpetual Reſidence: Again, though in every of theſe cauſes, they infinitely heap up the Sentences of Fathers, the Decrees of Popes, the ancient Edicts of Imperial authority, our own National Laws and Ordinances prohibiting the ſame, and grounding evermore their Prohibitions, partly on the Laws of God, and partly on reaſons drawn from the light of Nature, yet hereby to gather and infer contradiction between thoſe Laws which forbid indefinitely, and ours which in certain caſes have allowed the ordaining of ſundry Miniſters, whoſe ſufficiency for Learning is but mean; again, the licenſing of ſome to be abſent from their Flocks, and of others to hold more than one only Living which hath Cure of Souls, I ſay, to conclude repugnancy between theſe eſpecial permiſſions, and the former general prohibitions, which ſet not down their own limits, is erroneous, and the manifeſt cauſe thereof ignorance in differences of matter which both ſorts of Law concern. If then the conſiderations be reaſonable, juſt and good, whereupon we ground whatſoever our Laws have by ſpecial right permitted; if only the effects of abuſed Priviledges be repugnant to the Maxims of Common right, this main foundation of repugnancy being broken, whatſoever they have built thereupon falleth neceſſarily to the ground. Whereas therefore, upon ſurmiſe, or vain ſuppoſal of oppoſition between our ſpecial, and the principles of Common right, they gather that ſuch as are with us ordained Miniſters, before they can Preach, be neither lawful, becauſe the Laws already mentioned forbid generally to create ſuch, neither are they indeed Miniſters, although we commonly ſo name them, but whatſoever they execute by virtue of ſuch their pretended Vocation is void; that all our grants and tolerations, as well of this as the reſt, are fruſtrate and of no effect; the Perſons that enjoy them poſſeſs them wrongfully, and are deprivable at all hours; finally, that other juſt and ſufficient remedy of evils there can be none, beſides the utter abrogations of theſe our mitigations, and the ſtrict eſtabliſhment of former Ordinances to be abſolutely executed whatſoever follow: albeit the Anſwer already made in diſcovery of the weak and unſound foundation whereupon they have built theſe erroneous collections may be thought ſufficient; yet becauſe our deſire is rather to ſatisfie, if it be poſſible, than to ſhake them off, we are with very good will contented to declare the cauſes of all particulars more formally and largely than the equity of our own defence doth require.

There is crept into the minds of Men, at this day, a ſecret pernicious and peſtilent conceit, that the greateſt perfection of a Chriſtian Man doth conſiſt in diſcovery of other Mens faults, and in wit to diſcourſe of our own profeſſion. When the World moſt abounded with juſt, righteous and perfect Men, their chiefeſt ſtudy was the exerciſe of piety, wherein for their ſafeſt direction, they reverently hearkned to the Readings of the Law of God, they kept in mind the Oracles and Aphoriſms of wiſdom, which tended unto virtuous life; if any ſcruple of Conſcience did trouble them for matter of Actions which they took in hand, nothing was attempted before counſel and advice were had, for fear leſt raſhly they might offend: We are now more confident, not that our knowledge and judgment is riper, but becauſe our deſires are another way.

Their ſcope was obedience, ours is skill; their endeavour was reformation of life, * our virtue nothing but to hear gladly the reproof of vice; they in the practice of their Religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, we eſpecially our ears and tongues. We are grown, as in many things elſe, ſo in this, to a kind of intemperancy, which (only Sermons excepted) hath almoſt brought all other duties of Religion out of taſte. At the leaſt they are not in that account and reputation which they ſhould be. Now, becauſe Men bring all Religion in a manner to the only Office of hearing Sermons, if it chance that they who are thus conceited do imbrace any ſpecial opinion different from other Men, the Sermons that reliſh not that opinion, can in no wiſe pleaſe their appetite. Such therefore as preach unto them, but hit not the ſtring they look for, are rejected as unprofitable; the reſt as unlawful, and indeed no Miniſters, if the faculty of Sermons want, For why? A Miniſter of the World ſhould, they ſay, be able rightly to *divide* the Word. Which Apoſtolick Canon many think they do well obſerve, when in opening the Sentences of holy Scripture, they draw all things favourably ſpoken unto one ſide; but whatſoever is reprehenſive, ſevere and ſharp, they have others on the contrary part whom that muſt always concern, by which their over-partial and unindifferent proceeding, while they thus labour amongſt the people to divide the Word, they make the Word a mean to divide and diſtract the People. Ὀρθοτομεῖν *to divide aright*, doth note in the Apoſtles Writings, ſoundneſs of Doctrine only; and in meaning ſtandeth oppoſite to καινοτομεῖν *the broaching of new opinions againſt that which is received.* For queſtionleſs the firſt things delivered to the Church of Chriſt, were pure and ſincere Truth. Which whoſoever did afterwards oppugn, could not chuſe but divide the Church into two moyeties; in which diviſion, ſuch as taught what was firſt believed, held the truer part; the contrary ſide, in that

* Ἀλλ' ὁι πολλοὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὀυ πράττουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον καταφεύγοντες οἴονται φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ ὄυτως ἔσεσθαι σπουδαῖοι. ὅμοιόν τι ποιοῦντες τοῖς κάμνουσιν, ὃι τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀκούουσι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, ποιοῦσι δὲ ὀυδὲν τῶν προσταττομένων ὥσπερ ὀυν ὀυδὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐυ ἕξουσι τὸ σῶμα ὄυτω θεραπευόμενοι, ὀυδὲ ὄυτοι τὴν ψυχὴν ὄυτω φιλοσοφοῦντες. *Ariſt. Eth. lib. 2. c. 5.*

that they were teachers of novelty, erred. For prevention of which evil there are in this Church many ſingular and well deviſed remedies, as namely the uſe of ſubſcribing to the Articles of Religion before admiſſion of degrees to Learning, or to any Eccleſiaſtical Living, the cuſtom of reading the ſame Articles, and of approving them in publick Aſſemblies whereſoever Men have Benefices with Cure of Souls, the order of teſtifying under their hands allowance of the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Book of ordaining Miniſters; finally, the Diſcipline and moderate ſeverity which is uſed either in otherwiſe correcting or ſilencing them that trouble and diſturb the Church with Doctrines which tend unto Innovation; it being better that the Church ſhould want altogether the benefit of ſuch Mens labours, than endure the miſchief of their inconformity to good Laws; in which caſe, if any repine at the courſe and proceedings of Juſtice, they muſt learn to content themſelves with the anſwer of *Mr. Curius*, which had ſometime occaſion to cut off one from the Body of the Common- *Valer.l.6.c.3.*
wealth: in whoſe behalf becauſe it might have been pleaded that the party was a Man ſerviceable, he therefore began his judicial ſentence with this preamble, *Non eſſe opus Rep. eo cive qui parere neſciret; The Common-wealth needeth Men of quality, yet never thoſe Men which have not learned how to obey.* But the ways which the Church of *England* hath taken to provide that they who are Teachers of others may do it ſoundly, that the Purity and Unity as well of ancient Diſcipline as Doctrine may be upheld, that avoiding ſingularities, we may all glorifie God with one heart and one tongue, they of all Men do leaſt approve, that do moſt urge the Apoſtles Rule and Canon. For which cauſe they alledge it not ſo much to that purpoſe, as to prove that unpreaching Miniſters (for ſo they term them) can have no true nor lawful calling in the Church of God. St. *Auguſtine* hath ſaid of the will of Man, that *ſimply to will proceedeth from Nature, but our well-willing is from Grace.* We ſay as much of the Miniſter of God *publickly to teach and inſtruct the Church, is neceſſary in every Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter; but ability to teach by Sermons is a Grace which God doth beſtow on them whom he maketh ſufficient for the commendable diſcharge of their duty.* That therefore where- *Ox.Man.p.21.*
in a Miniſter differeth from other Chriſtian Men, is not as ſome have childiſhly imagined, the *ſound Preaching of the Word of God*; but as they are lawfully and truly Governors to whom authority of Regiment is given in the Common-wealth, according to the order which Polity hath ſet, ſo Canonical Ordination in the Church of Chriſt is that which maketh a lawful Miniſter, *as touching the validity of any Act which appertaineth to that Vocation.* The cauſe why St. *Paul* willed *Timothy* not to be over-haſty in ordaining Miniſters, was (as we very well may conjure) becauſe impoſition of hands doth conſecrate and make them Miniſters, whether they have gifts and qualities fit for the laudable diſcharge of their Duties or no. If want of Learning and skill to preach did fruſtrate their Vocation, Miniſters ordained before they be grown unto that maturity ſhould receive new Ordination, whenſoever it chanceth that ſtudy and induſtry doth make them afterwards more able to perform the Office; than which what conceit can be more abſurd? Was not St. *Auguſtine* himſelf contented to admit an Aſſiſtant in his own Church, a Man of ſmall Erudition, conſidering that what he wanted in knowledge was ſupplied by thoſe virtues which made his life a better Orator, than more learning could make others whoſe converſation was leſs Holy? Were the Prieſts, ſithence *Moſes*, all able and ſufficient Men, learnedly to interpret the Law of God? Or was it ever imagined, that this defect ſhould fruſtate what they executed, and deprive them of right unto any thing they claimed by virtue of their Prieſthood? Surely, as in Magiſtrates, the want of thoſe Gifts which their Office needeth, is cauſe of juſt imputation of blame in them that wittingly chuſe unſufficient and unfit Men when they might do otherwiſe, and yet therefore is not their choice void, nor every action of Magiſtracy fruſtate in that reſpect: So whether it were of neceſſity, or even of very careleſneſs, that Men unable to Preach ſhould be taken in Paſtors rooms; nevertheleſs, it ſeemeth to be an error in them which think that the lack of any ſuch perfection defeateth utterly the Calling. To wiſh that all Men were ſo qualified, as their Places and Dignities require, to hate all ſiniſter and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any lett, to covet ſpeedy redreſs of thoſe things whatſoever, whereby the Church ſuſtaineth detriment, theſe good and virtuous deſires cannot offend any but ungodly minds. Notwithſtanding, ſome in the true vehemency, and others under the fair pretence of theſe deſires, have adventured that which is ſtrange, that which is violent and unjuſt. There are which *The Author of the Abſtract.*
in confidence of their general allegations concerning the knowledge, the reſidence and the ſingle Livings of Miniſters, preſume not only to annihilate the ſolemn Ordinations of ſuch as the Church muſt of force admit, but alſo to urge a kind of univerſal Proſcription againſt them, to ſet down Articles, to draw Commiſſions, and almoſt to name themſelves of the *Quorum*, for inquiry into Mens Eſtates and Dealings, whom at their pleaſure they would deprive and make obnoxious to what puniſhment themſelves liſt, and that not for any violation of Laws, either Spiritual or Civil, but becauſe Men have truſted the Laws too far, becauſe they have held and enjoyed the liberty which Law granteth, becauſe they had not the wit to conceive as theſe Men do, that Laws were made to intrap the ſimple, by permitting thoſe things in ſhew and appearance, which indeed ſhould never take effect, for as much as they were but granted with a ſecret condition to be put in practice, *If they ſhould be profitable and agreeable with the Word of God*: which Condition failing in all Miniſters that cannot Preach, in all that are abſent from their Livings, and in all that have divers Livings (for ſo it muſt be preſumed, though never as yet proved) therefore as Men which have broken the Law of God and Nature, they are deprivable at all hours. Is this the Juſtice of that Diſcipline

whereunto all Chriſtian Churches muſt ſtoop and ſubmit themſelves ? Is this the equity wherewith they labour to reform the World ? I will no way diminiſh the force of thoſe Arguments whereupon they ground. But if it pleaſe them to behold the viſage of theſe Collections in another Glaſs, there are Civil as well as Eccleſiaſtical Unſufficiences, Non-reſidences, and Pluralities; yea, the reaſons which Light of Nature hath Miniſtred againſt both, are of ſuch affinity, that much leſs they cannot inforce in the one than in the other. When they that bear great Offices, be Perſons of mean worth, the contempt whereinto their authority groweth, (*a*) weakeneth the ſinews of the whole State. Notwithſtanding, where many Governors are needful, and they not many, whom their quality can commend, (*b*) the penury of worthier muſt needs make the meaner ſort of Men capable: Cities, in the abſence of their Governors, are as Ships wanting Pilots at Sea. But were it therefore (*c*) Juſtice to puniſh whom Superior Authority pleaſeth to call from home, or alloweth to be employed elſewhere ? In committing (*d*) many offices to one Man, there are apparently theſe inconveniencies; The Commonwealth doth loſe the benefit of ſerviceable Men, which might be trained up in thoſe Rooms; it is not eaſie for one Man to diſcharge many Mens duties well, in ſervice of Warfare and Navigation, were it not the overthrow of whatſoever is undertaken, if one or two ſhould ingroſs ſuch Offices, as being now divided into many Hands, are diſcharged with admirable both perfection and expedition ? Nevertheleſs, be it far from the mind of any reaſonable Man to imagine, that in theſe conſiderations Princes either ought of duty to revoke all ſuch kind of Grants, though made with very ſpecial reſpect to the extraordinary merit of certain Men, or might in Honour demand of them the reſignation of their Offices, with ſpeech to this or the like effect; *For as much as you* A. B. *by the ſpace of many Years, have done us that faithful ſervice in moſt important affairs, for which we always judging you worthy of much honour, have therefore committed unto you from time to time, very great and weighty Offices, which hitherto you quietly enjoy; We are now given to underſtand, that certain grave and learned Men have found in the Books of Ancient Philoſophers, divers Arguments drawn from the common light of Nature, and declaring the wonderful diſcommodities which uſe to grow by Dignities thus heaped together in one; For which cauſe, at this preſent, moved in conſcience and tender care for the publick good, we have ſummoned you hither, to diſ-poſſeſs you of thoſe Places, and to depoſe you from thoſe rooms, whereof indeed by virtue of your own grant, yet againſt reaſon, you are poſſeſſed. Neither ought you, or any other to think us raſh, light, or inconſtant, in ſo doing: For we tell you plain, that herein we will both ſay and do that thing which the noble and wiſe Emperor ſometime both ſaid and did, in a matter of far leſs weight than this;* Quod inconſulto fecimus, conſulto revocamus, *That which we unadviſedly have done, we adviſedly will revoke and undo.* Now for mine own part, the greateſt harm I could wiſh them who think that this were conſonant with equity and right, is that they might but live where all things are with ſuch kind of Juſtice ordered, till experience have taught them to ſee their error. As for the laſt thing which is incident into the cauſe whereof we ſpeak, namely, what courſe were the beſt and ſafeſt whereby to remedy ſuch evils as the Church of God may ſuſtain, where the preſent liberty of Law is turned to great abuſe, ſome light we may receive from abroad, not unprofitable for direction of God's own ſacred Houſe and Family. The *Romans* being a People full of generoſity, and by nature courteous, did no way more ſhew their gentle diſpoſition than by eaſie condeſcending to ſet their Bond-men at liberty. Which benefit in the happier and better times of the Common-wealth, was beſtowed for the moſt part as an ordinary reward of Virtue, ſome few now and then alſo purchaſing freedom with that which their juſt labours could gain, and their honeſt frugality ſave. But as the Empire daily grew up, ſo the manners and conditions of Men decayed, Wealth was honoured, and Virtue not cared for, neither did any thing ſeem opprobrious out of which there might ariſe commodity and profit, ſo that it could be no marvel in a ſtate thus far degenerated, if when the more ingenious ſort were become baſe, the baſer laying aſide all ſhame and face of honeſty, did, ſome by Robberies, Burglaries, and proſtitution of their Bodies, gather wherewith to redeem liberty; others obtain the ſame at the Hands of their Lords, by ſerving them as vile Inſtruments in thoſe attempts, which had been worthy to be revenged with ten-thouſand deaths. A learned, judicious and polite Hiſtorian, having mentioned ſo foul diſorders, giveth his judgment and cenſure of them in this ſort: *Such Eye-ſores in the Common-wealth have occaſioned many virtuous minds to condemn altogether the Cuſtom of granting liberty to any Bond-ſlave, for as much as it ſeemeth a thing abſurd, that a People which commands all the World ſhould conſiſt of ſo vile Refuſe. But neither is this the only cuſtom wherein the profitable inventions of former are depraved by latter Ages; and for my-ſelf I am not of their opinion that wiſh the abrogation of ſo groſly uſed Cuſtoms, which abrogation might peradventure be cauſe of greater inconveniencies enſuing: But as much as may be I would rather adviſe that redreſs were ſought, through the careful providence of Chief Rulers and Overſeers of the Common-wealth, by whom a yearly ſurvey being made of all that are manumiſſed, they which ſeem worthy might be taken and divided into Tribes with other Citizens, the reſt diſperſed into Colonies abroad, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, that the Common-wealth might ſuſtain neither harm nor diſgrace by them.* The ways to meet with diſorders, growing by abuſe of Laws, are not ſo intricate and ſecret, eſpecially in our caſe, that Men ſhould need either much advertiſement or long time for the ſearch thereof. And if counſel to that purpoſe may ſeem needful, this Church (God be thanked) is not deſtitute of Men endued with ripe judgment, whenſoever any ſuch thing ſhould be thought neceſſary. For which end at this preſent, to propoſe any ſpecial

(*a*) Μεγάλων κύριοι καθεςῶτες ἂν ἔυτελεῖς ὦσι μεγάλα βλάπτουσι. *Ariſtot. Polit.* 2. *c.* 11.

(*b*) *Nec ignoro maximos honores ad ptrum dignos penuria meliorum ſolere deferri.* Mamertin. paneg. ad Julian.

(*c*) *Neque enim æquum viſum eſt abſentem Reipub. cauſa inter reos referri dum Reipub. operatur* Ulpian. l. 15. *Si maritus ad legem.* Julian. de adulter.

(*d*) *Ariſt. Polit. l.* 1. *c.* 11. See the like Preamble, framed by the Author of the *Abſtract*, where he fancieth a Biſhop depoſing one unapt to Preach, whom himſelf had before ordained.

Dioniſ. Halicar Rom. antiq l. 4

ſpecial inventions of my own, might argue in a Man of my Place and Calling more preſumption perhaps than wit. I will therefore leave it intire unto graver conſideration, ending now with requeſt only and moſt earneſt ſute; firſt, that they which give Ordination, would, as they tender the very honour of Jeſus Chriſt, the ſafety of Men, and the endleſs good of their own Souls, take heed, leſt unneceſſarily, and through their default the Church be found worſe, or leſs furniſhed than it might be: Secondly, that they which by right of Patronage have power to preſent unto Spiritual livings, and may in that reſpect much damnifie the Church of God, would, for the eaſe of their own account in that dreadful day, ſomewhat conſider what it is to betray for gain the Souls which Chriſt hath redeemed with blood; what to violate the ſacred bond of Fidelity and Solemn promiſe, given at the firſt to God and his Church by them, from whoſe original intereſt together with the ſelf-ſame Title of Right, the ſame Obligation of Duty likewiſe is deſcended; Thirdly, that they unto whom the granting of Diſpenſations is committed, or which otherwiſe have any ſtroke in the diſpoſition of ſuch Preferments as appertain unto learned Men, would bethink themſelves what it is to reſpect any thing either above or beſides Merit, conſidering how hardly the World taketh it, when to Men of commendable note and quality there is ſo little reſpect had, or ſo great unto them whoſe deſerts are very mean, that nothing doth ſeem more ſtrange than the one ſort, becauſe they are not accounted of, and the other becauſe they are; it being every Man's hope and expectation in the Church of God, eſpecially that the only purchaſe of greater rewards ſhould be always greater deſerts, and that nothing ſhould ever be able to plant a Thorn, where a Vine ought to grow: Fourthly, that honourable Perſonages, and they, who by, virtue of any principal Office in the Common-wealth are inabled to qualifie a certain number, and make them capable of Favours or Faculties above others, ſuffer not their names to be abuſed, contrary to the true intent and meaning of wholſome Laws, by Men in whom there is nothing notable beſides Covetouſneſs and Ambition: Fifthly, that the graver and wiſer ſort in both Univerſities, or whoſoever they be, with whoſe approbation the marks and recognizances of all Learning are beſtowed, would think the Apoſtles caution againſt unadviſed Ordinations not impertinent or unneceſſary to be born in mind, even when they grant thoſe degrees of Schools, which degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ*, kindneſſes beſtowed by way of humanity, but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, favours which always imply a teſtimony given to the Church and Common-wealth, concerning Men's ſufficiency for manners and knowledge; a teſtimony, upon the credit whereof ſundry Statutes of the Realm are built, a teſtimony ſo far available, that nothing is more reſpected for the warrant of divers Mens abilities to ſerve in the affairs of the Realm; a teſtimony wherein if they violate that Religion wherewith it ought to be always given, and thereby to induce into error ſuch as deem it a thing uncivil to call the credit thereof in queſtion, let them look that God ſhall return back upon their heads, and cauſe them in the ſtate of their own Corporations to feel either one way or other the puniſhment of thoſe harms, which the Church through their negligence doth ſuſtain in that behalf: Finally, and to conclude that they who enjoy the benefit of any ſpecial indulgence or Favour which the Laws permit, would as well remember what in duty towards the Church, and in Conſcience towards God they ought to do, as what they may do by uſing of their own advantage whatſoever they ſee tolerated; no Man being ignorant that the cauſe why abſence in ſome caſes hath been yielded unto, and in equity thought ſufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through induſtry elſewhere; the reaſon likewiſe wherefore pluralities are allowed unto Men of Note, a very ſoveraign and ſpecial care, that as Fathers in the ancient World did declare the pre-eminence of priority in birth, by doubling the worldly portions of their firſt-born; ſo the Church by a courſe not unlike in aſſigning Men's rewards, might teſtifie an eſtimation had proportionably of their Virtues, according to the ancient Rule Apoſtolick, *They which excell in Labour, ought to excell in Honour*, and therefore unleſs they anſwer faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, unleſs ſincerely they bend their wits Day and Night, both to ſow becauſe they reap, and to ſow ſo much more abundantly as they reap more abundantly than other Men whereunto by their very acceptance of ſuch benignities they formally bind themſelves; let them be well aſſured that the honey which they eat with fraud ſhall turn in the end into true gall, for as much as Laws are the ſacred Image of his wiſdom who moſt ſeverely puniſheth thoſe colourable and ſubtile crimes that ſeldom are taken within the walk of human Juſtice: I therefore conclude, that the grounds and maxims of Common right whereupon Ordinations of Miniſters unable to Preach, tolerations of abſence from the Cures, and the multiplications of their Spiritual Livings are diſproved, do but infinitely enforce them unlawful, not unlawful univerſally and without exception; that the Laws which indefinitely are againſt all theſe things, and the Priviledges which make for them in certain caſes are not the one repugnant to the other, that the Laws of God and Nature are violated through the effects of abuſed Priviledges; that neither our Ordinations of Men unable to make Sermons, nor our diſpenſations for the reſt, can be juſtly proved fruſtrate by virtue of any ſuch ſurmiſed oppoſition between the ſpecial Laws of this Church which have permitted, and thoſe general which are, alledged to diſprove the ſame; that when priviledges by abuſe are grown incommodious, there muſt be redreſs; that for remedy of ſuch evils, there is no neceſſity, the Church ſhould abrogate either in whole or in part, the ſpecialities before mentioned; and that the moſt to be deſired were a voluntary reformation thereof on all Hands which may give paſſage unto any abuſe.

For the main Hypotheſis or foundation of theſe concluſions, let that before ſet down in the 9 be read together with this laſt the 81. Paragraph.

OF THE LAWS OF Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

BOOK VI.

Containing their Fifth Aſſertion, That our Laws are corrupt and Repugnant to the Laws of God, in matter belonging to the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in that we have not throughout all Churches certain Lay-Elders eſtabliſhed for the Exerciſe of that Power.

THE ſame Men, which in heat of Contention do hardly either ſpeak or give ear to Reaſon, being, after ſharp and bitter Conflicts, retired to a calm remembrance of all their former proceedings, the Cauſes that brought them into quarrel, the courſe which their ſtriving affections have followed, and the iſſue whereunto they are come, may peradventure, as troubled waters, in ſmall time of their own accord by certain eaſie degrees ſettle themſelves again; and ſo recover that clearneſs of well-adviſed judgment, whereby they ſhall ſtand at the length indifferent, both to yield and admit any reaſonable ſatisfaction, where before they could not endure with patience to be ain-ſaid. Neither will I deſpair of the like ſucceſs in theſe unpleaſant Controverſies ouching Eccleſiaſtical Polity; the time of ſilence, which both parts have willingly taken o breathe, ſeeming now as it were a pledge of all Mens quiet Contentment, to hear with ore indifferency the weightieſt and laſt remains of that Cauſe, Juriſdiction, Dignity, ominion Eccleſiaſtical. For let any Man imagine, that the bare and naked difference of few Ceremonies could either have kindled ſo much fire, or have cauſed it to flame ſo ng; but that the Parties which herein laboured mightily for change, and (as they ſay) r Reformation, had ſomewhat more than this mark whereat to aim.

The queſtion between us, Whether all Congregations, or Pariſhes ought to have Lay-Elders inveſted with power of Juriſdiction in Spiritual Cauſes.

Lib. 6.
Lib. 7.
Lib. 8.

Having therefore drawn out a compleat Form, as they ſuppoſe, of publick ſervice to e done to God, and ſet down their Plot for the Office of the Miniſtry in that behalf; they ery well knew, how little their labours ſo far forth beſtowed would avail them in the nd, without a claim of Juriſdiction to uphold the Fabrick which they had erected; and his neither likely to be obtained, but by the ſtrong hand of the people, nor the people nlikely to favour it; the more, if overture were made of their own intereſt, right, and itle thereunto. Whereupon there are many which have conjectured this to be the cauſe, hy in all the projects of their Diſcipline (it being manifeſt that their drift is, to wreſt the ey of Spiritual Authority out of the hands of former Governors, and equally to poſſeſs erewith the Paſtors of all ſeveral Congregations) the people, firſt for ſurer accompliſhment, nd then for better defence thereof, are pretended neceſſary Actors in thoſe things, whereunto their ability for the moſt part is as ſlender, as their title and challenge unjuſt.

Notwithſtanding (whether they ſaw it neceſſary for them to perſwade the people, without whoſe help they could do nothing, or elſe (which I rather think) the affection which ey bear towards this new Form of Government, made them to imagine it God's own Ordinance) Their Doctrine is, that by the Law of God there muſt be for ever in all Congregations certain Lay-Elders, Miniſters of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, in as much as our Lord and Saviour by Teſtament (for ſo they preſume) hath left all Miniſters or Paſtors in the Church Executors equally to the whole power of Spiritual Juriſdiction, and with them hath joyned the people as Colleagues. By maintenance of which Aſſertion, there is unto that part apparently gained a twofold advantage, both becauſe the people in this reſpect are much more eaſily drawn to favour it, as a matter of their own intereſt; and for that, if they chance to be croſſed by ſuch as oppoſe againſt them the colour of Divine Authority, aſſumed for the Grace and Countenance of that Power in the vulgar ſort, furniſheth their Leaders with great abundance of matter behoveful for their encouragement, to proceed always with hope of fortunate ſucceſs in the end, conſidering their cauſe to be as *David*'s was, a juſt defence of power given them from above, and conſequently their Adverſaries quarrel the ſame with *Saul*'s, by whom the Ordinance of God was withſtood.

Now on the contrary ſide, if this their ſurmiſe prove falſe; if ſuch, as in Juſtification whereof no evidence ſufficient, either hath been or can be alledged (as I hope it ſhall clearly appear after due examination and tryal) let them then conſider whether thoſe words of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, againſt *Moſes*, and againſt *Aaron*, *it is too much that ye take upon you, ſeeing all the Congregation is holy*, be not the very true abſtract and abridgment of all their publiſhed Admonitions, Demonſtrations, Supplications, and Treatiſes whatſoever, whereby they have laboured to void the rooms of their Spiritual Superiors before Authorized, and to advance the new fancied Scepter of Lay-Presbyterial Power. Numb. 16.

The Nature of Spiritual Juriſdiction.

BUT before there can be any ſettled Determination, whether Truth do reſt on their part, or on ours, touching Lay-Elders; we are to prepare the way thereunto, by explication of ſome things requiſite and very needful to be conſidered; as firſt, how beſides that Spiritual Power, which is of Order, and was inſtituted for performance of thoſe duties, whereof there hath been Speech already had, there is in the Church no leſs neceſſary, a ſecond kind, which we call the Power of Juriſdiction. When the Apoſtle doth ſpeak of ruling the Church of God, and of receiving accuſations, his words have evident reference to the Power of Juriſdiction. Our Saviour's words to the Power of Order, when he giveth his Diſciples charge, ſaying, *Preach*, *Baptize*: *Do this in remembranc of me.* Τιμᾶ μὲν τὸν Θεὸν ὡς αἴτιον τῶν ὅλων, καὶ κύριον. Ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ὡς ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φοροῦντα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τ ἱερατεύειν Χριστοῦ. *Epiſt. ad Smyrn.* A Biſhop (ſaith *Ignatius*) doth bear the Image of God and of Chriſt; of God in ruling, of Chriſt in adminiſtring holy things: By this therefore we ſe a manifeſt difference acknowledged between the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Order, and the Power of Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical. Acts 20. 28. 1 Tim. 5. 19. Mark 16. 15. Mat. 28. 19. 1 Cor. 11. 24.

The Spiritual Power of the Church, being ſuch as neither can be challenged by righ of Nature, nor could by human Authority be inſtituted, becauſe the forces and effect thereof are Supernatural and Divine; we are to make no doubt or queſtion, but tha from him which is the Head, it hath deſcended unto us that are the Body now inveſted therewith. He gave it for the benefit and good of Souls, as a mean to keep them in th path which leadeth unto endleſs felicity, a bridle to hold them within their due and convenient bounds, and, if they do go aſtray, a forcible help to reclaim them. Now although there be no kind of Spirirual Power, for which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt did not give, both commiſſion to exerciſe, and direction how to uſe the ſame, although his Laws in that behal recorded by the holy Evangeliſts be the only ground and foundation, whereupon the practice of the Church muſt ſuſtain it-ſelf; yet, as all multitudes once grown to the form o Societies are even thereby naturally warranted, to enforce upon their own ſubjects particularly thoſe things, which publick wiſdom ſhall judge expedient for the common good ſo it were abſurd to imagine the Church it-ſelf, the moſt glorious amongſt them, abridge of this liberty, or to think that no Law, Conſtitution or Canon, can be further made either for Limitation or Amplification, in the practice of our Saviour's Ordinances, whatſoever occaſion be offered through variety of times and things, during the ſtate of this inconſtant World, which bringeth forth daily ſuch new evils, as muſt of neceſſity by new remedies be redreſt, did both of old enforce our venerable Predeceſſors, and will alway conſtrain others, ſometime to make, ſometime to abrogate, ſometime to augment, and again to abridge ſometime; in ſum, often to vary, alter and change Cuſtoms, incident unt the manner of exerciſing that Power which doth it-ſelf continue always one and the ſame I therefore conclude, that Spiritual Authority is a Power, which Chriſt hath given to be uſe over them which are ſubject unto it for the eternal good of their Souls according to his ow moſt Sacred Laws, and the wholſome poſitive Conſtitutions of his Church.

In Doctrine referred unto Action and Practice, as this is which concerns Spiritual Juriſdiction, the firſt ſound and perfect underſtandiug is the knowledge of the End, becau thereby both Uſe doth frame, and Contemplation judge all things.

Of Penitency, the chiefeſt End propounded by Spiritual Juriſdiction. Two kinds of Penitency, the one a Private Duty toward God, the other a Duty of external Diſcipline. Of the virtue of Repentance, from which the former Duty proceedeth: And of Contrition, the firſt part of that Duty.

SEeing that the chiefeſt cauſe of Spiritual Juriſdiction is to provide for the health and ſafety of Mens Souls, by bringing them to ſee and repent their grievous offences committed againſt God, as alſo to reform all injuries offered with the breach of Chriſtian Love and Charity toward their brethren, in matters of Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance; the uſe of this Power ſhall by ſo much the plainlier appear, if firſt the nature of Repentance it-ſelf be known.

We are by Repentance to appeaſe whom we offend by Sin. For which cauſe, whereas all Sin deprives us of the favour of Almighty God, our way of Reconciliation with him is the inward ſecret Repentance of the heart; which inward Repentance alone ſufficeth, unleſs ſome ſpecial thing, in the quality of Sin committed, or in the Party that hath done amiſs, require more. For beſides our ſubmiſſion in God's ſight, Repentance muſt not only proceed to the private contentation of Men, if the Sin be a crime injurious; but alſo farther, where the wholeſome Diſcipline of God's Church exacteth a more exemplary and open ſatisfaction. Now the Church being ſatisfied with outward Repentance, as God is with inward, it ſhall not be amiſs, for more perſpicuity to term this latter always the Virtue, that former the Diſcipline of Repentance; which Diſcipline hath two ſorts of Penitents to work upon, in as much as it hath been accuſtomed to lay the Offices of Repentance on ſome ſeeking, others ſhunning them, on ſome at their own voluntary requeſt, on others altogether againſt their Wills, as ſhall hereafter appear by ſtore of ancient examples. Repentance being therefore either in the ſight of God alone, or elſe with the notice alſo of Men: Without the one, ſometime throughly performed, but always practiſed more or leſs, in our daily Devotions and Prayers, we have no remedy for any fault: Whereas the other is only required in Sins of a certain degree and quality; the one neceſſary for ever, the other ſo far forth as the Laws and Orders of God's Church ſhall make it requiſite. The nature, parts and effects of the one always the ſame; The other limited, extended, and varied by infinite occaſions.

Pænitentiæ ſecundæ, & unius, quantò in actu negotium eſt. tantò potior probatio eſt; ut non ſolà conſcientiâ proferatur, ſed aliquo etiam actu adminiſtretur. Second Penitency, following that before Baptiſm, and being not more than once admitted in one Man, requireth by ſo much the greater labour to make it manifeſt, for that it is not a work which can come again in tryal, but muſt be therefore with ſome open ſolemnity executed, and not left to be diſcharged with the privity of Conſcience alone. *Tertul. de pœn.*

The virtue of Repentance in the heart of Man is God's handy-work, a fruit or effect of Divine Grace; which Grace continually offereth it-ſelf, even unto them that have forſaken it, as may appear by the words of Chriſt in St. *John*'s Revelation, *I ſtand at the door and knock*: Nor doth he only knock without, but alſo within aſſiſt to open, whereby acceſs and entrance is given to the heavenly preſence of that ſaving power, which maketh Man a repaired Temple for God's good Spirit again to inhabit. And albeit the whole train of virtues which are implied in the name of Grace, be infuſed at one inſtant; yet becauſe when they meet and concur unto any effect in Man, they have their diſtinct operations riſing orderly one from another; it is no unneceſſary thing, that we note the way or method of the Holy Ghoſt in framing Mans ſinful heart to Repentance: A work, the firſt foundation whereof is laid by opening and illuminating the eye of Faith, becauſe by Faith are diſcovered the Principles of this action, whereunto unleſs the underſtanding do firſt aſſent, there can follow in the Will towards Penitency no inclination at all: Contrariwiſe, the Reſurrection of the dead, the Judgment of the World to come, and the endleſs miſery of ſinners, being apprehended, this worketh fear, ſuch as theirs was, who feeling their own diſtreſs and perplexity in that paſſion, beſought our Lord's Apoſtles earneſtly to give them counſel what they ſhould do. For fear is impotent and unable to adviſe it-ſelf; yet this good it hath, that Men are thereby made deſirous to prevent, if poſſibly they may, whatſoever evil they dread. The firſt thing that wrought the *Ninevites* Repentance, was fear of deſtruction within forty days; ſigns and miraculous works of God, being extraordinary repreſentations of Divine Power, are commonly wont to ſtir any the moſt wicked with terror, leſt the ſame Power ſhould bend it-ſelf againſt them: And becauſe tractable minds, though guilty of much Sin, are hereby moved to forſake thoſe evil ways which make his power in ſuch ſort their aſtoniſhment and fear; therefore our Saviour denounced his curſe againſt *Chorazin* and *Bethſaida*, ſaying, that if *Tyre* and *Sidon* had ſeen that which they did, thoſe ſigns which prevailed little with the one, would have brought the others to Repentance. As the like thereunto did in the Men given to curious Arts, of whom the Apoſtolick Hiſtory ſaith, that *Fear came upon them, and many which had followed vain Sciences, burnt openly the very books out of which they had learned the ſame*; as fear of contumely and diſgrace amongſt Men, together with other civil puniſhments, are a bridle to reſtrain from any heinous Acts, whereinto Men's outrage would otherwiſe break; ſo the fear of Divine Revenge and Puniſhment, where it takes place, doth make Men deſirous to be rid likewiſe from that inward guiltineſs of Sin, wherein they would elſe ſecurely continue. Howbeit, when Faith hath wrought a fear of the event of Sin, yet Repentance hereupon enſueth not, unleſs our belief conceive both the poſſibility and means to avert evil: The poſſibility, in as much as God is merciful, and moſt willing to have Sin cured: The means, becauſe he hath plainly taught what is requiſite, and ſhall ſuffice unto that purpoſe. The nature of all wicked Men, is, for fear of revenge to hate whom they moſt wrong; the nature of hatred, to wiſh that deſtroyed which it cannot brook; and from hence ariſeth the furious endeavours of godleſs and obdurate ſinners, to extinguiſh in themſelves the opinion of God, becauſe they would not have him to Be, whom execution of endleſs wo doth not ſuffer them to Love.

Every Sin againſt God abateth, and continuance in Sin extinguiſheth, our love towards him: It was therefore ſaid to the Angel of *Epheſus* having ſinned, *Thou art fallen away from thy firſt love*; ſo that, as we never decay in love till we Sin, in like ſort neither can we poſſibly forſake Sin, unleſs we firſt begin again to love. What is love towards God, but a deſire of union with God? And ſhall we imagine a Sinner converting himſelf to God, in whom there is no deſire of union with God preſuppoſed? I therefore conclude, that fear worketh no Man's inclination to Repentance, till ſomewhat elſe have wrought in us love alſo; our love and deſire of union with God ariſeth from the ſtrong conceipt which we have of his admirable goodneſs: The goodneſs of God, which particularly moveth unto Repentance, is his mercy towards mankind, notwithſtanding Sin: For, let it once ſink deeply into the mind of Man, that howſoever we have injured God, his very nature is averſe from revenge, except unto Sin we add obſtinacy, otherwiſe always ready to accept our ſubmiſſion, as a full diſcharge or recompence for all wrongs; and can we chuſe but begin to Love him whom we have offended, or can we but begin to grieve that we have offended him whom we love? Repentance conſidereth Sin as a breach of the Law of God, an act obnoxious to that revenge, which notwithſtanding may be prevented, if we pacifie God in time.

The root and beginning of Penitency therefore, is the conſideration of our own Sin, as a cauſe which hath procured the wrath, and a ſubject which doth need the mercy of God: For unto Mans underſtanding there being preſented, on the one ſide, tribulation and anguiſh upon every ſoul that doth evil; on the other, eternal life unto them which by continuance in well-doing ſeek Glory, and Honour, and Immortality: On the one hand a curſe to the Children of diſobedience; on the other, to lovers of righteouſneſs all grace and benediction: Yet between theſe extreams, that eternal God, from whoſe unſpotted juſtice and undeſerved mercy the lot of each inheritance proceedeth, is ſo inclinable, rather to ſhew compaſſion than to take revenge, that all his ſpeeches in holy Scripture are almoſt nothing elſe but entreaties of Men to prevent deſtruction by amendment of their wicked lives; all the works of his Providence little other than meer allurements of the juſt to continue ſtedfaſt, and of the unrighteous to change their courſe; all his dealings and proceedings towards true Converts, as have even filled the grave writings of holy Men with theſe and the like moſt ſweet ſentences: Repentance (if I may ſo ſpeak) ſtoppeth God in his way, when being provoked by crimes paſt, he cometh to revenge them with moſt juſt puniſhments; Yea, it tyeth, as it were, the hands of the Avenger, and doth not ſuffer him to have his will. Again,

Baſil. Epiſt. Seleuc. p. 106. Φιλάνθρωπον βλέμμα προσίουσαν αἰδεῖται μετάνοιαν. Chr. in 1 Cor. Hom. 8. Οὐ τὸ τρωθῆναι οὕτω δεινὸν, ὡς τὸ τρωθέντα μὴ βούλεσθαι θεραπεύεσθαι. Marc. Erem. Οὐδεὶς κατεκρίθη εἰ μὴ μετανοίας κατεφρόνησε, κ̓ οὐδεὶς ἐδικαιώθη εἰ μὴ ταύτης ἐπιμελῆ.

The merciful eye of God towards Men, hath no power to withſtand Penitency, at what time ſoever it comes in preſence. And again,

God doth not take it ſo in evil part, though we wound that which he hath required us to keep whole; as that, after we have taken hurt, there ſhould be in us no deſire to receive his help. Finally, leſt I be carried too far in ſo large a Sea, there was never any Man condemned of God, but for neglect; nor juſtified, except he had care of Repentance.

From theſe conſiderations, ſetting before our eyes our inexcuſable, both unthankfulneſs in diſobeying ſo merciful, and fooliſhneſs in provoking ſo powerful a God; there ariſeth neceſſarily a penſive and corroſive deſire that we had done otherwiſe; a deſire which ſuffereth us to foreſlow no time, to feel no quietneſs within our ſelves, to take neither ſleep nor food with contentment, never to give over Supplications, Confeſſions, and other penitent Duties, till the light of God's reconciled favour ſhine in our darkned ſoul.

|| Ful. de remi. peccat. lib. 2. cap. 15.

|| *Fulgentius* asking the queſtion, Why *David*'s Confeſſion ſhould be held for effectual Penitence, and not *Saul*'s; anſwereth, that the one hated Sin, the other feared only puniſhment in this World: *Saul*'s acknowledgment of Sin, was fear; *David*'s, both fear and alſo love.

This was the Fountain of *Peter*'s Tears, this the Life and Spirit of *David*'s Eloquence, in thoſe moſt admirable Hymns intituled *Penitential*, where the words of ſorrow for Sin do melt the very Bowels of God remitting it; and the Comforts of Grace in remitting Sin carry him which ſorrowed, rapt as it were into Heaven, with extaſies of joy and gladneſs. The firſt motive of the *Ninevites* unto Repentance, was their belief in a Sermon of Fear, but the next and moſt immediate, an Axiom of Love; *Who can tell whether God will turn away his fierce wrath, that we periſh not*? No concluſion ſuch as theirs, Let every Man turn from his evil way, but out of premiſſes ſuch as theirs were, Fear and Love: Wherefore the Well-ſpring of Repentance is Faith; firſt breeding Fear, and then Love, which Love cauſes Hope, Hope reſolution of Attempt: *I will go to my Father, and ſay, I have ſinned againſt Heaven and againſt thee*: That is to ſay, I will do what the Duty of a Convert requireth.

Jon. c. 3. 9.

Now in a Penitent's or Convert's Duty, there are included; firſt, the averſion of the will from Sin; ſecondly, the ſubmiſſion of our ſelves to God, by Supplication and Prayer; thirdly, the purpoſe of a new Life, teſtified with preſent works of Amendment: Which three things do very well ſeem to be compriſed in one definition, by them which handle Repentance, as a virtue that hateth, bewaileth, and ſheweth a purpoſe to amend Sin. We offend God, in thought, word, and deed. To the firſt of which three, they make Contrition; to the ſecond, Confeſſion; and to the laſt, our works of Satisfaction, anſwerable.

Contrition doth not here import thoſe ſudden Pangs and Convulſions of the mind, which cauſe ſometimes the moſt forſaken of God to retract their own doings; it is no Natural Paſſion or Anguiſh, which riſeth in us againſt our Wills, but a deliberate Averſion of the Will of Man from Sin, which being always accompanied with grief, and grief oftentimes, partly with Tears, partly with other external Signs; it hath been thought, that in theſe things Contrition doth chiefly conſiſt: whereas the chiefeſt thing in Contrition, is, that alteration, whereby the Will which was before delighted with Sin, doth now abhor and ſhun nothing more. But foraſmuch as we cannot hate Sin in our ſelves without heavineſs and grief, that there ſhould be in us a thing of ſuch hateful quality, the Will averted from Sin muſt needs make the affection ſuitable; yea, great reaſon why it ſhould ſo do: For ſince the Will by conceiving Sin hath deprived the Soul of Life, and of life there is not recovery without Repentance the death of Sin; Repentance not able to kill Sin, but by withdrawing the Will from it, the Will impoſſible to be withdrawn, unleſs it concur with a contrary affection to that which accompanied it before in evil: Is it not clear, that as an inordinate delight did firſt begin Sin, ſo Repentance muſt begin with a juſt ſorrow, a ſorrow of heart, and ſuch a ſorrow as renteth the heart; neither a feigned nor ſleight ſorrow; not feigned, leſt it increaſe Sin; nor ſleight, leſt the pleaſures of Sin over-match it?

Wherefore of Grace, the higheſt cauſe from which Man's Penitency doth proceed, of Faith, Fear, Love, Hope, what force and efficiency they have in Repentance; of Parts and Duties thereunto belonging, comprehended in the School-Men's Definitions; finally, of the firſt among thoſe Duties, Contrition, which diſliketh and bewaileth iniquity, let this ſuffice.

And becauſe God will have Offences by Repentance, not only abhorred within our ſelves, but alſo with humble Supplication diſplayed before Him; and a teſtimony of amendment to be given, even by preſent works, worthy Repentance, in that they are contrary to thoſe we renounce and diſclaim: Although the virtue of Repentance do require, that her other two parts, Confeſſion and Satisfaction, ſhould here follow; yet ſeeing they belong as well to the Diſcipline as to the Virtue of Repentance, and only differ, for that in the one they are performed to Man, in the other to God alone; I had rather diſtinguiſh them in joynt-handing, than handle them apart, becauſe in quality and manner of practice they are diſtinct.

Of the Diſcipline of Repentance, inſtituted by Chriſt, practiſed by the Fathers, converted by the School-men into a Sacrament; and of Confeſſion, that which belongeth to the virtue of Repentance, that which was uſed among the Jews, that which the Papacy imagineth a Sacrament, and that which Antient Diſcipline practiſed.

OUr Lord and Saviour in the ſixteenth of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel giveth his Apoſtles Mat. 16. 19.
Regiment in General over God's Church. For they that have the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, are thereby ſignified to be Stewards of the Houſe of God, under whom they Guide, Command, Judge, and Correct his Family. The Souls of Men are God's Treaſure, committed to the Truſt and Fidelity of ſuch as muſt render a ſtrict account for the very leaſt which is under their Cuſtody. God hath not inveſted them with Power to make a Revenue thereof, but to uſe it for the good of them whom Jeſus Chriſt hath moſt dearly bought.

And becauſe their Office therein conſiſteth of ſundry Functions, ſome belonging to Doctrine, ſome to Diſcipline, all contained in the Name of the Keys, they have for Matters of Diſcipline, as well Litigious as Criminal, their Courts and Conſiſtories erected by the Heavenly Authority of his moſt Sacred Voice, who hath ſaid, *Dic Eccleſiæ*, Tell the Church; Mat. 18. 17.
againſt rebellious and contumacious Perſons, which refuſe to obey their Sentence; armed they are with Power to eject ſuch out of the Church, to deprive them of the Honours, Rights and Priviledges of Chriſtian Men, to make them as Heathens and Publicans, with whom Society was hateful.

Furthermore, leſt their Acts ſhould be ſlenderly accounted of, or had in contempt; whether they admit to the Fellowſhip of Saints, or ſeclude from it, whether they bind Offenders, or ſet them again at liberty, whether they remit, or retain Sins, whatſoever is done by way of orderly and lawful proceeding, the Lord himſelf hath promiſed to ratify. This is that grand Original Warrant, by force whereof the Guides and Prelates in God's Church, firſt his Apoſtles, and afterwards others following them ſucceſſively, did both uſe and uphold that Diſcipline, the end whereof is to heal Men's Conſciences, to cure their Sins, to reclaim Offenders from iniquity, and to make them by Repentance juſt.

Mat. 18. 18.
John 20. 23.
1 Cor. 5. 3.
2 Cor. 2. 6.
1 Tim. 1. 20.

Neither hath it of Antient time for any other reſpect been accuſtomed, to bind by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to retain ſo bound till tokens of manifeſt Repentance appeared, and upon apparent Repentance to Releaſe, ſaving only becauſe this was received as a moſt expedient method for the cure of ſin.

The courſe of Diſcipline in former Ages reformed open Tranſgreſſors, by putting them into Offices of open Penitence, eſpecially Confeſſion, whereby they declared their own Crimes in the hearing of the whole Church, and were not from the time of their firſt convention capable of the holy Myſteries of Chriſt, till they had ſolemnly diſcharged this Duty.

Offenders in ſecret knowing themſelves altogether as unworthy to be admitted to the Lord's Table, as the other which were with-held; being alſo perſwaded, that if the Church did direct them in the Offices of their Penitency, and aſſiſt them with Publick Prayer, they ſhould more eaſily obtain that they ſought, than by truſting wholly to their own endeavours; finally, having no impediment to ſtay them from it but baſhfulneſs, which countervailed not the former inducements, and beſides was greatly eaſed by the good conſtruction, which the Charity of thoſe times gave to ſuch actions, wherein Men's Piety and voluntary Care to be reconciled to God, did purchaſe them much more love than their faults (the teſtimonies of common frailty) were able to procure diſgrace, they made it not nice to uſe ſome one of the Miniſters of God, by whom the reſt might take notice of their faults, preſcribe them convenient remedies, and in the end after publick Confeſſion all joyn in Prayer unto God for them.

The firſt beginner of this Cuſtom had the more followers, by means of that ſpecial favour which always was with good conſideration ſhewed towards voluntary Penitents above the reſt.

But as Profeſſors of Chriſtian belief grew more in number, ſo they waxed worſe; when Kings and Princes had ſubmitted their Dominions unto the Scepter of Jeſus Chriſt, by means whereof Perſecution ceaſing, the Church immediately became ſubject to thoſe evils which peace and ſecurity bringeth forth; there was not now that love which before kept all things in tune, but every where Schiſms, Diſcords, Diſſentions amongſt Men, Conventicles of Hereticks bent more vehemently againſt the ſounder and better ſort than very Infidels and Heathens themſelves, faults not corrected in Charity, but noted with delight, and kept for malice to uſe when the deadlieſt opportunities ſhould be offered.

Whereupon, foraſmuch as publick Confeſſions became dangerous and prejudicial to the ſafety of well-minded Men, and in divers reſpects advantagious to the Enemies of God's Church; it ſeemed firſt unto ſome, and afterwards generally requiſite, that voluntary Penitents ſhould ſurceaſe from open Confeſſion.

Inſtead whereof, when once private and ſecret Confeſſion had taken place with the *Latins*, it continued as a profitable Ordinance, till the *Lateran* Council had Decreed, that all Men once in a year at the leaſt, ſhould confeſs themſelves to the Prieſt.

So that being a thing thus made both general and alſo neceſſary, the next degree of eſtimation whereunto it grew, was to be honoured and lifted up to the Nature of a Sacrament; that as Chriſt did inſtitute Baptiſm to give life, and the Euchariſt to nouriſh life, ſo Penitence might be thought a Sacrament ordained to recover life, and Confeſſion a part of the Sacrament.

Scotus in 4. ſent.d. 14.q.1. art. 1. Id. ead. diſt. q. 2. art. 1.

They define therefore their private Penitency to be a Sacrament of remitting ſins after Baptiſm: The virtue of Repentance, a deteſtation of wickedneſs with full purpoſe to amend the ſame, and with hope to obtain pardon at God's hands.

Whereſoever the prophets cry *Repent*, and in the Goſpel Saint *Peter* maketh the ſame Exhortation to the Jews as yet unbaptized, they would have the Virtue of Repentance only to be underſtood; the Sacrament, where he adviſeth *Simon Magus* to repent, becauſe the Sin of *Simon Magus* was after Baptiſm.

Scot. ſent. l. 4. d. 14.q. 4.

Seſs. 14. c. 3. Docet Sancta Synodus Sacramenti pœnitentiæ formam, in qua præcipue ipſius vis ſita eſt, in illis Miniſtri verbis poſitam eſſe, Ego te abſolvo. Sunt autem quaſi materia hujus Sacramenti ipſius pœnitentis actus, nempe Contritio, Confeſſio, & Satisfactio.

Now although they have only external Repentance for a Sacrament, internal for a Virtue; yet make they Sacramental Repentance nevertheleſs to be compoſed of three parts, Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satisfaction; which is abſurd; becauſe Contrition being an inward thing, belongeth to the Virtue, and not to the Sacrament of Repentance, which muſt conſiſt of external parts, if the nature thereof be external. Beſides, which is more abſurd, they leave out Abſolution, whereas ſome of their School-Divines, handling Penance in the nature of a Sacrament, and being not able to eſpie the leaſt reſemblance of a Sacrament, ſave only in Abſolution (for a Sacrament by their doctrine muſt both ſignifie and alſo confer, or beſtow ſome ſpecial Divine Grace) reſolved themſelves, that the duties of the Penitent could be but meer preparations to the Sacrament, and that the Sacrament it-ſelf was wholly in Abſolution. And albeit *Thomas* with his Followers have thought it ſafer, to maintain as well the ſervices of the Penitent, as the words of the Miniſter, neceſſary unto the eſſence of their Sacrament; the ſervices of the Penitent, as a cauſe material; the words of Abſolution, as a formal; for that by them all things elſe are perfected to the taking away of Sin (which opinion now reigneth in all their Schools, ſince the time that the Council of *Trent* gave it ſolemn approbation;) ſeeing they all make Abſolution, if not the whole eſſence, yet the very form whereunto they aſcribe chiefly the whole force and operation of their Sacrament; ſurely to admit the matter as a part, and not to admit the form, hath ſmall congruity with reaſon.

Again, for as much as a Sacrament is compleat, having the matter and form which it ought, what ſhould lead them to ſet down any other parts of Sacramental Repentance, than Confeſſion and Abſolution, as *Durandus* hath done.

For touching Satisfaction, the end thereof, as they underſtand it, is a further matter, which reſteth after the Sacrament adminiſtred, and therefore can be no part of the Sacrament.

Will they draw in Contrition with Satisfaction, which are no parts, and exclude Abſolution, a principal part, yea, the very complement, form and perfection of the reſt, as themſelves account it? But for their breach of Precepts in art, it skilleth not, if their Doctrine otherwiſe concerning Penitency, and in Penitency touching Confeſſion might be found true.

We ſay, let no Man look for pardon, which doth ſmother and conceal Sin, where in duty it ſhould be revealed.

The cauſe why God requireth Confeſſion to be made to him, is, that thereby teſtifying a deep hatred of our own iniquity, the only cauſe of his hatred and wrath towards us, we might, becauſe we are humble, be ſo much the more capable of that compaſſion and tender mercy, which knoweth not how to condemn ſinners that condemn themſelves.

If it be our Saviour's own principle, that the conceipt we have of our debt forgiven, proportioneth our thankfulneſs and love to him, at whoſe hands we receive pardon; doth not God fore-ſee, that they which with ill-adviſed modeſty ſeek to hide their Sin like *Adam*, that they which rake it up under aſhes, and confeſs it not, are very unlikely to requite with offices of love afterwards, the grace which they ſhew themſelves unwilling to prize at the very time when they ſue for it, in as much as their not confeſſing what crimes they have committed, is a plain ſignification how loth they are that the benefit of God's moſt gracious pardon ſhould ſeem great. Nothing more true than that of **Tertullian**, *Confeſſion doth as much abate the weight of Men's offences, as Concealment doth make them heavier.* For he which confeſſeth, hath a purpoſe to appeaſe God; he, a determination to perſiſt and continue obſtinate, which keeps them ſecret to himſelf. St. *Chryſoſtom* almoſt in the ſame words, *Wickedneſs is by being acknowledged, leſſened, and doth but grow by being hid.* If Men having done amiſs, let it ſlip, as though they knew no ſuch matter, what is there to ſtay them from falling into one and the ſame evil? To call our ſelves Sinners availeth nothing, except we lay our faults in the balance, and take the weight of them one by one. Confeſs thy crimes to God, diſcloſe thy tranſgreſſions before thy Judge by way of humble Supplication and Suit, if not with tongue, at the leaſt with heart, and in this ſort ſeek mercy. A general perſwaſion that thou art a Sinner, will neither ſo humble, nor bridle thy Soul, as if the Catalogue of thy Sins examined ſeverally, be continually kept in mind.

Luke 7. 47.

Tantum relevat Confeſſio derelictorum, quantum diſſimulatio exaggerat. Confeſſio autem ſatisfactionis conſilium eſt, diſſimulatio contumaciæ. Tert. de pœn.

Chryſ. hom. 30. in Epiſt. ad Heb.

This ſhall make thee lowly in thine own eyes, this ſhall preſerve thy feet from falling, and ſharpen thy deſires towards all good things. The mind, I know, doth hardly admit ſuch unpleaſant remembrances; but we muſt force it, we muſt conſtrain it thereunto.

It is ſafer now to be bitten with the memory, than hereafter with the torment of Sin.

The Jews, with whom no Repentance for Sin is available without Confeſſion either conceived in mind or uttered, (which latter kind they call uſually ודוי Confeſſion delivered by word of mouth,) had firſt that general Confeſſion which once every year was made, both ſeverally by each of the people for himſelf upon the day of expiation, and by the Prieſt for them all. On the day of expiation, the high Prieſt maketh three expreſs Confeſſions. acknowledging unto God the manifold tranſgreſſions of the whole Nation, his own perſonal offences likewiſe, together with the Sins, as well of his Family, as of the reſt of his rank and order.

Levit. 16. 21.

All *Iſrael* is bound on the day of expiation to repent and confeſs. R. Moſ. in lib. Mitſworth haggadol. par. 2. præ. 16.

They had again their voluntary Confeſſions, at the times and ſeaſons when Men, bethinking themſelves of their wicked converſation paſt, were reſolved to change their courſe, the beginning of which alteration was ſtill Confeſſion of Sins.

Thirdly, over and beſides theſe, the Law impoſed upon them alſo that ſpecial Confeſſion, which they in their book call כויהחך ודוי על עוך Confeſſion of that particular fault, for which we namely ſeek pardon at God's hands.

The words of the Law concerning Confeſſion in this kind are as followeth: When a Man or Woman ſhall commit any Sin, that Men commit and tranſgreſs againſt the Lord, their Sin which they have done (that is to ſay the very deed it-ſelf in particular) they ſhall acknowledge.

Num. 5. 6.

In *Leviticus*, after certain tranſgreſſions there mentioned, we read the like: When a Man hath ſinned in any one of theſe things, he ſhall then confeſs, how in that thing he hath offended. For ſuch kind of ſpecial Sins they had alſo ſpecial Sacrifices, wherein the manner was that the Offender ſhould lay his hands on the head of the Sacrifice which he brought, and ſhould there make Confeſſion to God, ſaying, *Now, O Lord, that I have offended, committed Sin, and done wickedly in thy ſight, this or this being my fault; behold, I repent me, and am utterly aſhamed of my doings; my purpoſe is, never to return more to the ſame time.*

Lev. 5. 5.

Miſne Tora Tractatu Teſhuba cap. 1. & R. M. in lib. Miſnoth. par. 2. cap. 6.

None of them, whom either the houſe of judgment had condemned to die, or of them which are to be puniſhed with ſtripes, can be clear by being executed or ſcourged, till they repent and confeſs their faults.

Moſ. in Miſnoth, par. 2. præ. 15.

Finally

To him which is ſick and draweth towards death, they ſay, Confeſs. *Idem.*

Finally, there was no Man amongſt them at any time, either condemned to ſuffer death, or corrected, or chaſtiſed with ſtripes, none ever ſick and near his end, but they called upon him to repent and confeſs his Sins.

Of Malefactors convict by witneſſes, and thereupon either adjudged to die, or otherwiſe chaſtiſed, their cuſtom was to exact, as *Joſhua* did of *Achan*, open confeſſion, *My Son, now give Glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, confeſs unto him, and declare unto me what thou haſt committed, conceal it not from me.* Joſ. 7. 19.

Concerning injuries and treſpaſſes which happen between Men, they highly commend ſuch as will acknowledge before many.

It is in him which repenteth accepted as an high Sacrifice, if he will confeſs before many, make them acquainted with his over-ſights, and reveal the tranſgreſſions which have paſſed between him and any of his brethren, ſaying, I have verily offended this Man, thus and thus I have done unto him, but behold I do now repent and am ſorry. Contrariwiſe, whoſoever is proud, and will not be known of his faults, but cloaketh them, is not yet come to perfect Repentance; for ſo it is written, *He that hides his Sins ſhall not proſper*: which words of *Solomon* they do not further extend, than only to Sins committed againſt Men, which are in that reſpect meet before Men to be acknowledged particularly. But in Sins between Man and God, there is no neceſſity that Man ſhould himſelf make any ſuch open and particular recital of them; to God they are known, and of us it is required, that we caſt not the memory of them careleſly and looſly behind our backs, but keep in mind as near as we can, both our own debt, and his grace which remitteth the ſame.

Wherefore to let paſs Jewiſh confeſſion, and to come unto them which hold confeſſion in the ear of the Prieſt commanded; yea, commanded in the nature of a Sacrament, and thereby ſo neceſſary, that Sin without it cannot be pardoned; let them find ſuch a Commandment in holy Scripture, and we ask no more.

John the *Baptiſt* was an extraordinary perſon, his Birth, his Actions of Life, his office, extraordinary.

Mat. 3. 6.

Acts 19. 18.

It is therefore Recorded for the ſtrangeneſs of the Act, but not ſet down as an everlaſting Law for the World, *That to him Jeruſalem and all Judea made confeſſion of their Sins*; Beſides, at the time of this confeſſion, their pretended Sacrament of Repentance, as they grant, was not yet inſtituted, neither was it Sin after Baptiſm, which Penitents did there confeſs; When that which befel the ſeven Sons of *Sceva*, for uſing the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in their conjurations, was notified to Jews and Grecians in *Epheſus*, it brought an univerſal fear upon them, inſomuch that divers of them which had believed before, but not obeyed the Laws of Chriſt, as they ſhould have done, being terrified by this example, came to the Apoſtle, and confeſſed their wicked deeds.

Which good and virtuous act no wiſe Man, as I ſuppoſe, will diſallow, but commend highly in them, whom God's good Spirit ſhall move to do the like, when need requireth.

Yet neither hath this example the force of any general Commandment or Law, to make it neceſſary for every Man, to pour into the ears of the Prieſt whatſoever hath been done amiſs, or elſe to remain everlaſtingly culpable and guilty of Sin; in a word, it proveth Confeſſion practiſed as a virtuous act, but not commanded as a Sacrament.

James 5. 16.

Mark 6. 18.

Acts 28. 8.

Amb. de pœn. l. 1. c. 7.

Annot. Rhem. in Jac. 5.

1 John 1. 9.

Now concerning St. *James* his Exhortation, whether the former branch be conſidered, which ſaith, *Is any ſick among you? let him call for the Ancients of the Church, and let them make their prayers for him*; or the latter, which ſtirreth up all Chriſtian Men unto mutual acknowledgment of faults amongſt themſelves; *Lay open your minds, make your confeſſions one to another*; is it not plain, that the one hath relation to that gift of healing, which our Saviour promiſed his Church, ſaying, *They ſhall lay their hands on the ſick, and the ſick ſhall recover health*; relation to that gift of healing, whereby the Apoſtle impoſed his hands on the Father of *Publius*, and made him miraculouſly a ſound Man; relation finally to that gift of healing, which ſo long continued in practice after the Apoſtles times, that whereas the *Novatianiſts* denyed the power of the Church of God in curing Sin after Baptiſm? St. *Ambroſe* asked them again, *Why it might not as well prevail with God for ſpiritual, as for corporal and bodily health; yea, wherefore* (ſaith he) *do ye your ſelves lay hands on the diſeaſed, and believe it to be a work of benediction or prayer, if haply the ſick Perſon be reſtored to his former ſafety*; And of the other member which toucheth mutual Confeſſion, do not ſome of themſelves, as namely *Cajetan*, deny, that any other Confeſſion is meant than only that, *which ſeeketh either Aſſociation of Prayers, or Reconciliation, or pardon of wrongs*? Is it not confeſſed by the greateſt part of their own retinue, that we cannot certainly affirm Sacramental Confeſſion to have been meant or ſpoken of in this place? Howbeit, *Bellarmine*, delighted to run a courſe by himſelf where colourable ſhifts of wit will but make the way paſſable, ſtandeth as formally for this place, and not leſs for that in St. *John*, than for this: St. *John* ſaith. *If we confeſs our Sins, God is faithful and juſt to forgive us our Sins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs*; doth St. *John* ſay, If we confeſs to the Prieſt, God is righteous to forgive; and if not, that our Sins are unpardonable? No, but the Titles of God *juſt* and *righteous* do import, that he pardoneth Sin only for his promiſe ſake; *And there is not* (they ſay) *any promiſe of forgiveneſs upon Confeſſion made to God without the Prieſt*; Nor any promiſe, but with this condition, and yet this condition no where expreſt.

Is it not ſtrange, that the Scripture ſpeaking ſo much of Repentance, and of the ſeveral duties which appertain thereunto, ſhould ever mean, and no where mention, that one condition, without which all the reſt is utterly of none effect? or will they ſay, becauſe our Saviour hath ſaid to his Miniſters, *Whoſe Sins ye retain, &c.* and becauſe they can remit no more, than what the offenders have confeſt, that therefore by virtue of his promiſe it ſtandeth with the Righteouſneſs of God, to take away no Man's Sins, until by auricular confeſſion they be opened unto the Prieſt?

They are Men that would ſeem to honour Antiquity, and none more to depend upon the reverend judgment thereof. I dare boldly affirm, that for many hundred years after Chriſt, the Fathers held no ſuch opinion; they did not gather by our Saviour's words any ſuch neceſſity of ſeeking the Prieſts Abſolution from Sin, by ſecret and (as they now term it) ſacramental confeſſion: Publick confeſſion they thought neceſſary by way of Diſcipline, not private confeſſion, as in the nature of a Sacrament, neceſſary.

For to begin with the pureſt times, it is unto them which read and judge without partiality a thing moſt clear, that the ancient ἐξομολόγησις or Confeſſion (defined by *Tertullian* to be a Diſcipline of humiliation, and ſubmiſſion, framing Men's behaviour in ſuch ſort as may be fitteſt to move pity) the confeſſion which they uſe to ſpeak of in the exerciſe of Repentance, was made openly in the hearing of the whole both Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory and Aſſembly.

This is the reaſon wherefore he, perceiving that divers were better content their ſores ſhould ſecretly feſter, and eat inward, than be laid ſo open to the eyes of many, blameth greatly their unwiſe baſhfulneſs, and to reform the ſame, perſwadeth with them, ſaying; *Amongſt thy brethren and fellow ſervants, which are partakers with thee of one and the ſame nature, fear, joy, grief, ſufferings (for of one common Lord and Father, we have all received one ſpirit) why ſhouldeſt thou not think with thy ſelf, that they are but thine own ſelf? wherefore doſt thou avoid them, as likely to inſult over thee, whom thou knoweſt ſubject to the ſame haps? At that which grieveth any one part, the whole body cannot rejoyce, it muſt needs be that the whole will labour and ſtrive to help that wherewith a part of it-ſelf is moleſted.*

Pleroſq; hoc opus ut publicationem ſui aut ſuffugere, aut de die in diem differre, præſumo, pudoris magis memores quam ſalutis, velut illi qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis contracta vexatione conſcientiam medentium vitant, & ita cum erubeſcentia ſua pereunt. *Tert. de pœn.*

St. *Cyprian* being grieved with the dealings of them, who in time of perſecution had through fear betrayed their faith, and notwithſtanding thought by ſhift to avoid in that caſe the neceſſary Diſcipline of the Church, wrote for their better inſtruction the book intituled *De lapſis*; a Treatiſe concerning ſuch as had openly forſaken their Religion, nd yet were loth openly to confeſs their fault, in ſuch manner as they ſhould have done: n which book he compareth with this ſort of Men, certain others which had but a purpoſe nly to have departed from the Faith, and yet could not quiet their minds, till this ery ſecret and hidden fault was confeſt, *How much both greater in faith* (ſaith St. *Cypri*n) *and alſo as touching their fear, better, are thoſe Men who although neither ſacrifice, nor li*el *could be objected againſt them, yet becauſe they thought to have done that which they ſhould* ot, *even this their intent they dolefully open unto God's Prieſts? They confeſs that whereof their* onſcience *accuſeth them, the burthen that preſſeth their minds they diſcover; they foreſlow not* f *ſmaller and ſlighter evils to ſeek remedy*: He ſaith they declared their fault, not to one nly Man in private, but revealed it to God's Prieſts; they confeſt it before the whole Conſtory of God's Miniſters.

Qui neceſſitatem ſacrificandi pecunia apud Magiſtratum redimebant, accepta ſecuritatis Syngrapha, libellatici dicebantur.

Salvianus, (for I willingly embrace their conjecture, who aſcribe thoſe Homilies to him hich have hitherto by common Error paſt under the counterfeit name of *Euſebius Eme*nus) I ſay, *Salvianus*, though coming long after *Cyprian* in time, giveth nevertheleſs the me evidence for this truth, in a caſe very little different from that before alledged; s words are theſe, *Whereas* (*moſt dearly beloved*) *we ſee that pennance oftentimes is* ught *and ſued for by holy ſouls, which even from their youth have bequeathed themſelves* precious *treaſure unto God, let us know that the inſpiration of God's good Spirit moveth them* to do *for the benefit of his Church, and let ſuch as are wounded, learn to enquire for that re*edy, *whereunto the very ſoundeſt do thus offer and obtrude as it were themſelves, that if the* irtuous *do bewail ſmall offences, the others ceaſe not to lament great.* And ſurely, when a Man at hath leſs need, performeth, *ſub oculis Eccleſiæ*, in the view, ſight, and beholding of the hole Church, an office worthy of his faith and compunction for Sin, the good which oers thereby reap is his own harveſt, the heap of his rewards groweth by that which anoer gaineth, and through a kind of ſpiritual uſury from that amendment of life which oers learn by him, there returneth lucre into his coffers.

Hom. 1. de initio quadrageſimæ.

The ſame *Salvianus* in another of his Homilies, *If faults haply be not great and grievous* (or *example, if a Man have offended in word, or in deſire, worthy of reproof, if in the wan*nneſs *of his eye, or the vanity of his heart*) *the ſtains of words and thoughts are by daily* ayer *to be cleanſed, and by private compunction to be ſcoured out: But if any Man examining* wardly *his own Conſcience, have committed ſome high and capital offence, as if by bearing* lſe *witneſs he have quelled and betrayed his faith, and by raſhneſs of perjury have violated* e *ſacred name of Truth, if with the mire of luſtful uncleanneſs he have ſullied the veil of* aptiſm, *and the gorgeous robe of Virginity, if by being the cauſe of any Man's death he* ve *been the death of the New Man within himſelf, if by conference with Sooth-ſayers,* izards, *and Charmers, he hath enthralled himſelf to Satan; Theſe and ſuch like commit*d *crimes cannot throughly be taken away with ordinary, moderate, and ſecret ſatisfaction;*

Hom. 10. ad Monachos.

Graviores & criores, & Publicas curas requirunt.

but greater cauſes do require greater and ſharper remedies, they need ſuch remedies as are not only ſharp, but ſolemn, open, and publick. Again, *Let that Soul* (ſaith he) *anſwer me, which through pernicious ſhamefaſtneſs is now ſo abaſht to acknowledge his Sin in* conſpectu fratrum, *before his brethren, as he ſhould have been abaſht to commit the ſame, what will he do in the preſence of that Divine Tribunal, where he is to ſtand arraigned in the Aſſembly of a glorious and celeſtial hoſt?* I will hereunto add but St. *Ambroſe*'s teſtimony: For the places which I might alledge, are more than the cauſe it-ſelf needeth; *There are many* (ſaith he) *who, fearing the judgment that is to come, and feeling inward remorſe of conſcience, when they have offered themſelves unto penitency, and are enjoyned what they ſhall do, give back for the only skar which they think that publick ſupplication will put them unto.*

Lib. 2. de pœn. cap. 9.

He ſpeaketh of them which ſought voluntarily to be penanced, and yet withdrew themſelves from open confeſſion, which they that were penitents for publick crimes could not poſſibly have done, and therefore it cannot be ſaid, he meaneth any other than ſecret Sinners in that place. *Gennadius*, a Presbyter of *Marſiles*, in his book touching Eccleſiaſtical aſſertions, maketh but two kinds of confeſſion neceſſary, the one in private to God alone for ſmaller offences; the other open, when crimes committed are hainous and great. *Although* (ſaith he) *a Man be bitten with conſcience of Sin, let his will be from thenceforward to Sin no more; let him before he communicate, ſatisfie with tears and prayers, and then putting his truſt in the mercy of Almighty God* (*whoſe wont is, to yield to godly confeſſions*) *let him boldly receive the Sacrament. But I ſpeak this of ſuch as have not burthened themſelves with capital Sins. Them I exhort to ſatisfie, firſt by publick penance, that ſo being reconciled by the ſentence of the Prieſt, they may communicate ſafely with others.* Thus ſtill we hear of publick confeſſions, although the crimes themſelves diſcovered were not publick; we hear that the cauſe of ſuch confeſſions was not the openneſs, but the greatneſs of Men's offences; finally, we hear that the ſame being now held by the Church of *Rome* to be Sacramental, were the only penitential Confeſſions uſed in the Church for a long time, and eſteemed as neceſſary remedies againſt Sin.

Cypr. Epiſt. 12.

Inſpecta vita ejus qui agit pœnitentiam.

Con. Nic. par. 2. c. 12.

Pro fide & converſatione Pœnitentium.

De pœn. diſt. 1. cap. menſuram. Ambr. de pœn. lib. 2. c. 10. Greg. Niſſ. Orat. In eos qui alios acerbe judicant.

They which will find Auricular confeſſions in St. *Cyprian*, therefore muſt ſeek out ſome other paſſage, than that which *Bellarmine* alledgeth, *Whereas in ſmaller faults which are not committed againſt the Lord himſelf, there is a competent time aſſigned unto Penitency, and that confeſſion is made, after that obſervation and tryal had been had of the Penitents behaviour, neither may any communicate till the Biſhop and Clergy have laid their hands upon him; how much more ought all things to be warily and ſtayedly obſerved, according to the Diſcipline of the Lord, in theſe moſt grievous and extream crimes?* S. *Cyprians* ſpeech is againſt raſhneſs in admitting Idolaters to the holy Communion, before they had ſhewed ſufficient Repentance, conſidering that other offenders were forced to ſtay out their time, and that they made not their publick confeſſion, which was the laſt act of Penitency, till their Life and Converſation had been ſeen into, not with the eye of Auricular Scrutiny, but of Paſtoral Obſervation, according to that in the Council of *Nice*, where thirteen years, being ſet for the Penitency of certain offenders, the ſeverity of this Decree is mitigated with ſpecial caution: *That in all ſuc cafes, the mind of the Penitent and the manner of his Repentance is to be noted, that a many as with fear, and tears, and meekneſs, and the exerciſe of good works, declared themſelve to be Converts indeed, and not in outward appearance only, towards them the Biſhop at his diſcretion might uſe more lenity.* If the Council of *Nice* ſuffice not, let *Gratian* the Founde of the Canon Law expound *Cyprian*, who ſheweth that the ſtint of time in Penitency i either to be abridged, or enlarged, as the Penitents faith and behaviour ſhall give occaſion; *I have eaſilier found out Men* (ſaith St. *Ambroſe*) *able to keep themſelves free from crimes than conformable to the rules which in Penitence they ſhould obſerve.* S. *Gregory* Biſhop o *Niſſe* complaineth and enveigheth bitterly againſt them, who in the time of their Penitenc lived even as they had done always before; *Their countenance as chearful, their attire as nea their dyet as coſtly, and their ſleep as ſecure as ever, their worldly buſineſs purpoſely followed, t exile penſive thoughts from their minds, repentance pretended but indeed nothing leſs expreſt* Theſe were the inſpections of life, whereunto St. *Cyprian* alludeth; as for Auricular Examinations, he knew them not.

Orig. in Pſal. 37.

Ambr. l. 2. de pœn. c. 9. Si non tam ſe ſolvere cupiunt quam Sacerdotem ligare. Aug. in hom de pœn.

Were the Fathers then without uſe of private Confeſſion as long as publick was in uſe I affirm no ſuch thing. The firſt and ancienteſt that mentioneth this Confeſſion, is Orige by whom it may ſeem that Men being loth to preſent raſhly themſelves and their faults unt the view of the whole Church, thought it beſt to unfold firſt their minds to ſome one ſpecial Man of the Clergy, which might either help them himſelf, or refer them to an highe Court, if need were; *Be therefore circumſpect* (ſaith *Origen*) *in making choice of the part to whom thou meaneſt to confeſs thy Sin, know thy Phyſitian before thou uſe him; If he fi thy malady ſuch as needeth to be made publick, that other may be the better by it, and t ſelf ſooner helpt, his counſel muſt be obeyed.* That which moved ſinners thus voluntarily detect themſelves both in private and in publick, was fear to receive with other Chriſtia Men the myſteries of heavenly grace, till God's appointed Stewards and Miniſters d judge them worthy: It is in this reſpect that St. *Ambroſe* findeth fault with certain Me which ſought impoſition of Penance, and were not willing to wait their time, but wou be preſently admitted Communicants. *Such people* (ſaith he) *do ſeek by ſo raſh and prepoſterous deſires, rather to bring the Prieſt into bonds than to looſe themſelves*: In this reſpect it that St. *Auguſtine* hath likewiſe ſaid, *When the wound of Sin is ſo wide, and the diſeaſe ſo f*

gon

one, that the medicinable body and blood of our **Lord** *may not be touched, Men are by the Biſhops authority to ſequeſter themſelves from the Altar, till ſuch time as they have repented, and be after reconciled by the ſame authority.*

Furthermore, becauſe the knowledge how to handle our own ſores, is no vulgar and common art, but we either carry towards our ſelves for the moſt part an over-ſoft and gentle hand, fearful of touching too near the quick; or elſe, endeavouring not to be partial, we fall into timorous ſcrupuloſities, and ſometime into thoſe extream diſcomforts of mind, from which we hardly do ever lift up our heads again, Men thought it the ſafeſt way to diſcloſe their ſecret faults, and to crave impoſition of Penance from them whom our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath left in his Church to be ſpiritual and Ghoſtly Phyſitians, the Guides and Paſtors of redeemed Souls, whoſe Office doth not only conſiſt in general perſwaſions unto amendment of life, but alſo in the private particular cure of diſeaſed minds.

Howſoever the *Novatianiſts* preſume to plead againſt the Church (ſaith *Salvianus*) *that every Man ought to be his own Penitentiary, and that it is a part of our duty to exerciſe, but not of the Churches Authority to impoſe or preſcribe, Repentance*; the truth is otherwiſe, the beſt and ſtrongeſt of us may need in ſuch caſes, direction: *What doth the Church in giving Penance, but ſhew the remedies which Sin requireth? or what do we in receiving the ſame, but fulfill her precept? what elſe but ſue unto God with tears, and faſts, that his merciful ears may be opened?* St. *Auguſtines* exhortation is directly to the ſame purpoſe; *Let every Man, whilſt he hath time, judge himſelf, and change his life of his own accord, and when this is reſolved, let him from the diſpoſers of the holy Sacraments learn in what manner he is to pacifie God's diſpleaſure*: But the greateſt thing which made Men forward and willing upon their knees to confeſs whatſoever they had committed againſt God, and in no wiſe to be with-held from the ſame, with any fear of diſgrace, contempt, or obloquy, which might enſue, was their fervent deſire to be helped and aſſiſted with the Prayers of God's Saints. Wherein as St. *James* doth exhort unto mutual confeſſion, alledging this only for a reaſon, *that juſt Men's devout Prayers are of great avail with God*; ſo it hath been heretofore the uſe of Penitents for that intent to unburthen their minds, even to private perſons, and to crave their Prayers. Whereunto *Caſſianus* alluding counſelleth, that *if Men poſſeſt with dulneſs of Spirit be themſelves unapt to do that which is required, they ſhould in meek affection ſeek health at the leaſt by good and virtuous Men's prayers unto God for them.* And to the ſame effect *Gregory* Biſhop of *Niſſe*, *Humble thy ſelf, and take unto thee ſuch of thy brethren as are of one mind, and do bear kind affection towards thee, that they may together mourn and labour for thy deliverance. Shew me thy bitter and abundant tears, that I may blend my own with them.*

Hom. de pœn. Niniv.

Aug. hom. de pœn. citatur à Grat. diſt. 2. c. judices.

A præpoſitis Sacramentorum accipiat ſatisfactionis ſuæ modum.

Jam. 5. 16.

Caſſia. col. 20. c. 8.

Greg. Niſſ. oratione in eos qui alios acerbe judicant.

But becauſe of all Men there is or ſhould be none in that reſpect more fit for troubled and diſtreſſed minds to repair unto, than God's Miniſters, he proceedeth further, *Make the Prieſt, as a Father, partaker of thine affliction and grief; be bold to impart unto him the things that are moſt ſecret, he will have care both of thy ſafety, and of thy credit.*

Confeſſion (ſaith Leo) *is firſt to be offered to God, and then to the Prieſt, as to one which maketh ſupplication for the ſins of Penitent offenders.* Suppoſe we, that Men would ever have been eaſily drawn, much leſs of their own accord have come, unto publick Confeſſion, whereby they knew they ſhould ſound the trumpet of their own diſgrace; would they willingly have done this, which naturally all Men are loth to do, but for the ſingular truſt and confidence which they had in the publick prayers of God's Church? *Let thy Mother the Church weep for thee* (ſaith *Ambroſe*) *let her waſh and bathe thy faults with her tears: Our Lord doth love that many ſhould become ſuppliant for one*; In like ſort long before him *Tertullian, Some few aſſembled make a Church, and the Church is as Chriſt himſelf; When thou doſt therefore put forth thy hands to the knees of thy brethren, thou toucheſt Chriſt, it is Chriſt unto whom thou art a ſupplicant; ſo when they pour out tears over them, it is even Chriſt that taketh compaſſion, Chriſt which prayeth, when they pray: Neither can that eaſily be denyed, for which the Son is himſelf contented to become a ſuitor.*

Leo 1. Ep. 78. ad Epiſ. Campar. citat. à Grat. de pœn. d. 1. c. ſufficit.

Ambr. l. 2. de pœn. c. 10.

Tertul. de pœn.

Whereas in theſe conſiderations therefore, voluntary Penitents had been long accuſtomed for great and grievous crimes, though ſecret, yet openly both to repent and confeſs, as the Canons of Antient Diſcipline required; the Greek Church firſt, and in proceſs of time the Latin, altered this order, judging it ſufficient and more convenient, that ſuch offenders ſhould do Penance and make confeſſion in private only. The cauſe why the Latins did, Leo declareth, ſaying, *Although that ripeneſs of faith be commendable, which for the fear of God doth not fear to incur ſhame before all Men, yet becauſe every ones crimes are not ſuch, that it can be free and ſafe for them to make publication of all things, wherein repentance is neceſſary; let a cuſtom, ſo unfit to be kept, be abrogated, leſt many forbear to uſe remedies of penitency, whilſt they either bluſh or are afraid to acquaint their enemies with thoſe acts, for which the Laws may take hold upon them. Beſides, it ſhall win the more Repentance, if the Conſciences of Sinners be not emptied into the peoples ears*; And to this only cauſe doth *Sozomen* impute the change, which the *Grecians* made, by ordaining throughout all Churches certain *Penitentiaries* to take the Confeſſions, and appoint the Penances of ſecret offenders. *Socrates* (for this alſo may be true, that more inducements than one did ſet forward an alteration ſo generally made) affirmeth the *Grecians* (and not unlikely) to have ſpecially reſpected therein the occaſion, which the *Novatianiſts* took at the multitude of publick Penitents, to inſult over the Diſcipline of the Church, againſt which they ſtill cryed out, whereſoever they had time and place, *He that ſheweth Sinners favour, doth but teach the in-*

Leo 1. Ep. 78.

nocent to Sin: And therefore they themſelves admitted no Man to their Communion upo any Repentance, which once was known to have offended after Baptiſm, making Sinne thereby not the fewer, but the cloſer, and the more obdurate, how fair ſoever their pr tence might ſeem.

The *Grecians* Canon, for ſome one Presbyter in every Church to undertake the charg of Penitency, and to receive their voluntary Confeſſions, which had ſinned after Baptiſm continued in force for the ſpace of above ſome-hundred years, till *Nectarius* and the Biſhop of Churches under him begun a ſecond alteration, aboliſhing even that Confeſſion, whic their *Penitentiaries* took in private. There came to the *Penitentiary* of the Church o *Conſtantinople* a certain Gentlewoman, and to him ſhe made particular Confeſſion of he faults committed after Baptiſm, whom thereupon he adviſed to continue in Faſting an Prayer, that as with tongue ſhe had acknowledged her Sins, ſo there might appear likewiſ in her ſome work worthy of Repentance: But the Gentlewoman goeth forward, and de tecteth her ſelf of a crime, whereby they were forced to diſrobe an Eccleſiaſtical perſon that is, to degrade a Deacon of the ſame Church. When the matter by this mean came t publick notice, the people were in a kind of tumult, offended, not only at that which wa done, but much more, becauſe the Church ſhould thereby endure open infamy and ſcorn The Clergy was perplexed and altogether doubtful what way to take, till one *Eudæmon* born in *Alexandria*, but at that time a Prieſt in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, conſidering that the cauſes of voluntary Confeſſion whether publick or private, was eſpecially to ſeek the Churches aid as hath been before declared, leſt Men ſhould either not communicate with others, or wittingly hazard their Souls, if ſo be they did communicate, and that the inconvenience which grew to the whole Church was otherwiſe exceeding great, but eſpecially grievous by means of ſo manifold offenſive detections, which muſt needs be continually more, as the world did it-ſelf wax continually worſe, for Antiquity together with the gravity and ſeverity thereof (ſaith *Sozomen*) had already begun by little and little to degenerate into looſe and careleſs living, whereas before offences were leſs, partly through baſhfulneſs in them which open their own faults, and partly by means of their great auſterity, which ſat as judges in this buſineſs; theſe things *Eudæmon* having weighed with himſelf, reſolved eaſily the mind of *Nectarius*, that the *Penitentiaries* office muſt be taken away, and for participation in God's holy myſteries every Man be left to his own Conſcience, which was, as he thought, the only means to free the Church from danger of Obloquy and Diſgrace. *Thus much* (ſaith *Socrates*) *I am the bolder to relate, becauſe I received it from* Eudæmon's *own mouth, to whom mine anſwer was at that time; whether your counſel, Sir, have been for the Churches good, or otherwiſe, God knoweth. But I ſee, you have given occaſion, whereby we ſhall not now any more reprehend one anothers faults, nor obſerve that Apoſtolick precept, which ſaith, have no fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of Darkneſs, but rather be ye alſo Reprovers of them.* With *Socrates*, *Sozomen* both agreeth in the occaſion of aboliſhing *Penitentiaries*, and moreover teſtifieth alſo, that in his time living with the younger *Theodoſius*, the ſame Abolition did ſtill continue, and that the Biſhops had in a manner every where followed the example given them by *Nectarius*.

Wherefore to implead the truth of this Hiſtory, Cardinal *Baronius* alledgeth, that *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Eudæmon* were all *Novatianiſts*, and that they falſifie in ſaying (for ſo they report) that as many as held the Conſubſtantial Being of Chriſt, gave their aſſent to the abrogation of the fore-hearſed Canon. The ſum is, he would have it taken for a Fable, and the World to be perſwaded, that *Nectarius* did never any ſuch thing. Why then ſhould *Socrates* firſt, and afterwards *Sozomen*, publiſh it? To pleaſe their Pew-fellows, the Diſciples of *Novatian*. A poor gratification, and they very ſilly Friends, that would take Lyes for good turns: For the more acceptable the Matter was, being deemed true, the leſs they muſt needs (when they found the contrary) either credit, or affect him which had deceived them. Notwithſtanding, we know that joy and gladneſs riſing from falſe information, do not only make Men ſo forward to believe that which they firſt hear, but alſo apt to ſcholie upon it, and to report as true whatſoever they wiſh were true. But ſo far is *Socrates* from any ſuch purpoſe, that the Fact of *Nectarius*, which others did both like and follow, he doth diſallow and reprove. His ſpeech to *Eudæmon* before ſet down, is proof ſufficient, that he writeth nothing, but what was famouſly known to all, and what himſelf did wiſh had been otherwiſe. As for *Sozomen* his correſpondency with Hereticks, having ſhewed to what end the Church did firſt ordain *Penitentiaries*, he addeth immediately, that *Novatianiſts*, which had no care of Repentance, could have no need of this Office. Are theſe the words of a Friend or Enemy? Beſides, in the entrance of that whole Narration: *Not to ſin* (ſaith he) *at all, would require a Nature more divine than ours is: But, God hath commanded to pardon Sinners; yea, although they tranſgreſs and offend often.* Could there be any thing ſpoken more directly oppoſite to the Doctrine of *Novatian*? *Eudæmon* was Presbyter under *Nectarius*.

Tanta hæc Socrati teſtanti præſtanda eſt fides, quanta cæteris hæreticis de ſuis dogmatibus tractantibus; quippe Novatianus ſectâ cum fuerit, quam vere ac ſyncere hæc ſcripſerit adverſus pœnitentiam in Eccleſia adminiſtrari ſolitam, quemlibet credo poſſe facile judicare. *Baron. tom* 1. *ann. Chr.* 56.

Sozomenum eandem prorſus cauſam fovlſſe certum eſt. Nec Eudæmonem illum alium quam Novatianæ ſectæ hominem fuiſſe credendum eſt. *Ibidem.*

Sacerdos ille merito à Nectario eſt gradu amotus officioque depoſitus, quo facto Novatiani (ut mos eſt hæreticorum) quamcunque licet levem, ut ſinceris dogmatibus detrahant, accipere auſi occaſionem, non tantum Presbyterum Pœnitentiarium in ordinem redactnm, ſed & Pœnitentiam ipſam unà cum eo fuiſſe proſcriptam, calumnioſe admodum conclamarunt, cum tamen illa potius Theatralis fieri interdum ſolita peccatorum fuerit abrogata. *Ibidem.*

To *Novatianiſts* the Emperor gave liberty of uſing their Religion quietly by themſelves, under a Biſhop of their own, even within the City, for that they ſtood with the Church in defence of the Catholick Faith againſt all other Hereticks beſides. Had therefore *Eudemon* favoured their hereſie, their Camps were not pitched ſo far off, but he might at all times have found eaſie acceſs unto them. Is there any Man that hath lived with him, and hath touched him that way? if not, why ſuſpect we him more than *Nectarius*? Their report touching Grecian Catholick Biſhops, who gave approbation to that which was done, and did alſo the like themſelves in their own Churches, we have no reaſon to diſcredit without ſome manifeſt and clear evidence brought againſt it. For of Catholick Biſhops, no likelihood but that their greateſt reſpect to *Nectarius*, a Man honored in thoſe parts no leſs than the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf in the Weſtern Churches, brought them both eaſily and ſpeedily unto conformity with him: *Arians*, *Eunomians*, *Apellinarians*, and the reſt that ſtood divided from the Church, held their *Penitentiaries* as before. *Novatianiſts* from the beginning had never any, becauſe their opinion touching Penitency was againſt the practice of the Church therein, and a cauſe why they ſevered themſelves from the Church; ſo that the very ſtate of things, as they then ſtood, giveth great ſhew of probability to his ſpeech, who hath affirmed, *That they only which held the Son conſubſtantial with the Father, and Novatianiſts which joyned with them in the ſame Opinion, had no Penitentiaries in their Churches, the reſt retained them.* By this it appeareth therefore how *Baronius* finding the Relation plain, that *Nectarius* did aboliſh even thoſe private ſecret Confeſſions which the People had been before accuſtomed to make to him that was *Penitentiary*, laboureth what he may to diſcredit the Authors of the Report, and to leave it imprinted in Men's minds, that whereas *Nectarius* did but abrogate publick Confeſſion, *Novatianiſts* have maliciouſly forged the abolition of Private, as if the odds between theſe two were ſo great in the balance of their Judgment, which equally hated or contemned both; or, as if it were not more clear than light, that the firſt alteration which eſtabliſhed *Penitentiaries*, took away the burthen of Publick Confeſſion in that kind of Penitents; and therefore the ſecond muſt either abrogate Private, or nothing.

Cardinal *Bellarmine* therefore, finding that againſt the Writers of the Hiſtory it is but n vain to ſtand upon ſo doubtful terms and exceptions, endeavoureth mightily to prove, ven by their report, no other Confeſſion taken away than Publick, which *Penitentiaries* uſed in Private to impoſe upon Publick Offenders; *For why? It is* (ſaith he) *very certain hat the Name of Penitents in the Fathers Writings ſignifieth only Publick Penitents; certain, hat to hear the Confeſſions of the reſt was more than one could poſſibly have done; certain, hat* Sozomen, *to ſhew how the Latin Church retained in his time what the Greek had clean aſt off, declareth the whole Order of Publick Penitency uſed in the Church of* Rome, *but of rivate he maketh no mention.* And, in theſe conſiderations, *Bellarmine* will have it the eaning both of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, that the former Epiſcopal Conſtitution, which firſt id erect *Penitentiaries*, could not concern any other Offenders, than ſuch as Publickly ad ſinned after Baptiſm. That only they were prohibited to come to the Holy Communion, except they did firſt in ſecret confeſs all their Sins to the *Penitentiary*, by his appointment openly acknowledge their open crimes, and do publick Penance for them: That hereas before *Novatian*'s upriſing no Man was conſtrainable to confeſs publickly any Sin, is Canon enforced Publick Offenders thereunto, till ſuch time as *Nectarius* thought good o extinguiſh the Practice thereof.

Let us examine therefore theſe ſubtile and fine Conjectures, whether they be able to hold e touch. *It ſeemed good* (ſaith *Socrates*) *to put down the Office of theſe Prieſts which had harge of Penitency; what charge that was, the kinds of Penitency then uſual muſt make maifeſt.* There is often ſpeech in the Fathers Writings, in their Books frequent mention of enitency, exerciſed within the Chambers of our Heart, and ſeen of God, and not comunicated to any other, the whole charge of which Penitency is impoſed of God, and doth eſt upon the Sinner himſelf. But if Penitents in ſecret, being guilty of Crimes whereby hey knew they had made themſelves unfit Gueſts for the Table of our Lord, did ſeek diection for their better performance of that which ſhould ſet them clear; it was in this aſe the *Penitentiaries* Office to take their Confeſſions, to adviſe them the beſt way he ould for their Souls good, to admoniſh them, to counſel them, but not to lay upon them ore than private Penance. As for notorious wicked Perſons, whoſe Crimes were known, o convict, judge, and puniſh them, was the Office of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory; *Peitentiaries* had their Inſtitution to another end: But unleſs we imagine that the antient ime knew no other Repentance than Publick, or that they had little occaſion to ſpeak of ny other Repentance, or elſe that in ſpeaking thereof they uſed continually ſome other Name, and not the name of Repentance whereby to expreſs private Penitency, how ſtandth it with reaſon, that whenſoever they write of Penitents, it ſhould be thought they eant only publick Penitents? The truth is, they handle all three kinds, but private and oluntary Repentance much oftner, as being of far more general uſe, whereas publick was ut incident unto few, and not oftner than once incident unto any. Howbeit, becauſe hey do not diſtinguiſh one kind of Penitency from another by difference of Names, our afeſt way for Conſtruction, is, to follow Circumſtance of Matter, which in this Narraion will not yield it-ſelf applicable only unto publick Penance, do what they can, that ould ſo expound it.

Τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας περιελεῖν πρεσβυτέρους.

They boldly and confidently affirm, that no Man being compellable to confeſs publickly any Sin before *Novatians* time, the end of inſtituting *Penitentiaries* afterwards i the Church, was, that by them Men might be conſtrained unto publick Confeſſion. I there any Record in the World which doth teſtify this to be true? There is that teſtify the plain contrary; For *Sozomen*, declaring purpoſely the cauſe of their Inſtitution, ſaith, *That whereas Men openly craved pardon at God's hands* (*for publick Confeſſion, the laſt act of Penitency, was always made in the form of a contrite Prayer unto* God,) *it could not be avoided but they muſt withal confeſs what their Offences were*; This, in the opinion of their Prelate ſeemed, from the firſt beginning (as we may probably think) to be ſomewhat burthenſome, that Men, whoſe Crimes were unknown, ſhould blaze their own Faults, as it were on the Stage, acquainting all the People with whatſoever they had done amiſs. And therefore to remedy this Inconvenience, they laid the charge upon one only Prieſt, choſen out of ſuch as were of beſt Converſation, a ſilent and a diſcreet Man, to whom they which had offended might reſort, and lay open their Lives. He, according to the quality of every one's Tranſgreſſions, appointed what they ſhould do or ſuffer, and left them to execute it upon themſelves. Can we wiſh a more direct and evident teſtimony, that the Office here ſpoken of, was to eaſe voluntary Penitents from the burthen of publick Confeſſions, and not to conſtrain notorious Offenders thereunto? That ſuch Offenders were not compellable to open Confeſſions till *Novatian*'s time, that is to ſay, till after the days of Perſecution under *Decius* the Emperor, they, of all Men, ſhould not ſo peremptorily avouch; with whom if *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome*, who ſuffered Martyrdom in the firſt year of *Decius*, be of any authority and credit, it muſt inforce them to reverſe their Sentence; his words are ſo plain and clear againſt them. *For ſuch as commit thoſe Crimes whereof the Apoſtle hath ſaid, they that do them ſhall never inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, muſt* (ſaith he) *be forced unto amendment, becauſe they ſlip down to Hell, if Eccleſiaſtical Authority ſtay them not.* Their conceit of impoſſibility that one Man ſhould ſuffice to take the general charge of Penitency in ſuch a Church as *Conſtantinople*, hath riſen from a meer erroneous ſuppoſal, that the Antient manner of private confeſſion was like the Shrift at this day uſual in the Church of *Rome*, which tyeth all Men at one certain time to make Confeſſion, whereas Confeſſion was then neither looked for, till Men did offer it, nor offered for the moſt part by any other, than ſuch as were guilty of heinous Trangreſſions, nor to them any time appointed for that purpoſe. Finally, the drift which *Sozomen* had in relating the Diſcipline of *Rome*, and the Form of publick Penitency there retained even till his time, is not to ſignifie that only publick Confeſſion was abrogated by *Nectarius*, but that the Weſt or Latin Church held ſtill one and the ſame Order from the very beginning, and had not, as the Greek, firſt cut off publick voluntary Confeſſion by ordaining, and then private by removing *Penitentiaries*. Wherefore to conclude, it ſtandeth, I hope, very plain and clear, firſt againſt the one Cardinal, that *Nectarius* did truly abrogate Confeſſion in ſuch ſort as the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory hath reported; and ſecondly as clear againſt them both, that it was not publick Confeſſion only which *Nectarius* did aboliſh.

Fab. Decret. Ep. 2. Tom. 1. Conc. p. 358.

Nec eſt quod ſibi blandiantur illi de facto Nectarii, cum id potius ſecretorum peccatorum confeſſionem comprobet, & non aliud quam Presbyterum pœnitentialem illo officio ſuo moverit, uti ampliſſime deducit D. Johannes Haſſelius. Pamel. in Cypr. lib. de annot. 98. & in lib. Tertul. de pœn. annot. 1.

The Paradox in maintenance whereof *Haſſels* wrote purpoſely a Book touching this Argument, to ſhew that *Nectarius* did but put the *Penitentiary* from his Office, and not take away the Office it-ſelf, is repugnant to the whole advice which *Eudæmon* gave, of leaving the People from that time forward to their own Conſciences, repugnant to the Conference between *Socrates* and *Eudæmon*, wherein complaint is made of ſome inconvenience, which the want of the Office would breed; Finally, repugnant to that which the Hiſtory declareth concerning other Churches, which did as *Nectarius* had done before them, not in depoſing the ſame Man (for that was impoſſible) but in removing the ſame office out of their Churches, which *Nectarius* had baniſhed from his. For which cauſe *Bellarmin* doth well reject the opinion of *Heſſels*, howſoever it pleaſe *Pamelius* to admire it as a wonderful-happy Invention. But in ſum, they are all gravelled, no one of them able to go ſmoothly away, and to ſatisfie either others or himſelf, with his own conceit concerning *Nectarius*.

Only in this they are ſtiff, that Auricular Confeſſion *Nectarius* did not abrogate, leſt if ſo much ſhould be acknowledged, it might enforce them to grant, that the Greek Church at that time held not Confeſſion, as the Latin now doth, to be the part of a Sacrament inſtituted by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which therefore the Church till the World's end hath no power to alter. Yet ſeeing that as long as publick voluntary Confeſſion of private Crimes did continue in either Church (as in the one it remained not much above 200 years, in the other about 400) the only acts of ſuch Repentance were; firſt, the Offender's intimation of thoſe Crimes to ſome one Presbyter, for which impoſition of Penance was ſought; ſecondly, the undertaking of Penance impoſed by the Biſhop; thirdly, after the ſame performed and ended, open Confeſſion to God in the hearing of the whole Church; whereupon, fourthly, enſued the Prayer of the Church; fifthly, then the Biſhop's impoſition of hands; and ſo, ſixthly, the Parties reconciliation or reſtitution to his former right in the holy Sacrament. I would gladly know of them which make only private Confeſſion a part of their Sacrament of Penance, how it could be ſo in thoſe times: For where the Sacrament of Penance is miniſtred, they hold that Confeſſion to be Sacramental which he receiveth who muſt abſolve; whereas, during the fore-rehearſed manner of Penance, it can no-where be ſhewed, that the Prieſt to whom ſecret information was given, did reconcile or abſolve any: For how could he, when Publick Confeſſion was to go before Reconciliation, and Reconciliation likewiſe in publick thereupon to enſue? So that if they did account any Confeſſion Sacramental, it was ſurely publick, which is now aboliſh'd in the Church of *Rome*; and as for that which the Church of *Rome* doth ſo eſteem, the Ancients neither had it in ſuch eſtimation, nor thought it to be of ſo abſolute neceſſity for the taking away of Sin: But, (for any thing that I could ever obſerve out of them) although not only in Crimes open and notorious, which made Men unworthy and uncapable of holy Myſteries, their Diſcipline required, firſt publick Penance, and then granted that which St. *Hierom* mentioneth, ſaying, *The Prieſt layeth his hand upon the Penitent, and by invocation intreateth that the holy Ghoſt may return to him again, and ſo after having enjoyned ſolemnly all the People to pray for him, reconcileth to the Altar him who was delivered to Satan for the deſtruction of his Fleſh, that his Spirit might be ſafe in the day of the Lord.* Although I ſay not only in ſuch Offences being famouſly known to the World, but alſo if the ſame were committed ſecretly, it was the cuſtom of thoſe times, both that private Intimation ſhould be given, and publick Confeſſion made thereof; in which reſpect whereas all Men did willingly the one, but would as willingly have withdrawn themſelves from the other, had they known how; *Is it tolerable* (ſaith St. *Ambroſe*) *that to ſue to God thou ſhouldſt be aſhamed, which bluſheſt not to ſeek and ſue unto Man? ſhould it grieve thee to be a Suppliant to him, from whom thou canſt not poſſibly hide thy ſelf; when to open thy ſins to him, from whom, if thou wouldſt, thou mighteſt conceal them, it doth not any thing at all trouble thee? This thou art loath to do in the Church, where, all being Sinners, nothing is more opprobrious indeed than concealment of ſin, the moſt humble the beſt thought of, and the lowlieſt accounted the juſteſt.* All this notwithſtanding, we ſhould do them very great wrong, to father any ſuch Opinion upon them, as if they did teach it a thing impoſſible for any Sinner to reconcile himſelf unto God, without confeſſion unto the Prieſt.

Sacerdos imponit manum ſubjecto; reditum ſpiritus Sancti invocat, atque ita eum qui traditus fuerat Satanæ in interitum carnis, ut ſpiritus ſalvus fieret, indicta in Populum oratione, altari reconciliat. Hier. adverſ. Lucit.

Ambr. de pœn. l. 2. c. 10

Would *Chryſoſtom* thus perſwaded have ſaid, *Let the enquiry and puniſhment of thy Offences be made in thine own thoughts, let the Tribunal whereat thou arraigneſt thy ſelf be without witneſs, let God, and only God, ſee thee and thy Confeſſion.*

Chryſ. Hom Περὶ μετανοίας κ̀ ἐξομολογήσεως παρὰ τοῖς ογισμοῖς γενέσθω τῶν πεπλημμελημένων ἡ ἐξέτασις, ἀμάρτυρον ἔσω τὸ δικαστήριον, ὁ Θεὸς ὁράτω μόνος ἐξομολογούμενον.

Would *Caſſianus* ſo believing have given counſel, *That if any were with-held with baſhulneſs from diſcovering their Faults to Men, they ſhould be ſo much the more inſtant and conſtant n opening them by ſupplication to God himſelf, whoſe wont is to help without publication of Men's ſhame, and not to upbraid them when he pardoneth?*

Caſſian. Collat. 20. c. 8.

Finally, would *Proſper* ſettled in this Opinion have made it, as touching Reconciliation to God, a matter indifferent, *Whether Men of Eccleſiaſtical Order did detect their crimes y confeſſion, or leaving the World ignorant thereof, would ſeparate voluntarily themſelves or a time from the Altar, though not in affection, yet in execution of their Miniſtry, and ſo ewail their corrupt life? Would he have willed them as he doth, to make bold of it, that the avour of God being either way recovered by fruits of forcible Repentance, they ſhould not only eceive whatſoever they had loſt by ſin, but alſo after this their new enfranchiſement, aſpire the endleſs joys of that ſupernal City?* To conclude, we every where find the uſe of onfeſſion, eſpecially publick, allowed of and commended by the Fathers; but that exream and rigorous neceſſity of Auricular and private Confeſſion, which is at this day ſo ightily upheld by the Church of *Rome*, we find not. It was not then the Faith and octrine of God's Church, as of the Papacy at this preſent; firſt, that the only emedy for Sin after Baptiſm is Sacramental Penitency; ſecondly, that Confeſſion in ſeret is an eſſential part thereof; thirdly, that God himſelf cannot now forgive Sin ithout the Prieſt. That, becauſe Forgiveneſs at the hands of the Prieſt muſt ariſe from onfeſſion in the Offenders; therefore to confeſs unto him is a matter of ſuch neceſſity, s being not either in deed, or at the leaſt in deſire performed, excludeth utterly from all ardon, and muſt conſequently in Scripture be commanded, whereſoever any Promiſe or orgiveneſs is made. No, no; theſe Opinions have Youth in their countenance, Antiquiy knew them not, it never thought nor dreamed of them.

Proſper. de vita contempl. l. 2. c. 7.

But to let paſs the Papacy. For as much as Repentance doth import alteration within e mind of a ſinful Man, whereby, through the power of God's moſt gracious and bleſſed pirit, he ſeeth, and with unfeigned ſorrow acknowledgeth former Offences committed ainſt God, hath them in utter deteſtation, ſeeketh pardon for them in ſuch ſort as Chriſtian ſhould do, and with a reſolute purpoſe ſettleth himſelf to avoid them, ading, as near as God ſhall aſſiſt him, for ever after an unſpotted life; And in e Order, which Chriſtian Religion hath taught for procurement of God's mercy wards Sinners, Confeſſion is acknowledged a principal duty; Yea, in ſome caſes, Conſſion to Man, not to God only; It is not in Reformed Churches denied by the Learneder rt of Divines, but that even this Confeſſion, cleared from all Errors, is both lawful and hoveful for God's people.

Calv. Inſt. l. 3. c. 4. ſect. 7.

Confeſſion by Man being either Private or Publick, Private Confeſſion to the Minier alone touching ſecret Crimes, or Abſolution thereupon enſuing, as the one, ſo the her is neither Practiſed by the French Diſcipline, nor uſed in any of thoſe Churches, which have been caſt by the *French* mould. Open Confeſſion to be made in the face of the whole Congregation by notorious Malefactors, they hold neceſſary; howbeit not neceſſary towards the remiſſion of Sins: But only in ſome ſort to content the Church, and that one Man's Repentance may ſeem to ſtrengthen many, which before have been weakned by one Man's fall.

Sed tantum ut Eccleſiæ ſit aliqua ratione ſatisfactum, & omnes unius pœnitentia confirmentur, qui fuerant unius peccatis & ſcandalis vulnerati. Sadeel. in Pſal. 32. v. 5.

Saxonians and *Bohemians* in their Diſcipline conſtrain no Man to open Confeſſion: Their Doctrine is, that whoſe faults have been Publick, and thereby ſcandalous unto the World, ſuch, when God giveth them the Spirit of Repentance, ought as ſolemnly to return as they have openly gone aſtray. Firſt, for the better teſtimony of their own unfeigned Converſion unto God. Secondly, the more to notifie their Reconcilement unto the Church. And laſtly, that others may make benefit of their Example.

Harm. Conf. Sect. 8. ex. 5. cap. confeſſ. Bohem.

But concerning Confeſſion in private, the Churches of *Germany*, as well the reſt as *Lutherans*, agree, that all Men ſhould at certain times confeſs their Offences to God in the hearing of God's Miniſters, thereby to ſhew how their Sins diſpleaſe them, to receive inſtruction for the warier carriage of themſelves hereafter, to be ſoundly reſolved, if any ſcruple or ſnare of Conſcience do entangle their minds, and which is moſt material, to the end that Men may at God's hands ſeek every one his own particular pardon, through the power of thoſe Keys, which the Miniſter of God uſing according to our bleſſed Saviour's Inſtitution in that caſe, it is their part to accept the benefit thereof, as God's moſt merciful Ordinance for their good, and, without any diſtruſt or doubt, to embrace joyfully his Grace ſo given them, according to the word of our Lord, which hath ſaid, *Whoſe Sins ye remit, they are remitted*. So that grounding upon this aſſured Belief, they are to reſt with minds encouraged and perſwaded concerning the forgiveneſs of all their Sins, as out of Chriſt's own Word and Power by the Miniſtry of the Keys.

Cap. 5. Confeſſ. Bohem.

It ſtandeth with us in the Church of *England*, as touching Publick Confeſſion thus:

Firſt, ſeeing day-by-day we in our Church begin our Publick Prayers to Almighty God with Publick acknowledgment of our Sins, in which Confeſſion every Man, proſtrate as it were before his glorious Majeſty, cryeth againſt himſelf, and the Miniſter with one Sentence pronounceth univerſally all clear, whoſe acknowledgment ſo made hath proceeded from a true penitent mind; what reaſon is there, every Man ſhould not, under the general terms of Confeſſion, repreſent to himſelf his own Particulars whatſoever, and adjoyning thereunto that affection which a contrite ſpirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of Divine Grace, as if the ſame were ſeverally and particularly uttered with additions of Prayers, impoſition of Hands, or all the Ceremonies and Solemnities that might be uſed for the ſtrengthening of Men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy towards them? Such Complements are helps to ſupport our Weakneſs, and not Cauſes that ſerve to procure or produce his Gifts. If with us there be truth in the inward parts, as *David* ſpeaketh, the difference of general and particular Forms in Confeſſion and Abſolution is not ſo material, that any Man's ſafety or ghoſtly good ſhould depend upon it. And for private Confeſſion and Abſolution it ſtandeth thus with us:

As for private Confeſſion, Abuſes and Errors ſet apart, we condemn it not, but leave it at liberty. Jewel defen. part. 156.

The Miniſter's power to abſolve is publickly taught and profeſſed, the Church not denyed to have Authority either of abridging or enlarging the uſe and exerciſe of that Power; upon the People no ſuch neceſſity impoſed of opening their Tranſgreſſions unto Men, as if Remiſſion of Sins otherwiſe were impoſſible, neither any ſuch opinion had of the thing it-ſelf, as though it were either unlawful or unprofitable, ſaving only for theſe inconveniences, which the World hath by experience obſerved in it heretofore. And in regard thereof, the Church of *England* hitherto hath thought it the ſafer way to refer Men's hidden Crimes unto God and themſelves only; howbeit, not without ſpecial caution for the Admonition of ſuch as come to the Holy Sacrament, and for the comfort of ſuch as are ready to depart the World. Firſt, becauſe there are but few that conſider how much that part of Divine Service, which conſiſts in partaking the Holy Euchariſt, doth import their Souls; what they loſe by neglect thereof, and what by devout Practiſe they might attain unto: therefore, leſt careleſneſs of general Confeſſion ſhould, as commonly it doth, extinguiſh all remorſe of Men's particular enormous Crimes, our Cuſtom (whenſoever Men preſent themſelves at the Lord's Table) is, ſolemnly to give themſelves fearful Admonition, what woes are perpendicularly hanging over the heads of ſuch as dare adventure to put forth their unworthy hands to thoſe admirable Myſteries of Life, which have by rare Examples been proved Conduits of irremediable Death to impenitent Receivers; whom therefore, as we repel being known, ſo being not known we cannot but terrify. Yet with us the Miniſters of God's moſt Holy Word and Sacraments being all put in truſt with the cuſtody and diſpenſation of thoſe Myſteries, wherein our Communion is and hath been ever accounted the higheſt Grace that Men on Earth are admitted unto, have therefore all equally the ſame Power to with-hold that Sacred Myſtical Food from notorious Evil-livers, from ſuch as have any way wronged their Neighbours, and from Parties between whom there doth open hatred and malice appear, till the firſt ſort have reformed their wicked Lives, the ſecond recompenſed them unto whom they were injurious, and the laſt condeſcended unto ſome courſe of Chriſtian Reconciliation, whereupon their mutual accord may enſue. In which caſes, for the firſt branch of wicked Life, and the laſt which is open Enmity, there can ariſe no great difficulty about the exerciſe of his Power: In the ſecond, concerning Wrongs, there may; if Men ſhall preſume to define or meaſure Injuries according to their own Conceits, depraved oftentimes as well by Error as Partiality, and that no leſs in the Miniſter himſelf, than in any other of the People under him.

The knowledge therefore which he taketh of Wrongs muſt riſe, as it doth in the other two, not from his own Opinion or Conſcience, but from the evidence of the Fact which is committed; Yea, from ſuch evidence as neither doth admit Denyal nor Defence. For if the Offender, having either colour of Law to uphold, or any other pretence to excuſe, his own uncharitable and wrongful Dealings, ſhall wilfully ſtand in defence thereof, it ſerveth as a bar to the power of the Miniſter in this kind. Becauſe (as it is obſerved by Men of very good Judgment in theſe Affairs) although in this ſort our ſeparating of them be not to ſtrike them with the mortal wound of Excommunication, but to ſtay them rather from running deſperately head-long into their own harm; yet it is not in us, to ſever from the Holy Communion, but ſuch as are either found culpable by their own Confeſſion, or have been convicted in ſome Publick, Secular or Eccleſiaſtical Court. For who is he, that dares take upon him to be any Man's both Accuſer and Judge? Evil Perſons are not raſhly and as we liſt, to be thruſt from Communion with the Church; inſomuch that if we cannot proceed againſt them by any orderly courſe of Judgment, they rather are to be ſuffered for the time than moleſted. Many there are reclaimed, as *Peter*; Many, as *Judas*, known well enough, and yet tolerated; Many, which muſt remain undeſcryed till the day of his appearance, by whom the ſecret corners of Darkneſs ſhall be brought into open Light.

Nos à communione quenquam prohibere non poſſumus, quamvis hæc prohibitio nondum ſit mortalis, ſed medicinalis, niſi aut ſponte confeſſum, aut aliquo ſive ſeculari, ſive Eccleſiaſtico judicio accuſatum atque convictum. Quis enim ſibi utrumque audet aſſumere, ut cuiquam ipſe ſit & accuſator & judex?

Non enim temere, & quodammodo libet, ſed propter judicium, ab Eccleſiæ communione ſeparandi ſunt mali, ut ſi propter judicium auferri non poſſint, tolerentur potiùs, velut paleæ cum tritico. Multi corriguntur, ut Petrus; multi tolerantur, ut Judas; multi neſciuntur, donec veniat Dominus, et illuminabit abſcondita tenebrarum. Rhenan. admoni. de dogmat. Tertul.

Leaving therefore unto his Judgment, them, whom we cannot ſtay from caſting their own Souls into ſo great hazard, we have in the other part of Penitential Juriſdiction, in our Power and Authority to releaſe Sin, joy on all ſides, without trouble or moleſtation unto any. And if to give, be a thing more bleſſed than to receive, are we not infinitely happier in being authoriſed to beſtow the Treaſure of God, than when Neceſſity doth conſtrain to with-draw the ſame?

They which during Life and Health are never deſtitute of ways to delude Repentance, do notwithſtanding oftentimes, when their laſt hour draweth on, both feel that ſting, which before lay dead in them, and alſo thirſt after ſuch helps as have been always, till then, unſavory; St. *Ambroſe* his words touching late Repentance are ſomewhat hard, *If a Man be penitent and receive Abſolution (which cannot in that caſe be denied him) even at the very point of death, and ſo depart, I dare not affirm he goeth out of the World well; I will counſel no Man to truſt to this,* *ecauſe I am loath to deceive any Man, ſeeing I know not what to think of it. Shall I Judge ſuch a ne a Caſt-away? Neither will I avouch him ſafe: All I am able to ſay, is, let his Eſtate be left to the ill and pleaſure of Almighty God: Wilt thou be therefore delivered of all doubt? Repent while yet hou art healthy and ſtrong: If thou defer it till time give no longer poſſibility of ſinning, thou canſt not e thought to have left ſin, but rather ſin to have forſaken thee.* Such admonitions may in their ime and place be neceſſary, but in no wiſe prejudicial to the generality of God's own high and eavenly promiſe, *Whenſoever a ſinner doth repent from the bottom of his heart, I will put out all his iniquity*. And of this although it have pleaſed God not to leave to the world any multitude of Examples, leſt the careleſs ſhould too far preſume, yet one he hath given, and that moſt memorable, to with-hold from deſpair in the mercies of God, at what inſtant ſoever Man's unfeigned converſion be wrought. Yea, becauſe to countervail the fault of delay, there re in the lateſt Repentance oftentimes the ſureſt tokens of ſincere dealing; therefore upon ſpecial Confeſſion made to the Miniſter of God, he preſently abſolveth in this caſe the ick Party from all ſins by that Authority which Jeſus Chriſt hath committed unto him, knowing that God reſpecteth not ſo much what time is ſpent, as what truth is ſhewed in Repentance.

Lib. 3. de Pœn.

Inſum, when the Offence doth ſtand only between God and Man's Conſcience, the Counſel is good, which St. *Chryſoſtom* giveth, *I wiſh thee not to bewray thy ſelf publickly, nor to accuſe thy ſelf before others. I wiſh thee to obey the Prophet, who ſaith, Diſcloſe thy way unto the Lord, confeſs thy Sins before him, tell thy ſins to him that he may blot them out. If thou be abaſhed to tell unto any other, wherein thou haſt offended, rehearſe them every day between thee and thy Soul. I wiſh thee not to confeſs them to thy fellow-ſervant, who may upbraid thee with them; tell them to God, who will cure them; there is no need for thee in the preſence of Witneſſes to acknowledge them; let God alone ſee thee at thy Confeſſion; I pray and beſeech you, that you would more often than you do, confeſs to God eternal, and reckoning up your Treſpaſſes deſire his Par-*

Non dico tibi, ut te prodas in publicum, neque ut te apud alios accuſes, ſed obedire te volo Prophetæ dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam. Ante Deum confitere peccata tua; Peccata tua dicito ut ea deleat; Si confunderis alicui dicere quæ peccaſti, dicito ea quotidie in anima: Non dico ut confitearis conſervo qui exprobret; Deo dicito qui ea curat; Non neceſſe eſt præſentibus teſtibus confiteri, ſolus te Deus confitentem videat. Rogo & oro ut crebrius Deo immortali confiteamini, & enumeratis veſtris delictis veniam petatis. Non te in Theatrum conſervorum duco, non hominibus peccata tua conor detegere. Repete coram Deo conſcientiam tuam, te explica, oſtende medico præſtantiſſimo vulnera tua, & pete ab eo medicamentum. Chryſoſt. hom. 31. ad Hebr. & in Pſal. 59. Hom. de pœn. & confeſſ. &. hom. 5. de incarn. Dei natura, homil. itemque de Lazaro.

don. I carry you not into a Theatre or open Court of many your Fellow-ſervants, I ſeek not to detect your crimes before Men; diſcloſe your Conſcience before God, unfold your ſelves to him, lay forth your wounds before him, the beſt Phyſician that is, and deſire of him ſalve for them. If hereupon it follow, as it did with *David, I thought, I will confeſs againſt my ſelf my wickedneſs unto thee, O Lord, and thou forgaveſt me the plague of my Sin,* we have our deſire, and there remaineth only thankfulneſs, accompanied with perpetuity of care to avoid that, which being not avoided we know we cannot remedy without new perplexity and grief. Contrariwiſe, if peace with God do not follow the pains we have taken in ſeeking after it, if we continue diſquieted, and not delivered from anguiſh, miſtruſting whether that we do be ſufficient; it argueth that our Sore doth exceed the power of our own skill, and that the wiſdom of the Paſtor muſt bind up thoſe parts, which being bruiſed are not able to be recured of themſelves.

Of Satisfaction.

THere reſteth now Satisfaction only to be conſidered; A point which the Fathers do often touch, albeit they never aſpire to ſuch Myſteries as the Papacy hath found enwrapped within the folds and plaits thereof. And it is happy for the Church of God that we have the Writings of the Fathers, to ſhew what their meaning was. The name of Satisfaction, as the Antient Fathers meant it, containeth whatſoever a Penitent ſhould do in the humbling himſelf unto God, and teſtifying by deeds of Contrition, the ſame which Confeſſion in words pretendeth; *He which by Repentance for Sins* (ſaith *Tertullian* ſpeaking of fickle-minded Men) *had a purpoſe to ſatisfie the Lord, will now, by repenting his Repentance, make Satan ſatisfaction; and be ſo much more hateful to God, as he is unto God's enemy more acceptable.* Is it not plain, that Satisfaction doth here include the whole work of Penitency, and that God is ſatisfied, when Men are reſtored through Sin into favour by Repentance? *How canſt thou* (ſaith *Chryſoſtom*) *move God to pity thee, when thou wilt not ſeem as much as to know that thou haſt offended?* By appeaſing, pacifying, and moving God to pity, St. *Chryſoſtom* meaneth the very ſame with the Latin Fathers, when they ſpeak of ſatisfying God. *We feel* (ſaith *Cyprian*) *the bitter ſmart of his rod and ſcourge, becauſe there is in us neither care to pleaſe him with our good deeds, nor to ſatisfie him for our evil.* Again, *Let the eyes which have looked on Idols ſpunge out their unlawful acts with thoſe ſorrowful tears, which have power to ſatisfie God.* The Maſter of Sentences alledgeth out of St. *Auguſtine,* that which is plain enough to this purpoſe: *Three things there are in perfect penitency, Compunction, Confeſſion, and Satisfaction; that as we three ways offend God, namely in Heart, Word, and Deed; ſo by three Duties we may ſatisfie God.*

Tert. de pœn.

Chryſoſt. in 1 Cor. hom. 8. τὸν Θεὸν ἐξιλεώσασθαι.

Cypr. Ep. 8. & Ep. 26.

Sent. l. 4. diſt. 16.

Satisfaction, as a part, comprehendeth only that which the Papiſts meant by *worthy of Repentance*; and if we ſpeak of the whole work of Repentance it-ſelf, we may, in the phraſe of Antiquity, term it very well *Satisfaction.*

Satisfaction is a work which Juſtice requireth to be done for contentment of Perſons injured: Neither is it in the eye of Juſtice a ſufficient ſatisfaction, unleſs it fully equal the Injury for which we ſatisfie. Seeing then that ſin againſt God Eternal and Infinite, muſt needs be an infinite wrong: Juſtice, in regard thereof, doth neceſſarily exact an infinite recompence, or elſe inflict upon the Offender infinite puniſhment. Now becauſe God was thus to be ſatisfied, and Man not able to make ſatisfaction, in ſuch ſort his unſpeakable love and inclination to ſave Mankind from eternal death ordained in our behalf a Mediator, to do that which had been for any other impoſſible: Wherefore all ſin is remitted in the only faith of Chriſt's paſſion, and no Man without belief thereof juſtified; *Bonavent. in Sentent.* 4. *diſt.* 15. *9.* 9. Faith alone maketh Chriſt's ſatisfaction ours, howbeit that Faith alone which after ſin maketh us by Converſion his.

For in as much as God will have the benefit of Chriſt's ſatisfaction, both thankfully acknowledged and duly eſteemed of all ſuch as enjoy the ſame, he therefore imparteth ſo high a treaſure unto no Man, whoſe Faith hath not made him willing by Repentance to do even that which of it-ſelf how unavailable ſoever, yet being required and accepted with God, we are in Chriſt thereby made capable and fit Veſſels to receive the fruits of his Satisfaction: Yea, we ſo far pleaſe and content God, that becauſe when we have offended, he looketh but for Repentance at our hands; our Repentance and the works thereof are therefore termed ſatisfactory, not for that ſo much is thereby done as the Juſtice of God can exact, but becauſe ſuch actions of grief and humility in Man after ſin, are *illices divinæ miſericordiæ* (as *Tertullian* ſpeaketh of them) they draw that pity of God's towards us, wherein he is for Chriſt's ſake contented, upon our ſubmiſſion, to pardon our rebellion againſt him; and when that little which his Law appointeth is faithfully executed, it pleaſeth him in tender compaſſion and mercy to require no more.

Repentance is a name which noteth the habit and operation of a certain grace or virtue in us: Satisfaction, the effect which it hath, either with God or Man. And it is not in this reſpect ſaid amiſs, that Satisfaction importeth Acceptation, Reconciliation, and Amity; becauſe that, through Satisfaction on the one part made, and allowed on the other, they which before did reject are now content to receive, they to be won again which were loſt, and they to love unto whom juſt cauſe of hatred was given. We ſatisfy therefore in doing that which is ſufficient to this effect, and they towards whom we do it are ſatisfied, if they accept it as ſufficient, and require no more: Otherwiſe we ſatisfy not, although we do ſatisfy: For ſo between Man and Man it oftentimes falleth out, but between Man and God, never; It is therefore true, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt by one moſt precious and propitiatory Sacrifice, which was his Body, a Gift of infinite worth, offered for the Sins of the whole World, hath thereby once reconciled us to God, purchaſed his general free pardon, and turned away Divine indignation from Mankind. But we are not for that cauſe to think any office of Penitence, either needleſs or fruitleſs on our own behalf. For then would not God require any ſuch Duties at our hands; Chriſt doth remain everlaſtingly a gracious Interceſſor, even for every particular Penitent. Let this aſſure us, that God, how highly ſoever diſpleaſed and incenſed with our Sins, is notwithſtanding for his ſake by our Tears pacified, taking that for Satisfaction, which is done by us, becauſe Chriſt hath by his Satisfaction made it acceptable. For, as he is the High-Prieſt of our Salvation, ſo he hath made us Prieſts likewiſe under him, to the end we might offer unto God praiſe and thankfulneſs while we continue in the way of life; and when we ſin, the ſatisfactory or propitiatory ſacrifice of a broken and a contrite Heart. There is not any thing that we do that could pacifie God, and clear us in his ſight from ſin, if the goodneſs and mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were not; whereas now beholding the poor offer of our religious endeavours, meekly to ſubmit our ſelves as often as we have offended, he regardeth with infinite mercy thoſe ſervices which are as nothing, and with words of comfort reviveth our afflicted minds, ſaying, *It is I, even I, that taketh away thine Iniquities for mine own ſake.* Thus doth Repentance ſatisfie God, changing his wrath and indignation unto mercy.

Apoc. 1. 6.

Caſſia. Col. 20. c. 8.

Anger and mercy are in us, Paſſions; but in him, not ſo.

God (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *is no ways paſſionate, but becauſe the puniſhments which his judgments do inflict, are like effects of indignation ſevere and grievous to ſuch as ſuffer them, therefore we term the revenge which he taketh upon Sinners, anger; and the withdrawing of his* *lagues, mercy. His wrath* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *is not as ours, the trouble of a mind diſturbed nd diſquieted with things amiſs, but a calm, unpaſſionate, and juſt aſſignation of dreadful puniſhment to be their portion which have diſobeyed; his mercy, a free determination of all felicity and happineſs unto Men, except their ſins remain as a bar between it and them.* So that when God doth ceaſe to be angry with ſinful Men, when he receiveth them into favour, when he ardoneth their offences, and remembreth their iniquities no more (for all theſe ſignifie ut one thing) it muſt needs follow, that all puniſhments before due in revenge of ſin, whether they be Temporal or Eternal, are remitted.

Baſil. hom. in Pſalmo 37. Πάντος γὰρ πάθους ἀλλότριον τὸ Θεῖον.

Cum Deus iraſcitur, non ejus ſignificatur perturbatio, qualis eſt in animo iraſcentis hominis; ſed ex humanis motibus tranſlato vocabulo, vindicta ejus, quæ non niſi juſta eſt, iræ nomen accepit. Auguſt. tom. 3. Ench. cap. 33.

For how ſhould God's indignation import only Man's puniſhment, and yet ſome puniſhment remain unto them towards whom there is now in God no indignation remaining? * *God* ſaith *Tertullian*) *takes Penitency at Men's hands; and Men at his, in lieu thereof, receive imunity;* which notwithſtanding doth not prejudice the chaſtiſements which God, after paron, hath laid upon ſome Offenders, as on (*a*) the people of *Iſrael*, on (*b*) *Moſes*, on (*c*) *Miriam*, on (*d*) *David*, either for their own (*e*) more ſound amendment, or for (*f*) example unto others in this preſent World (for in the World to come puniſhments have unto theſe intents o uſe, the dead being not in caſe to be bettered by correction, nor to take warning by executions of God's Juſtice there ſeen) but aſſuredly to whomſoever he remitteth ſin, their ery pardon is in it-ſelf a full, abſolute, and perfect diſcharge for revengeful puniſhment, hich God doth now here threaten, but with purpoſe of revocation if Men repent, no here inflict but on them whom impenitency maketh obdurate.

* Pœnitentiæ compenſatione redimendam proponit impunitatem Deus. Tert. de Pœnit.

(*a*) Numb. 14. 21.

(*b*) Numb. 20. 12.

Of the one therefore it is ſaid, *Though I tell the wicked, thou ſhalt dye the death, yet if he turneth rom his ſin, and do that which is lawful and right, he ſhall ſurely live and not dye.* Of the other, *hou, according to thine hardneſs, and heart that will not repent, treaſureſt up to thy ſelf wrath ainſt the day of wrath, and evident appearance of the juſt judgment of God.* If God be ſatisfied and o pardon ſin, our juſtification reſtored is as perfect as it was at the firſt beſtowed: For ſo the rophet *Iſaiah* witneſſeth, *Though your ſins were as crimſon, they ſhall be made as white as ſnow; hough they were as ſcarlet, they ſhall be as white as wool.* And can we doubt concerning the uniſhment of Revenge, which was due to ſin, but that if God be ſatisfied and have forgotten is wrath, it muſt be, even as St. *Auguſtine* reaſoneth, (*g*) *What God hath covered, he will not obſerve, and what he obſerveth not, he will not puniſh.* The truth of which Doctrine is not to be hifted off by reſtraining it unto eternal puniſhment alone: For then would not *David* have aid, *They are bleſſed to whom God imputeth not ſin*; Bleſſedneſs having no part or fellowſhip t all with malediction: Whereas to be ſubject to Revenge for Sin, although the puniſhment e but temporal, is to be under the curſe of the Law; wherefore, as one and the ſame Fire onſumeth Stubble and refineth Gold, ſo if it pleaſe God to lay puniſhment on them whoſe ins he hath forgiven; yet is not this done for any deſtructive end of waſting and eating them out,

Ezech. 33. 14.

Rom. 2. 5.

Iſai. 1. 18.

(*g*) Si texit Deus peccata, noluit advertere; ſi noluit advertere, noluit animadvertere.

) Numb. 12. 14. (*d*) 2 Sam. 12. 14. (*e*) Cui Deus verè propitius eſt non ſolum condonat peccata ne noceant ad futurum ſeculum, ſed etiam aſtigat, ne ſemper peccare delectet. Aug. in Pſal. 98. (*f*) Plectuntur quidam quo ceteri corrigantur; exempla ſunt omnium, tormenta paucorum. ypr. de lapſis.

out, as in plagues inflicted upon the Impenitent, neither is the puniſhment of the one as of the other proportioned by the greatneſs of ſin paſt, but according to that future purpoſe, whereunto the goodneſs of God referreth it, and wherein there is nothing meant to the Sufferer, but furtherance of all happineſs, now in grace, and hereafter in glory. St. *Auguſtine*, to ſtop the mouths of *Pelagians* arguing, (*a*) *That if God had impoſed death upon* Adam *and* Adam*'s poſterity, as a puniſhment of ſin, death ſhould have ceaſed when God had procured Sinners their pardon*; Anſwereth firſt, *It is no marvel, either that bodily death ſhould not have happened to the firſt Man, unleſs he had firſt ſinned* (*death as a puniſhment following his ſin*) *or that after ſin is forgiven, death notwithſtanding befalleth the Faithful*; *to the end that the ſtrength of righteouſneſs might be exerciſed, by overcoming the fear thereof.* So that juſtly God did inflict bodily death on Man for committing Sin, and yet after Sin forgiven took it not away, that his Righteouſneſs might ſtill have whereby to be exerciſed. He fortifieth this with *David*'s example, whoſe ſin he forgave, and yet afflicted him for exerciſe and tryal of his humility. Briefly, a general axiom he hath for all ſuch chaſtiſements, (*b*) *Before forgiveneſs, they are the puniſhment of Sinners*; *and after forgiveneſs, they are exerciſes and tryals of Righteous Men.* Which kind of proceeding is ſo agreeable with God's Nature and Man's Comfort, that it ſheweth even injurious to both, if we ſhould admit thoſe ſurmiſed reſervations of temporal wrath in God appeaſed towards reconciled Sinners. As a Father, he delights in his Childrens Converſion, neither doth he threaten the Penitent with wrath, or them with puniſhment which already mourn; but by promiſe aſſureth ſuch of indulgence and mercy, yea, even of plenary Pardon, which taketh away all, both Faults and Penalties: There being no reaſon, why we ſhould think him the leſs juſt, becauſe he ſheweth him thus merciful, when they which before were obſtinate, labour to appeaſe his wrath with the penſive meditation of Contrition, the meek Humility which Confeſſion expreſſeth, and the deeds wherewith Repentance declareth it-ſelf to be an amendment, as well of the rotten fruit as the dryed leaves and withered root of the tree. For with theſe duties by us performed, and preſented unto God in Heaven by Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe blood is a continual Sacrifice of propitiation for us, we content, pleaſe, and ſatisfy God. Repentance therefore, even the ſole Virtue of Repentance, without either purpoſe of ſhrift or deſire of Abſolution from the Prieſt; Repentance, the ſecret Converſion of the Heart, in that it conſiſteth of theſe three, and doth by theſe three pacify God; may be without hyperbolical terms moſt truly magnified, as a recovery of the Soul of Man from deadly ſickneſs, a reſtitution of glorious light to his darkned mind, a comfortable reconciliation with God, a ſpiritual nativity, a riſing from the dead, a day-ſpring from out the depth of obſcurity, a redemption from more than *Ægyptian* thraldom, a grinding of the old *Adam* even into duſt and powder, a deliverance out of the priſons of hell, a full reſtauration of the Seat of Grace and throne of Glory, a triumph over Sin, and a ſaving Victory.

(*a*) Aug. de pecc. mer. & rem. lib. 2. cap. 34. Mirandum non eſt, & mortem corporis non fuiſſe eventuram homini, niſi præceſſiſſet peccatum, cujus etiam talis pœna conſequeretur, & poſt remiſſionem peccatorum eam fidelibus evenire, ut ejus timore vincendo exerceretur fortitudo juſtitiæ. Sic & mortem corporis propter hoc peccatum Deus homini inflixit, & poſt peccatorum remiſſionem propter exercendam juſtitiam non ademit.

(*b*) Ante remiſſionem eſſe illa ſupplicia peccatorum, poſt remiſſionem autem certamina exercitationeſque juſtorum. Cypr. Epiſt. 53.

Amongſt the works of Satisfaction the moſt reſpected have been always theſe three, Prayers, Faſts, and Alms-deeds; by Prayers we lift up our Souls to him from whom ſin and iniquity had withdrawn them; by Faſting we reduce the body from thraldom under vain delights, and make it ſerviceable for parts of virtuous converſation; by Alms we dedicate to Charity thoſe worldly Goods and Poſſeſſions, which unrighteouſneſs doth neither get, nor beſtow well: The firſt, a token of piety intended towards God; the ſecond, a pledge of moderation and ſobriety in the carriage of our own Perſons; the laſt, a teſtimony of our meaning to do good to all Men. In which three, the Apoſtle, by way of Abridgment, comprehendeth whatſoever may appertain to ſanctimony, holineſs, and good life; as contrariwiſe, the very maſs of general corruption throughout the world, what is it but only forgetfulneſs of God, carnal pleaſure, immoderate deſire after worldly things, prophaneneſs, licentiouſneſs, covetouſneſs? All offices of Repentance have theſe two Properties; there is in performance of them painfulneſs, and in their nature a contrariety unto ſin. The one conſideration cauſeth them both in holy Scripture and elſewhere to be termed Judgment or Revenges, taken voluntarily on our ſelves, and to be furthermore alſo Preſervatives from future Evils, in as much as we commonly uſe to keep with the greater care that which with pain we have recovered. And they are in the other reſpect contrary to ſin committed: Contrition, contrary to the pleaſure; Confeſſion, to the error, which is Mother of Sin; and to the deeds of Sin, the works of Satisfaction contrary; therefore they are the more effectual to cure the evil habit thereof: Hereunto it was that St. *Cyprian* referred his earneſt and vehement Exhortations, *That they which had fallen ſhould be inſtant in Prayer, reject bodily Ornaments, when once they had ſtripped themſelves out of Chriſt's Attire, abhor all Food after Satan's morſels taſted, follow works of Righteouſneſs, which waſh away Sin, and be plentiful in Alms-deeds, wherewith Souls are delivered from death. Not as if God did, according to the manner of corrupt Judges, take ſome money to abate ſo much in the puniſhment of Malefactors. Theſe duties muſt be offered* (ſaith *Salvianus*) *not in confidence to redeem or buy out Sin, but as tokens of meek ſubmiſſion; neither are they with God accepted, becauſe of their value, but for the affections ſake, which doth thereby ſhew it-ſelf.* Wherefore, concerning Satisfaction made to God by Chriſt only, and of the manner how Repentance generally, particularly alſo how certain ſpecial works of Penitency, both are by the Fathers, in their ordinary phraſe of ſpeech, called Satisfactory, and may be by us very well ſo acknowledged, enough hath been ſpoken.

2 Cor. 7. 11. Γὰρ ἡμῶν ἀυτῶν δίκην λάβωμεν, ἡμῶν ἀυτῶν κατηγορήσωμεν οὕτω; ἐξιλεωσόμεθα τὸν κριτὴν. Chryſ. hom. 30. in Ep. ad Heb.

Cypr. de lapſis.

Salv. ad Eccl. Cath. lib. 1.

Our offences ſometimes are of ſuch nature as requireth that particular Men be ſatisfied, or elſe Repentance to be utterly void and of none effect. For, if either through open rapine or cloaked fraud, if through injurious or unconſcionable dealing, a Man have wittingly wronged others to enrich himſelf, the firſt thing evermore in this Caſe required (ability ſerving) is Reſtitution. For let no Man deceive himſelf, from ſuch Offences we are not diſcharged, neither can be, till recompence and reſtitution to Man accompany the penitent Confeſſion we have made to Almighty God. In which caſe, the Law of *Moſes* was direct and plain: *If any ſin and commit a Treſpaſs againſt the Lord, and deny unto his Neighbour that which was given him to keep, or that which was put unto him of truſt; or doth by robbery, or by violence oppreſs his Neighbour; or hath found that which was loſt, and denyeth it, and ſwears falſly: for any of theſe things that a Man doth wherein he ſinneth, he that doth thus offend and treſpaſs, ſhall reſtore the robbery that he hath taken; or the thing he hath got by violence, or that which was delivered him to keep, or the loſt thing which he found; and for whatſoever he hath ſworn falſly, adding Perjury to Injury, he ſhall both reſtore the whole ſum, and ſhall add thereunto a fifth part more, aud deliver it unto him, unto whom it belongeth, the ſame day wherein he offereth for his Treſpaſs.* Now becauſe Men are commonly over-ſlack to perform this duty, and do therefore defer it ſometime, till God hath taken the Party wronged out of the World, the Law providing that Treſpaſſers might not under ſuch pretence gain the Reſtitution which they ought to make, appointeth the Kindred ſurviving to receive what the Dead ſhould, if they had continued. *But* (ſaith *Moſes*) *if the Party wronged have no Kinſman to whom this damage may be reſtored, it ſhall then be rendered to the Lord himſelf for the Prieſt's uſe.* The whole order of proceeding herein, is in ſundry traditional Writings ſet down by their great Interpreters and Scribes, which taught them that a Treſpaſs between a Man and his Neighbour can never be forgiven, till the Offender have by Reſtitution made recompence for wrongs done; yea, they hold it neceſſary that he appeaſe the Party grieved by ſubmitting himſelf unto him; or, if that will not ſerve, by uſing the help and mediation of others; *In this caſe* (*ſay they*) *for any Man to ſhew himſelf unappeaſable and cruel, were a ſin moſt grievous, conſidering that the people of God ſhould be eaſie to relent, as* Joſeph *was towards his Brethren*; Finally, if ſo it fall out that the death of him which was injured, prevent his ſubmiſſion which did offend; let him then (for ſo they determine that he ought) go accompanied with ten others unto the Sepulchre of the Dead, and there make confeſſion of the Fault, ſaying, *I have ſinned againſt the Lord God of Iſrael, and againſt this Man, to whom I have done ſuch or ſuch injury; and if Money be due, let it be reſtored to his Heirs, or in caſe he have none known, leave it with the houſe of Judgment*, that is to ſay, with the Senators, Ancients, and Guides of *Iſrael*. We hold not Chriſtian People tied unto Jewiſh Orders, for the manner of Reſtitution; but ſurely Reſtitution we muſt hold neceſſary, as well in our own Repentance as theirs, for Sins of wilful oppreſſion and wrong.

Levit. 6. 2.

Numb. 5. 8.

Quamdiu enim res propter quam peccatum eſt, non redditur, ſi reddi poteſt, non agitur pœnitentia ſed fingitur. Sent. 4. d. 15.

Now although it ſuffices, that the Offices wherewith we pacifie God or private Men be ſecretly done, yet in Caſes where the Church muſt be alſo ſatisfied, it was not to this end and purpoſe unneceſſary, that the antient Diſcipline did farther require outward ſigns of Contrition to be ſhewed, Confeſſion of Sins to be made openly, and thoſe Works to be apparent, which ſerved as Teſtimonies for Converſion before Men. Wherein, if either Hypocriſie did at any time delude their Judgment, they knew, that God is he whom Masks and Mockeries cannot blind, that he which ſeeth Men's hearts would judge them according unto his own evidence, and, as Lord, correct the Sentence of his Servants concerning matters beyond their reach; Or, if ſuch as ought to have kept the Rules of Canonical Satisfaction, would by ſiniſter means and practiſes undermine the ſame, obtruding preſumptuouſly themſelves to the participation of Chriſt's moſt ſacred Myſteries, before they were orderly re-admitted thereunto, the Church for contempt of holy things held them incapable of that Grace, which God in the Sacrament doth impart to devout Communicants; and no doubt but he himſelf did retain bound, whom the Church in thoſe caſes refuſed to looſe.

Cypr. Ep. 52.

The Fathers, as may appear by ſundry Decrees and Canons of the Primitive Church, were (in matter ſpecially of publick Scandal) provident, that too much facility of pardoning might not be ſhewed. *He that caſteth off his lawful wife* (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *and doth take another, is adjudged an Adulterer by the verdict of our Lord himſelf; and by our Fathers it is Canonically ordained, that ſuch for the ſpace of a year ſhall mourn, for two years ſpace hear, three years be proſtrate, the ſeventh year aſſemble with the faithful in Prayer, and after that be admitted to communicate, if with tears they bewail their fault.*

Baſil. Ep. ad Amphi. c. 26.

Of them which had fallen from their faith in the time of the Emperor *Licinius*, and were not thereunto forced by any extream uſage, the *Nicene* Synod under *Conſtantine* ordained, *That earneſtly repenting, they ſhould continue three years Hearers, ſeven years be proſtrate, and two years communicate with the people in prayer, before they came to receive the oblation.* Which rigour ſometimes they tempered nevertheleſs with lenity, the ſelf-ſame Synod having likewiſe defined, *That whatſoever the cauſe were, any Man deſirous at the time of departure out of this life to receive the Euchariſt, might* (*with examination and tryal*) *have it granted him by the Biſhop.* Yea, beſides this caſe of ſpecial commiſeration, there is a Canon more large which giveth always liberty to abridge, or extend out the time, as the Parties meek, or ſturdy, diſpoſition ſhould require.

Concil. Nicæn. can. 11.

Καθόλου ϗ περὶ πάντος τοῦ τινὸς ἐξοδεύοντος αἰτοῦντος μετέχειν Εὐχαριστίας, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ δοκιμασίας μεταδιδότω τῆς προσφορᾶς.

Can. 13. μετὰ δοκιμασίας, id eſt, manifeſtis indiciis deprehenſa peccatoris ſeria converſione ad Deum. Can. 12.

By means of which Diſcipline, the Church having power to hold them many years in ſuſpence, there was bred in the minds of the Penitents, through long and daily practice of ſubmiſſion, a contrary habit unto that which before had been their ruin, and for ever afterwards warineſs not to fall into thoſe ſnares, out of which they knew they could not eaſily wind themſelves. Notwithſtanding, becauſe there was likewiſe hope and poſſibility of ſhortning the time, this made them in all the Parts and Offices of their Repentance the more fervent. In the firſt ſtation, while they only beheld others paſſing towards the Temple of God, whereunto for themſelves to approach it was not lawful, they ſtood as miſerable forlorn Men, the very patterns of perplexity and woe. In the ſecond, when they had the favour to wait at the doors of God, where the ſound of his comfortable word might be heard, none received it with attention like to theirs. Thirdly, being taken and admitted to the next degree of Proſtrates, at the feet, yet behind the back, of that Angel repreſenting God, whom the reſt ſaw face to face; their tears, and entreaties both of Paſtor and People were ſuch as no Man could reſiſt. After the fourth ſtep, which gave them liberty to hear and pray with the reſt of the People, being ſo near the haven, no diligence was then ſlacked which might haſten admiſſion to the Heavenly Table of Chriſt, their laſt deſire. It is not therefore a thing to be marvelled at, though St. *Cyprian* took it in very ill part, when open Back-ſliders from the Faith and ſacred Religion of Chriſt, laboured by ſiniſter practiſe to procure from impriſoned Saints thoſe requeſts for preſent abſolution, which the Church could neither yield unto with ſafety of Diſcipline, nor in honour of Martyrdom eaſily deny. For what would thereby enſue, they needed not to conjecture, when they ſaw how every Man which came ſo commended to the Church by Letters, thought that now he needed not to crave, but might challenge of duty his peace, taking the matter very highly, if but any little forbearance or ſmall delay was uſed. *He which is overthrown* (ſaith *Cyprian*) *menaceth them that ſtand, the wounded them that were never toucht; and becauſe preſently he hath not the body of our* Lord *in his foul-embrued hands, nor the blood within his polluted lips, the miſcreant fumeth at* God's *Prieſts; ſuch is thy madneſs, O thou furious Man; thou art angry with him, which laboureth to turn away* God's *anger from thee; him thou threatneſt, which ſueth unto* God *for grace and mercy on thy behalf.*

Jacens ſtantibus, & integris vulneratus, minatur.
Ex. 12. 31.
Jer. 7. 15.
Ezek. 14. 14.

Touching Martyrs, he anſwereth, *That it ought not in this caſe to ſeem offenſive, though they were denied, ſeeing* God *himſelf did refuſe to yield to the piety of his own righteous Saints, making ſuit for obdurate Jews.*

As for the Parties, in whoſe behalf ſuch ſhifts were uſed, to have their deſire, was in very truth the way to make them the more guilty: Such peace granted, contrary to the rigour of the Goſpel, contrary to the Law of our Lord and God, doth but under colour of merciful relaxation deceive Sinners, and by ſoft handling deſtroy them; a grace, dangerous for the giver, and to him which receiveth it nothing at all available. The patient expectation that bringeth health, is by this means not regarded; recovery of ſoundneſs not ſought for by the only medicine available, which is Satisfaction; Penitency thrown out of Men's hearts, the remembrance of that heavieſt and laſt Judgment clean baniſh'd; the wounds of dying Men, which ſhould be healed, are covered; the ſtroke of death, which hath gone as deep as any bowels are to receive it, is over-caſt with the ſlight ſhew of a cloudy look. From the Altar of Satan to the holy Table of the Lord, Men are not afraid to come, even belching in a manner the ſacrificed morſels they have eaten; yea, their jaws yet breathing out the irkſome ſavour of their former contagious wickedneſs, they ſeize upon the bleſſed body of our Lord, nothing terrified with that dreadful commination, which ſaith, *Whoſoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of Chriſt.* They vainly think it to be peace, which is gotten before they be purged of their faults, before their crime be ſolemnly confeſt, before their Conſcience be cleared by the ſacrifice and impoſition of the Prieſt's hands, and before they have pacified the indignation of God. Why term they that a Favour, which is an Injury? Wherefore cloak they Impiety with the name of charitable Indulgence; ſuch facility giveth not, but rather taketh away peace; and is it-ſelf another freſh Perſecution or tryal, whereby that fraudulent Enemy maketh a ſecret havock of ſuch as before he had overthrown; and now, to the end that he may clean ſwallow them, he caſteth Sorrow into a dead ſleep, putteth Grief to ſilence, wipeth away the memory of Faults newly done, ſmothereth the ſighs that ſhould riſe from a contrite Spirit, dryeth up Eyes which ought to ſend forth rivers of Tears, and permitteth not God to be pacified with full repentance, whom heinous and enormous crimes have diſpleaſed.

1Cor. 11. 27.

The end of Satisfaction.

By this then we ſee, that, in St. *Cyprian*'s judgment, all Abſolutions are void, fruſtrate, and of no effect, without ſufficient Repentance firſt ſhewed; whereas contrariwiſe, if true and full Satisfaction have gone before, the ſentence of Man here given is ratified of God in Heaven, according to our Saviour's own ſacred Teſtimony, *Whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted.*

By what works in the Virtue, and by what in the Diſcipline of Repentance, we are ſaid to ſatisfie either God or Men, cannot now be thought obſcure. As for the Inventors of Sacramental Satisfaction, they have both altered the natural order heretofore kept in the Church, by bringing in a ſtrange prepoſterous courſe, to abſolve before Satisfaction be made, and moreover by this their miſordered practiſe are grown into ſundry errors concerning the end whereunto it is referred.

They imagine, beyond all conceit of Antiquity, that when God doth remit Sin and the puniſhment eternal thereunto belonging, he reſerveth the torments of Hell-fire to be nevertheleſs endured for a time, either ſhorter or longer, according to the quality of Men's Crimes. Yet ſo, that there is between God and Man a certain Compoſition (as it were) or Contract, by virtue whereof works aſſigned by the Prieſt to be done after Abſolution ſhall ſatisfie God, as touching the puniſhment, which he otherwiſe would inflict for ſin pardoned and forgiven.

The way of ſatisfying by others.

Now, becauſe they cannot aſſure any Man, that, if he performeth what the Prieſt appointeth, it ſhall ſuffice; This (I ſay) becauſe they cannot do, in as much as the Prieſt hath no power to determine or define of equivalency between Sins and Satisfactions; And yet if a Penitent depart this life, the debt of Satisfaction being either in whole or in part undiſcharged, they ſtedfaſtly hold, that the Soul muſt remain in unſpeakable torment till all be paid: Therefore, for help and mitigation in this Caſe, they adviſe Men to ſet certain Copes-mates on work, whoſe Prayers and Sacrifices may ſatisfie God for ſuch Souls as depart in debt. Hence have ariſen the infinite Penſions of their Prieſts, the building of ſo many Altars and Tombs, the enriching of ſo many Churches with ſo many glorious and Coſtly Gifts, the bequeathing of Lands and ample Poſſeſſions to Religious Companies, even with utter forgetfulneſs of Friends, Parents, Wife and Children, all natural affection giving place unto that deſire, which Men, doubtful of their own eſtate, have to deliver their Souls from torment after death.

Yet behold, even this being alſo done, how far forth it ſhall avail, they are not ſure; And therefore the laſt upſhot unto all their former Inventions, is, that as every action of Chriſt, did both merit for himſelf, and ſatisfie, partly for the eternal, and partly for the temporal puniſhment due unto Men for ſin; So his Saints have obtained the like priviledge of Grace, making every good work they do, not only meritorious in their own behalf, but ſatisfactory too for the benefit of others: Or if, having at any time grievouſly ſinned, they do more to ſatisfie God, than he in juſtice can exact or look for at their hands; the ſurpluſage runneth to a common ſtock, out of which treaſury, containing whatſoever Chriſt did by way of Satisfaction for temporal puniſhment, together with the ſatisfactory force which reſideth in all the virtuous works of Saints; and in their Satisfactions whatſoever doth abound; (I ſay) *From hence they hold God ſatisfied for ſuch arrearages as Men behind in accompt diſcharge not by other means; and for diſpoſition hereof, as it is their Doctrine, that Chriſt remitteth not eternal death without the Prieſts Abſolution, ſo, without the grant of the Pope, they cannot but teach it alike impoſſible, that Souls in Hell ſhould receive any temporal releaſe of pain: The Sacrament of Pardon from him being to this effect no leſs neceſſary, than the Prieſts Abſolution to the other.* So that by this Poſtern-gate cometh in the whole mart of Papal Indulgences, a Gain ineſtimable to him, to others a Spoil, a ſcorn both to God and Man. So many works of ſatisfaction pretended to be done by Chriſt, by Saints and Martyrs; ſo many virtuous acts poſſeſſed with ſatisfactory force and virtue; ſo many ſupererogations in ſatisfying beyond the exigence of their own neceſſity; And this, that the Pope might make a Monopoly of all, turning all to his own gain, or at leaſt to the gain of thoſe which are his own. Such facility they have to convert a pretended Sacrament into a Revenue.

Of Abſolution of Penitents.

SIN is not helped but by being aſſecured of Pardon: It reſteth therefore to be conſidered what warrant we have concerning Forgiveneſs, when the Sentence of Man abſolveth us from Sin committed againſt God. At the words of our Saviour, ſaying to the ſick of the Palſey, *Son, thy Sins are forgiven thee*, exception was taken by the Scribes, who ſecretly reaſoned againſt him, *Is any able to forgive Sins, but only God?* Whereupon they condemned his ſpeech as blaſphemy; the reſt which believed him to be a Prophet ſent from God, ſaw no cauſe wherefore he might not as lawfully ſay, and as truly, to whomſoever amongſt them, *God hath taken away thy Sins*, as *Nathan* (they all knew) had uſed the very like ſpeech; to whom *David* did not therefore impute blaſphemy, but imbraced, as became him, the words of truth with joy and reverence.

Mat. 9. 2.
Mark. 5.21.
Luc. 5.21.

Now there is no Controverſie, but as God in that ſpecial Caſe did authoriſe *Nathan*, ſo Chriſt more generally his Apoſtles, and the Miniſters of his Word, in his Name to abſolve Sinners. Their power being equal, all the difference between them can be but only in this, that whereas the one had prophetical evidence, the other have the certainty, partly of Faith, and partly of Human experience, whereupon to ground their Sentence;

Faith, to aſſure them of God's moſt gracious Pardon in Heaven unto all Penitents, and touching the ſincerity of each particular Parties repentance as much, as outward ſenſible tokens or ſigns can warrant.

It is not to be marvelled that ſo great a difference appeareth between the Doctrine of *Rome* and Ours, when we teach Repentance. They imply in the Name of Repentance much more than we do; we ſtand chiefly upon the due inward Converſion of the Heart, they more upon the Works of external ſhew; we teach, above all things, that Repentance which is one and the ſame from the beginning to the World's end, they a Sacramental Penance of their own deviſing and ſhaping: We labour to inſtruct Men in ſuch ſort, that every Soul which is wounded with ſin, may learn the way how to cure it-ſelf; they clean contrary would make all Sores ſeem incurable, unleſs the Prieſts have a hand in them.

Touching the force of whoſe Abſolution they ſtrangely hold, that whatſoever the Penitent doth, his Contrition, Confeſſion and Satisfaction have no place of right to ſtand, as material parts in this Sacrament, nor conſequently any ſuch force as to make them available for the taking away of Sin, in that they proceed from the Penitent himſelf without the privity of the Miniſter, but only, as they are enjoyned by the Miniſter's Authority and Power. So that no contrition or grief of heart, till the Prieſt exact it; no acknowledgment of Sin, but that which he doth demand; no Praying, no Faſting, no Alms, no Recompenſe or Reſtitution for whatſoever we have done, can help, except by him it be firſt impoſed. It is the Chain of their own Doctrine, No remedy for mortal ſin committed after Baptiſm, but the Sacrament of Penance only; No Sacrament of Penance, if either matter or form be wanting; No ways to make thoſe Duties a material part of the Sacrament, unleſs we conſider them, as required and exacted by the Prieſt. Our Lord and Saviour, they ſay, hath ordained his Prieſts, Judges in ſuch ſort, that no Man which ſinneth after Baptiſm, can be reconciled unto God, but by their Sentence. For why? If there were any other way of Reconciliation, the very promiſe of Chriſt ſhould be falſe in ſaying, *Whatſoever ye bind on Earth, ſhall be bound in Heaven, and whoſe ſins ſoever ye retain, are retained.* Except therefore the Prieſt be willing, God hath by promiſe hamperd himſelf ſo, that it is not now in his own power to pardon any Man. Let him which has offended crave as the Publican did, *Lord be thou merciful unto me a ſinner*; let him, as *David*, make a thouſand times his ſupplication, *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindneſs; according to the multitude of thy compaſſion put away mine iniquities.* All this doth not help till ſuch time as the pleaſure of the Prieſt be known, till he have ſigned us a pardon, and given us our *quietus eſt.* God himſelf hath no Anſwer to make, but ſuch as that of his Angel unto *Lot*, I can do nothing.

Ipſius pœnitentis actio non eſt pars Sacramenti, niſi quatenus poteſtati Sacerdotali ſubjicitur, & à Sacerdote dirigitur vel jubetur. *Bell.* de Pœn.l. .c. 16. Chriſtus inſtituit Sacerdotes Judices ſuper terram cum ea poteſtate, ut ſine ipſorum ſententia, nemo poſt Baptiſmum lapſus reconciliari poſſit. Bell.l.3. c. 1. de Pœnit. Quod ſi poſſent ii ſine Sacerdotum ſententia abſolvi, non eſſet vera Chriſti promiſſio, Quæcunque &c. Bellarm. ibid.

It is true, that our Saviour by theſe words, *Whoſe Sins ye remit, they are remitted*, did ordain Judges over our ſinful Souls, gave them Authority to abſolve from ſin, and promiſe to ratify in Heaven whatſoever they ſhould do on Earth, in execution of this their Office; to the end that hereby, as well his Miniſters might take encouragement to do their Duty with all Faithfulneſs, as alſo his People admonition, gladly, with all reverence, to be ordered by them; both parts knowing, that the Functions of the one towards the other have his perpetual aſſiſtance and approbation. Howbeit all this with two Reſtraints, which every Juriſdiction in the World hath; the one, that the practice thereof proceed in due order; the other, that it do not extend it-ſelf beyond due bounds, which bounds or limits have ſo confined penitential Juriſdiction, that although there be given unto it power of remitting Sin, yet not ſuch Soveraignty of Power, that no Sin ſhould be pardonable in Man without it: Thus to enforce our Saviour's words is as though we ſhould gather, that becauſe, Whatſoever *Joſeph* did command in the Land of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh*'s grant is, it ſhould be done; therefore, he granteth that nothing ſhould be done in the Land of *Egypt*, but what *Joſeph* did command, and ſo conſequently, by enabling his Servant *Joſeph* to command under him, diſableth himſelf to command any thing without *Joſeph*.

Chriſtus ordinariam ſuam poteſtatem in Apoſtolos tranſtulit, extraordinariam ſibi reſervavit.

But by this we ſee how the Papacy maketh all Sin unpardonable, which hath not the Prieſts Abſolution; except peradventure in ſome extraordinary caſe, where albeit Abſolution be not had, yet it muſt be deſired.

Ordinaria enim remedia in Eccleſia ad remittenda peccata ſunt ab eo inſtituta, Sacramenta: ſine quibus peccata remittere Chriſtus poteſt, ſed extraordinarie & multo rarius hoc facit, quam per Sacramenta. Noluit igitur eos extraordinariis remediis remiſſionis peccatorum confidere, quæ, & rara ſunt & incerta, ſed ordinaria, ut ita dicam, viſibilia Sacramentorum quærere remedia. Maldon. in Mat. 16. 19.

What is then the force of Abſolution? What is it which the act of Abſolution worketh in a ſinful Man? Doth it by any operation derived from it-ſelf alter the ſtate of the Soul? Doth it really take away ſin, or but aſcertain us of God's moſt gracious and merciful pardon? The latter of which two is our aſſertion, the former theirs.

Mat. 9. 2.
Mar. 2. 7.
Luc. 5. 21.

At the words of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſaying unto the ſick of the Palſie, *Son, thy ſins are forgiven thee*, the Phariſees which knew him not to be *Son of the living God*, took ſecret exception, and fell to reaſoning with themſelves againſt him: *Is any able to forgive Sin but God only? The Sins* (ſaith St. *Cyprian*) *that are committed againſt him, he alone hath power to forgive, which took upon him our ſins, he which ſorrowed and ſuffered for us, he whom the Father delivered unto death for our Offences.* Whereunto may be added that

Cypr. de lapſ. c. 14.

which *Clemens Alexandrinus* hath, *Our Lord is profitable every way, every way beneficial, whether we reſpect him as Man, or as God; as God forgiving, as Man inſtructing and learning how to avoid Sin.* * *For it is I, even I, that putteth away thine Iniquities for mine own ſake, and will not remember thy ſins, ſaith the Lord.*

Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. 1. Πάντα ὀνίνησιν ὁ Κύριος καὶ πάντα ἀφελεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὡς Θεός· τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα ὡς Θεὸς ἀφιείς, εἰς δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν παιδαγωγῶν ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

* Iſa. 43. 25.

Now, albeit we willingly confeſs with St. *Cyprian, The Sins which are committed againſt him, he only hath power to forgive, who hath taken upon him our Sins, he which hath ſorrowed and ſuffered for us, he whom God hath given for our Offences.* Yet neither did St. *Cyprian* intend to deny the power of the Miniſter, otherwiſe than if he preſume beyond his Commiſſion to remit Sin, where God's own will is it ſhould be retained; for againſt ſuch Abſolutions he ſpeaketh (which being granted to whom they ought to have been denied, are of no validity;) and if rightly it be conſidered, how higher cauſes in operation uſe to concur with inferior means, his Grace with our Miniſtry, God really performing the ſame, which Man is authoriſed to act as in his Name, there ſhall need for deciſion of this point no great labour.

Veniam peccatis quæ in ipſum commiſſa ſunt, ſolus poteſt ille largiri, qui peccata noſtra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis noſtris.

To Remiſſion of Sins there are two things neceſſary, Grace, as the only cauſe which taketh away Iniquity, and Repentance, as a Duty or Condition required in us. To make Repentance ſuch as it ſhould be, what doth God demand but inward ſincerity, joined with fit and convenient Offices for that purpoſe, the one referred wholly to our own Conſciences, the other beſt diſcerned by them whom God hath appointed Judges in his Court. So that having firſt the promiſes of God for pardon generally unto all Offenders penitent; and particularly for our own unfeigned meaning, the infallible teſtimony of a good Conſcience, the ſentence of God's appointed Officer and Vicegerent to approve with impartial Judgment the quality of that we have done, and, as from his Tribunal in that reſpect to aſſoil us of any Crime: I ſee no cauſe but that by the Rules of our Faith and Religion we may reſt our ſelves very well aſſured touching God's moſt merciful Pardon and Grace, who, eſpecially for the ſtrengthening of weak, timorous and fearful minds, hath ſo far indued his Church with Power to abſolve Sinners. It pleaſeth God that Men ſometimes ſhould, by miſſing this help, perceive how much they ſtand bound to him for ſo precious a Benefit enjoyed. And ſurely, ſo long as the World lived in any awe or fear of falling away from God, ſo dear were his Miniſters to the People, chiefly in this reſpect, that being through tyranny and perſecution deprived of Paſtors, the doleful rehearſal of their loſt felicities hath not any one thing more eminent, than that Sinners diſtreſt ſhould not know, how or where to unlade their Burthens. Strange it were unto me, that the Fathers, who ſo much every where extol the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt, in leaving unto his Church this Heavenly and Divine Power, ſhould as Men whoſe ſimplicity had univerſally been abuſed, agree all to admire and magnify a needleſs Office.

Victor. de perſecut. Vandal.

The Sentence therefore of Miniſterial Abſolution hath two effects; touching ſin, it only declareth us freed from the guiltineſs thereof, and reſtored into God's favour; but concerning right in Sacred and Divine Myſteries, whereof through Sin we were made unworthy, as the power of the Church did before effectually bind and retain us from acceſs unto them, ſo, upon our apparent repentance, it truly reſtoreth our Liberty, looſeth the Chains wherewith we were tied, remitteth all whatſoever is paſt, and accepteth us no leſs returned than if we never had gone aſtray.

For in as much as the Power which our Saviour gave to his Church, is of two kinds; the one to be exerciſed over voluntary Penitents only, the other over ſuch as are to be brought to Amendment by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, the words wherein he hath given this Authority, muſt be ſo underſtood as the Subject or Matter whereupon it worketh, will permit. It doth not permit that in the former kind, (that is to ſay, in the uſe of Power over voluntary Converts) to bind or looſe, remit or retain, ſhould ſignify any other, than only to pronounce of Sinners according to that which may be gathered by outward ſigns; becauſe really to effect the removal or continuance of Sin in the Soul of any Offender, is no Prieſtly act, but a Work which far exceedeth their Ability. Contrariwiſe, in the latter kind of Spiritual Juriſdiction, which by Cenſures conſtraineth Men to amend their Lives; it is true, that the Miniſter of God doth then more declare and ſignify what God hath wrought. And this Power true it is that the Church of Chriſt hath inveſted in it.

Howbeit, as other truths, ſo this hath by error been oppugned, and depraved through abuſe. The firſt of Name, that openly in Writing withſtood the Churches Authority and Power to remit Sin, was *Tertullian*, after he had combined himſelf with *Montaniſts*, drawn to the liking of their Hereſy, through the very ſourneſs of his own nature, which neither his incredible skill and knowledge otherwiſe, nor the very Doctrine of the Goſpel itſelf, could but ſo much alter, as to make him ſavour any thing, which carried with it the taſte of lenity. A Spunge ſteeped in Worm-wood and Gall, a Man through too much ſeverity mercileſs, and neither able to endure, nor to be endured of any. His Book entituled *concerning Chaſtity*, and written profeſſedly againſt the Diſcipline of the Church, hath many fretful and angry Sentences, declaring a mind very much offended with ſuch as would not perſwade themſelves, that of Sins, ſome be pardonable by the Keys of the Church, ſome uncapable of Forgiveneſs; that middle and moderate Offences having received chaſtiſement may by Spiritual Authority afterwards be remitted, but greater Tranſgreſſions muſt (as touching Indulgence) be left to the only pleaſure of Almighty God in the World to come; that as Idolatry and Bloodſhed, ſo likewiſe Fornication and ſinful Luſt, are of this Nature; that they, which ſo far have fallen from God, ought to continue for ever after barred from acceſs unto his Sanctuary, condemned to perpetual profuſion of Tears, deprived of all expectation and hope to receive any thing at the Churches hands, but publication of their ſhame. *For* (ſaith he) *who will fear to waſte out that, which he hopeth he may recover? Who will be careful for ever to hold that, which he knoweth cannot for ever be with held from him? He which ſlackneth the Bridle to ſin, doth thereby give it even the ſpur alſo.* Take away fear, and that which preſently ſucceedeth in ſtead thereof, is Licentious deſire. Greater Offences therefore are puniſhable, but not pardonable by the Church. If any Prophet or Apoſtle be found to have remitted ſuch Tranſgreſſions, they did it, not by the ordinary courſe of Diſcipline, but by extraordinary power. For they alſo raiſed the Dead, which none but God is able to do; they reſtored the Impotent and Lame Men, a work pecular to Jeſus Chriſt; Yea, that which Chriſt would not do, becauſe executions of ſuch ſeverity beſeemed not him, who came to ſave and redeem the World by his ſufferings, they, by their power, ſtrook *Elymas* and *Ananias*, the one blind, and the other dead. Approve firſt your ſelves to be, as they were, Apoſtles or Prophets, and then take upon you to pardon all Men. But, if the Authority you have be only Miniſterial and no way Soveraign, over-reach not the limits which God hath ſet you; know, that to pardon capital Sin is beyond your Commiſſion.

Securitas delicti, etiam libido eſt ejus.

Howbeit, as oftentimes the vices of wicked Men do cauſe other their commendable qualities to be abhorred, ſo the honour of great Men's Virtues is eaſily a Cloak of their Errors: In which reſpect, *Tertullian* hath paſt with much leſs obloquy and reprehenſion than *Novatian*; who, broaching afterwards the ſame opinion, had not otherwiſe wherewith to countervail the Offence he gave, and to procure it the like toleration. *Novatian*, at the firſt, a Stoical Philoſopher (which kind of Men hath always accounted Stupidity the higheſt top of Wiſdom, and Commiſeration the deadlieſt ſin) became by Inſtitution and Study the very ſame which the other had been before through a ſecret natural Diſtemper upon his Converſion to the Chriſtian Faith, and recovery from Sickneſs, which moved him to receive the Sacrament of Baptiſm in his Bed. The Biſhops, contrary to the Canons of the Church, would needs, in ſpecial love towards him, ordain him Presbyter, which favour ſatisfied not him, who thought himſelf worthy of greater Place and Dignity. He cloſed therefore with a number of well-minded Men, and not ſuſpicious what his ſecret purpoſes were, and having made them ſure unto him by fraud, procureth his own Conſecration to be their Biſhop. His Prelacy now was able, as he thought, to countenance what he intended to publiſh, and therefore his Letters went preſently abroad to ſundry Churches, adviſing them never to admit to the Fellowſhip of Holy Myſteries, ſuch as had, after Baptiſm, offered Sacrifice to Idols.

Concil. Neocæſar. c. 12.

Socrat. l. 4. c. 23.
Concil. Nicen. c. 30.
Socrat. l. 1. c. 7.

There was preſent at the Council of *Nice*, together with other Biſhops, one *Aceſius* a *Novatianiſt*, touching whoſe diverſity in opinion from the Church the Emperor deſirous to hear ſome reaſon, asked of him certain Queſtions; for Anſwer whereunto, *Aceſius* weaveth out a long Hiſtory of things that hapned in the Perſecution under *Decius*; and of Men, which to ſave life, forſook Faith. But in the end was a certain bitter Canon framed in their own School, *That Men which fall into deadly ſin after holy Baptiſm, ought never to be again admitted to the Communion of Divine Myſteries: That they are to be exhorted unto Repentance, howbeit not to be put in hope that Pardon can be had at the Prieſt's hands; but with God, which hath Soveraign Power and Authority in himſelf to remit ſins, it may be in the end they ſhall find mercy.* Theſe Followers of *Novatian*, which gave themſelves the Title of Καθαροὶ, Clean, pure and unſpotted Men, had one point of *Montaniſm* more than their Maſter did profeſs; for amongſt Sins unpardonable they reckoned ſecond Marriages, of which opinion *Tertullian* making (as his uſual manner was) a ſalt Apology, *Such is* (ſaith he) *our ſtony hardneſs, that defaming our Comforter with a kind of enormity in Diſcipline, we dam up the doors of the Church, no leſs againſt twice-married Men, than againſt Adulterers and Fornicators.* Of this ſort therefore it was ordained by the *Nicene* Synod, that, if any ſuch did return to the Catholick and Apoſtolick Unity, they ſhould in Writing bind themſelves to obſerve the Orders of the Church, and Communicate as well with them, which had been often married, or had fallen in time of Perſecution, as with other ſort of Chriſtian People. But further to relate or at all to refel the error of miſ-believing Men concerning this point, is not now to our preſent purpoſe greatly neceſſary.

The Church may receive no ſmall detriment by corrupt Practice, even there where Doctrine concerning the ſubſtance of things practiſed is free from any great or dangerous corruption. If therefore that which the Papacy doth in matter of Confeſſion and Abſolution, be offenſive, if it palpably ſerve in the uſe of the Keys, howſoever that which it teacheth in general concerning the Churches power to retain and forgive ſins be admitted true, have they not on the one ſide as much whereat to be abaſh'd, as on the other wherein to rejoyce?

They bind all Men upon pain of everlaſting condemnation and death, to make Confeſſions to their Ghoſtly Fathers of every great offence they know, and can remember that they have committed againſt God. Hath Chriſt in his Goſpel ſo delivered the Doctrine of Repentance unto the World? Did his Apoſtles ſo preach it to Nations? Have the Fathers ſo believed, or ſo taught? Surely *Novatian* was not ſo mercileſs in depriving the Church of power to Abſolve ſome certain Offenders, as they in impoſing upon all a neceſſity thus to confeſs. *Novatian* would not deny but God might remit that which the Church could not, whereas in the Papacy it is maintained, that what we conceal from Men, God himſelf ſhall never pardon. By which over-ſight, as they have here ſurcharged the World with multitude, but much abated the weight of Confeſſion, ſo the careleſs manner of their Abſolution hath made Diſcipline for the moſt part amongſt them a bare Formality: Yea, rather a mean of emboldening unto vicious and wicked life, than either any help to prevent future, or medicine to remedy preſent evils in the Soul of Man. The Fathers were ſlow and always fearful to abſolve any before very manifeſt tokens given of a true Penitent and Contrite Spirit. It was not their cuſtom to remit ſin firſt, and then to impoſe works of ſatisfaction, as the faſhion of *Rome* is now, in ſo much that this their prepoſterous courſe and miſ-ordered practiſe hath bred alſo in them an error concerning the end and purpoſe of theſe works. For againſt the guiltineſs of ſin, and the danger of everlaſting condemnation thereby incurred, Confeſſion and Abſolution ſucceeding the ſame, are, as they take it, a remedy ſufficient; and therefore what their Penitentiaries do think to enjoyn farther, whether it be a number of *Ave-Maries* daily to be ſcored up, a Journey of Pilgrimage to be undertaken, ſome few Diſhes of ordinary Diet to be exchanged, Offerings to be made at the ſhrines of Saints, or a little to be ſcraped off from Men's ſuperfluities for relief of poor People, all is in lieu or exchange with God, whoſe Juſtice, notwithſtanding our Pardon, yet oweth us ſtill ſome Temporal puniſhment, either in this or in the life to come, except we quit it our ſelves here with works of the former kind, and continued till the balance of God's moſt ſtrict ſeverity ſhall find the pains we have taken equivalent with the plagues which we ſhould endure, or elſe the mercy of the Pope relieve us. And at this Poſtern-gate cometh in the whole Mart of Papal Indulgences ſo infinitely ſtrewed, that the pardon of Sin, which heretofore was obtained hardly and by much ſuit, is with them become now almoſt impoſſible to be eſcaped.

To ſet down then the force of this Sentence in Abſolving Penitents, there are in Sin theſe three things: The Act which paſſeth away and vaniſheth, the Pollution wherewith it leaveth the Soul defiled, and the Puniſhment whereunto they are made ſubject that have committed it. The act of Sin, is every deed, word, and thought againſt the Law of God. (*a*) *For Sin is the tranſgreſſion of the Law*, and although the deed it-ſelf do not continue, yet is that bad quality permanent, whereby it maketh the Soul unrighteous and deformed in God's ſight. (*b*) *From the Heart come evil Cogitations, Murthers, Adulteries, Fornications, Thefts, falſe Teſtimonies, Slanders; Theſe are things which defile a Man.* They do not only, as effects of impurity, argue the Neſt to be unclean, out of which they came, but as cauſes they ſtrengthen that diſpoſition unto Wickedneſs, which brought them forth; They are both fruits and ſeeds of uncleanneſs, they nouriſh the root out of which they grow, they breed that iniquity, which bred them. The blot thereof of Sin abideth, though the act be tranſitory. And out of both ariſeth a preſent debt, to endure what puniſhment ſoever the evil which we have done deſerveth; an Obligation, in the Chains whereof Sinners, by the Juſtice of Almighty God, continue bound till Repentance looſe them. *Repent this thy Wickedneſs* (ſaith *Peter*) unto *Simon Magus*, beſeech God, that, if it be poſſible, the thought of thine heart may be pardoned; for I ſee thou art in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of Iniquity. In like manner *Solomon*, *The Wicked ſhall be held faſt in the cords of his own ſin.*

In peccato, tria ſunt; actio mala, interior macula, & ſequela. Bon. ſent. l. 4. d. 17. q. 3.
(*a*) 1 Joh. 3. 4.
(*b*) Mat. 15. 19.
Acts 8. 23.
Prov. 5. 22.

Nor doth God only bind Sinners hand and foot by the dreadful determination of his own unſearchable Judgment againſt them; but ſometime alſo the Church bindeth by the Cenſures of her Diſcipline: So that when offenders upon their Repentance are, by the ſame Diſcipline abſolved, the Church looſeth but her own Bonds, the Chains wherein ſhe had tyed them before.

Sacerdotes opus Juſtitiæ exercent in peccatores cum eos juſta pœna ligant; opus miſericordiæ cum de ea aliquod relaxant, vel Sacramentorum communioni conciliant; alia opera in peccatores exercere nequeunt. Sent. l. 4. diſ. 18.

The act of Sin God alone remitteth, in that his purpoſe is never to call it to account, *or to lay it unto Men's charge*; *The ſtain he waſheth out by the ſanctifying Grace of his Spirit*: And concerning the puniſhment of Sin, as none elſe hath power to caſt Body and Soul into Hell-fire, ſo none power to deliver either beſides him.

Acts 7. 16.
Mich. 7. 19.
1 Cor. 6. 11.
Tit. 3. 5.
Luc. 12. 5.
Mat. 10. 28.

As for the Miniſterial Sentence of private Abſolution, it can be no more than a Declaration what God hath done; It hath but the force of the Prophet *Nathan's* Abſolution, *God hath taken away thy Sin*: Than which conſtruction, eſpecially of words judicial, there is not any thing more vulgar. For example, the Publicans are ſaid in the Goſpel to have juſtified God, the Jews in *Malachi* to have bleſſed Proud Men, which ſin and proſper; not that the one did make God righteous, or the other the wicked happy: But to Bleſs, to Juſtifie, and to Abſolve, are as commonly uſed for words of

2 Sam. 12. 13.
Luc. 7. 17.
Malach. 3. 15.

Sent. l. 4. diſ. 18.

of Judgment, or Declaration, as of true and real efficacy; yea, even by the opinion of the Maſter of Sentences, it may be ſoundly affirmed and thought, that God alone doth remit and retain Sins, although he have given Power to the Church to do both; but he one way, and the Church another. He only by himſelf forgiveth Sin, who cleanſeth the Soul from inward blemiſh, and looſeth the Debt of Eternal Death: So great a Priviledge he hath not given unto his Prieſts, who notwithſtanding are authoriſed to looſe and bind, that is to ſay, declare who are bound, and who are looſed. For albeit a Man be already cleared before God, yet he is not in the Church of God ſo taken, but by Virtue of the Prieſt's Sentence; who likewiſe may be ſaid to bind by impoſing Satisfaction, and to looſe by admtting to the Holy Communion.

Hier. tom. 6. comment. in 16. Mat.

Saint *Hierom* alſo, whom the Maſter of the Sentences alledgeth for more countenance of his own Opinion, doth no leſs plainly and directly affirm, *That as the Prieſts of the Law could only diſcern, and neither cauſe nor remove Leproſies; ſo the Miniſters of the Goſpel, when they retain or remit Sin, do but in the one judge how long we continue guilty, and in the other declare when we are clear or free.* For there is nothing more apparent, than that the Diſcipline of Repentance, both Publick and Private, was ordained as an outward mean to bring Men to the Virtue of inward Converſion: So that when this by manifeſt tokens did ſeem effected, Abſolution enſuing (which could not make) ſerved only to declare Men innocent.

But the cauſe wherefore they are ſo ſtiff, and have forſaken their own Maſter in this Point, is, for that they hold the private Diſcipline of Penitency to be a Sacrament, Abſolution an external ſign in this Sacrament, the ſigns external of all Sacraments in the New Teſtament, to be both cauſes of that which they ſignify, and ſigns of that which they truly cauſe.

To this Opinion concerning Sacraments they are now tied by expounding a Canon in the *Florentine* Council, according to a former Eccleſiaſtical Invention received from *Thomas*. For his device it was, that the mercy of God, which uſeth Sacraments as Inſtruments whereby to work, endueth them at the time of their Adminiſtration with ſupernatural force and ability to induce Grace into the Souls of Men, even as the Ax and Saw doth ſeem to bring Timber into that faſhion which the mind of the Artificer intendeth. His Conceipt, *Scotus*, *Occam*, *Petrus Alliacenſis*, with ſundry others, do moſt earneſtly and ſtrongly impugn, ſhewing very good reaſon, wherefore no Sacrament of the new Law can either by virtue which it-ſelf hath, or by force ſupernatural given it, be properly a cauſe to work Grace; but Sacraments are therefore ſaid to work or confer Grace, becauſe the will of Almighty God is, although not to give them ſuch efficacy, yet himſelf to be preſent in the Miniſtry of the working that effect, which proceedeth wholly from him, without any real operation of theirs, ſuch as can enter into Men's Souls.

Scot. ſent. l. 4. ſolut. ad 4. quæſt. et quintam. *Occam* in 1. qu. quant. *Alliac.* quæſt. 1. in 4 ſent.

In which conſtruction, ſeeing that our Books and Writings have made it known to the World how we joyn with them, it ſeemeth very hard and injurious Dealing, that *Bellarmine* throughout the whole courſe of his ſecond Book (*a*) *De Sacramentis in genere*, ſhould ſo boldly face down his Adverſaries, as if their opinion were that Sacraments are naked, empty, and ineffectual ſigns; wherein there is no other force than only ſuch, as in Pictures to ſtir up the mind, that ſo by Theory and ſpeculation of things repreſented, Faith may grow; finally, that all the operations which Sacraments have, is a ſenſible and divine Inſtruction. But had it pleaſed him not to hood-wink his own knowledge, I nothing doubt but he fully ſaw how to anſwer himſelf; it being a matter very ſtrange and incredible, that one which with ſo great diligence hath winnowed (*b*) his Adverſaries Writings, ſhould be ignorant of their minds. For, even as in the Perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, both God and Man, when his human nature is by it-ſelf conſidered, we may not attribute that unto him, which we do and muſt aſcribe as oft as reſpect is had unto both natures combined; ſo becauſe in Sacraments there are two things diſtinctly to be conſidered, the outward ſign, and the ſecret concurrence of God's moſt bleſſed Spirit, in which reſpect our Saviour hath taught that Water and the Holy Ghoſt are combined, to work the Myſtery of new Birth; Sacraments therefore, as ſigns, have only thoſe effects before mentioned; but of Sacraments, in that by God's own Will and Ordinance they are ſigns aſſiſted always with the power of the Holy Ghoſt, we acknowledge whatſoever either the places of the Scripture, or the Authority of Councils and Fathers, or the proofs and arguments o reaſon which he alledgeth, can ſhew to be wrought by them. The Elements and words have power of infallible ſignification, for which they are called Seals o God's Truth; the Spirit affixed unto thoſe Elements and Words, power of operation within the Soul, moſt admirable, divine, and impoſſible to be expreſt. For God hath inſtituted and ordained, that together with due adminiſtration and receit o

Sacra

(*a*) Lutherani de hac re interdum ita ſcribunt, ut videantur à Catholicis non diſſentire; interdum autem apertiſſime ſcribunt contraria, at ſemper in eadem ſententia manent, Sacramenta non habere immediate ullam efficientiam reſpectu gratiæ, ſed eſſe nuda ſigna, tamen mediate aliquid efficere, quatenus excitant et alunt fidem, quod ipſum non faciunt niſi repræſentando, ut Sacramenta per viſum excitent fidem, quemadmodum prædicatio Verbi per auditum. *Bellarm.* de Sacr. in genere, l. 2. c. 2.

Quædam ſigna ſunt Theorica, non ad alium finem inſtituta, quam ad ſignificandum; alia ad ſignificandum et efficiendum, quæ ob id Practica dici poſſunt. Controverſia eſt inter nos et hæreticos, quod illi faciunt Sacramenta ſigna prioris generis. Quare ſi oſtendere poterimus eſſe ſigna poſterioris generis, obtinuimus cauſam, cap. 8.

(*b*) Semper memoria repetendum eſt Sacramenta nihil aliud quam inſtrumentales eſſe conferendæ nobis gratiæ cauſas. *Calv.* in Ant. con. Frid. ſe. 7. c. 5. Si qui ſint, qui negent Sacramentis contineri gratiam quam figurant, illos improbamus. Ibid. can. 6.

Sacramental Signs, there ſhall proceed from himſelf Grace effectual, to Sanctity, to Cure, to Comfort, and whatſoever elſe is for the good of the Souls of Men. Howbeit this opinion (a) *Thomas* rejecteth, under pretence that it maketh Sacramental Words and Elements to be in themſelves no more than ſigns, whereas they ought to be held as cauſes of that they ſignify. He therefore reformeth it with this addition, that the very ſenſible parts of the Sacraments do Inſtrumentally effect and produce, not Grace, (for the School-Men both of theſe times, and long after, did for the moſt part maintain it untrue, and ſome of them impoſſible, that ſanctifying Grace ſhould efficiently proceed but from God alone, and that by immediate creation, as the ſubſtance of the Soul doth) but the phantaſie which *Thomas* had, was, that ſenſible things, through Chriſt's and the Prieſt's Benediction, receive a certain ſupernatural tranſitory force, which leaveth behind it a kind of preparative quality or beauty within the Soul, whereupon immediately from God doth enſue the Grace that juſtifieth.

(a) Iſte modus non tranſcendit rationem ſigni, cum Sacramenta novæ legis non ſolum ſignificent, ſed cauſent gratiam, part. 3.q.62. act. 1. Alexan. part. 4. q. 8. memb. 3. act. 5. §. 1. & 2. Th. de verit. q. 27. act. 3. Alliac. in quart. ſent. 9. 1. Capr. in 4. d. 1. q. 1. Palud. tom. Ferrar. lib. 4. cont. Gent. c. 57. Neceſſe eſt ponere aliquam virtutem ſupernaturalem in Sacramentis. Sent. 4. d. 1. q. 1. act. 4. Sacramentum conſequitur ſpiritualem virtutem cum benedictione Chriſti, & applicatione Miniſtri ad uſum Sacramenti. par. 3. q. 62. art. 4. Concil. Victus Sacramentalis habet eſſe tranſiens ex uno in aliud & incompletum. Ibidem. Ex Sacramentis duo conſequuntur in anima, unum eſt character, ſive aliquis ornatus; aliud, eſt gratia. Reſpectu primo, Sacramenta ſunt cauſæ aliquo modo efficientes; reſpectu ſecundo, ſunt diſponentes. Sacramenta cauſant diſpoſitionem ad formam ultimam, ſed ultimam perfectionem non inducunt. Sent. 4. d. 1. q. 1. art. 4.

Now they which pretend to follow *Thomas*, differ from him in two points: For firſt, they make Grace an immediate effect of the outward ſign, which he for the dignity and excellency thereof was afraid to do. Secondly, whereas he, to produce but a preparative quality in the Soul, did imagine God to create in the Inſtrument a ſupernatural Gift, or ability; they confeſs, that nothing is created, infuſed, or any way inherent, either in the Word, or in the Elements; nothing that giveth them inſtrumental efficacy, but God's mere motion, or application. Are they able to explain unto us, or themſelves to conceive, what they mean when they thus ſpeak? For example, let them teach us, in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, what it is for Water to be moved, till it bring forth Grace. The application thereof by the Miniſter is plain to ſenſe; the force which it hath in the mind, as a moral inſtrument of Information or Inſtruction, we know by reaſon; and by Faith we underſtand how God doth aſſiſt it with his Spirit; Whereupon enſueth the Grace which Saint *Cyprian* did in himſelf obſerve, ſaying, *After the bath of Regeneration having ſcowred out the ſtained foulneſs of former life, ſupernatural ight had entrance into the Breaſt which was purified and cleanſed for it: After that a ſecond nativity had made another Man, by inward receipt of the Spirit from Heaven; things doubtful began in marvellous manner to appear certain, that to be open which lay hid, darkneſs to ſhine like the clear light, former hardneſs to be made facility, impoſſibiity eaſineſs: Inſomuch as it might be diſcerned, how that was earthly, which before had been arnally bred, and lived given over unto Sins; that now God's own, which the Holy Ghoſt did uicken.*

Solus Deus efficit gratiam, adeo quod nec Angelis, qui ſunt nobiliores ſenſibilibus creaturis, hoc communicetur. Sent. 4. d. 1. q. 1. art. 4. Eph. 2.

Our Opinion is therefore plain unto every Man's underſtanding. We take it for a very ood ſpeech, which *Bonaventure* hath uttered in ſaying, *Heed muſt be taken that, while we ſſign too much to the bodily ſigns in way of their Commendation, we withdraw not the honour which is due to the Cauſe which worketh in them, and the Soul which receiveth them: Whereunto we conformably teach, that the outward ſign applied hath of it-ſelf no natural fficacy towards Grace, neither doth God put into it any ſupernatural inherent Virtue.* And, as I think, we thus far avouch no more than they themſelves confeſs to be very rue.

Cavendum enim ne dum nimis damus corporalibus ſignis ad laudem, ſubtrahamus honorem Cauſæ curanti & animæ ſuſcipienti.

If any thing diſpleaſe them, it is becauſe we add to theſe Premiſes another aſſertion; That with the outward ſign God joineth his Holy Spirit, and ſo the whole Inſtrument f God bringeth that to paſs, whereunto the baſer and meaner part could not extend. As or operations through the motions of ſigns, they are dark, intricate and obſcure, perhaps poſſible; howbeit, not proved either true or likely, by alledging that the touch of our Saviour's Garment reſtored health, Clay Sight, when he applied it. Although ten-thouſand ſuch Examples ſhould be brought, they overthrow not this one Principle; That, where the nſtrument is without inherent, the Effect muſt neceſſarily proceed from the only Agents dherent power.

Luke 13. Jo. 9.

It paſſeth a Man's conceipt how Water ſhould be carried into the Soul with any force f Divine motion, or Grace proceed but meerly from the influence of God's Spirit: Notwithſtanding, if God himſelf teach his Church in this caſe to believe that which e hath not given us capacity to comprehend, how incredible ſoever it may ſeem, yet our Wits ſhould ſubmit themſelves, and Reaſon give place unto Faith therein. But they yield it to be no queſtion of Faith, how Grace doth proceed from Sacraments; if in general they be acknowledged true inſtrumental Cauſes, by the Miniry whereof Men receive Divine Grace: And that they which impute Grace to the only operation of God himſelf concurring with the external ſign, do no leſs acknowedge the true efficacy of the Sacrament, than they that aſcribe the ſame to the quality f the ſign applied, or to the motion of God applying, and ſo far carrying it, till Grace

Bel. de Sacr. in gen. l.2.c.11.

Dicimus gratiam non creari à Deo, ſed produci ex aptitudine & potentia narali animæ, ſicut cætera omnia quæ producuntur in ſubjectis talibus quæ ſunt apta nata ad ſuſcipiendum accidentia. Allen de Sacr. in gen. c. 37.

be not created, but extracted out of the natural poſſibility of the Soul. Nevertheleſs, this laſt Philoſophical imagination (if I may call it Philoſophical, which uſeth the terms, but overthroweth the Rules of Philoſophy, and hath no Article of Faith to ſupport it; but whatſoever it be) they follow it in a manner all, they caſt off the firſt opinion, wherein is moſt perſpicuity and ſtrongeſt evidence of certain truth.

The Councils of *Florence* and *Trent* defining, that Sacraments contain and confer Grace, the ſenſe whereof (if it liked them) might ſo eaſily conform it-ſelf with the ſame opinion which they drew without any juſt cauſe quite and clean the other way, making Grace the iſſue of bare words, in ſuch Sacraments as they have framed deſtitute of any viſible Element, and holding it the off-ſpring as well of Elements as of Words, in thoſe Sacraments where both are; but in no Sacrament acknowledging Grace to be the fruit of the Holy Ghoſt working with the outward ſign and not by it, in ſuch ſort as *Thomas* himſelf teacheth, that the Apoſtles Impoſition of Hands cauſed not the coming of the Holy Ghoſt, which notwithſtanding was beſtowed together with the exerciſe of that Ceremony; yea, by it, (ſaith the Evangeliſt) to wit, as by a mean, which came between the true Agent and the Effect, but not otherwiſe.

Tho.de Verit. q. 27. art. 3. reſp. ad 16. Acts 8. 18.

Many of the Antient Fathers, preſuppoſing that the Faithful before Chriſt had not till the time of his coming that perfect Life and Salvation which they looked for and we poſſeſs, thought likewiſe their Sacraments to be but prefigurations of that which ours, in preſent, do exhibit: For which cauſe the *Florentine* Council, comparing the one with the other, ſaith, *That the old did only ſhadow Grace, which was afterward to be given through the paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.* But the after-wit of later days hath found out another more exquiſite diſtinction, that Evangelical Sacraments are cauſes to effect Grace, through motion of ſigns legal, according to the ſame ſignification and ſenſe wherein Evangelical Sacraments are held by us to be God's Inſtruments for that purpoſe. For howſoever *Bellarmine* hath ſhrunk up the *Lutherans* ſinews, and cut off our Doctrine by the skirts; *Allen*, although he term us Hereticks, according to the uſual bitter venom of his proud ſtyle, doth yet ingenuouſly confeſs, that the old School-Mens Doctrine and ours is one, concerning Sacramental Efficacy derived from God himſelf aſſiſting by promiſe thoſe outward ſigns of Elements and Words, out of which their School-Men of the newer Mint are ſo deſirous to hatch Grace. Where God doth work and uſe theſe outward means, wherein he neither findeth not planteth force and aptneſs towards his intended purpoſe; ſuch means are but ſigns to bring Men to the conſideration of his Omnipotent power, which without the uſe of things ſenſible would not be marked.

Quod ad circumciſionem ſequebatur remiſſio, fiebat ratione rei adjunctæ, & ratione pacti divini, eodem plane modo quo non ſolum hæretici, ſed etiam aliquot vetuſtiores Scholaſtici voluerunt nova Sacramenta conferre gratiam. *Allen* de Sacr. in gen. c. 39.

Bonaventura, Scotus, Durandus, Richardus, Occamus, Marcilius, Gabriel, volunt ſolum Deum producere gratiam ad præſentiam Sacramentorum. *Bellarm.* de Sacr. in gen. lib. 2. cap. 11. Puto longe probatiorem & tutiorem ſententiam quæ da Sacramenntis veram efficientiam. Primò, quia doctores paſſim docent, Sacramenta non agere niſi priùs à Deo virtutem ſeu benedictionem ſeu ſanctificationem accipiant; & referunt effectum Sacramentorum ad omnipotentiam Dei, & conferunt cum veris cauſis efficientibus. Secundò, quia non eſſet differentia inter modum agendi Sacramentorum, & ſignorum Magicorum. Tertiò quia tunc non eſſet homo Dei Miniſter in ipſa actione Sacramenti, ſed homo præberet ſignum actione ſua, & Deus alia actione viſ eo ſigno infunderet gratiam, ut cum unus oſtendit ſyngrapham Mercatori, & ille dat pecunias. At Scripturæ docent, quod Deu baptizat per hominem. *Bellarm.* lib. 2. cap. 1.

At the time therefore when he giveth his Heavenly Grace, he applyeth, by th hands of his Miniſters, that which betokeneth the ſame; not only betokeneth, but, being alſo accompanied for ever with ſuch Power as doth truly work, is in that reſpec termed God's Inſtrument, a true efficient cauſe of Grace; a cauſe not in it-ſelf, but onl by connexion of that which is in it-ſelf a cauſe, namely, God's own Strength and Power Sacraments, that is to ſay, the outward ſigns in Sacraments, work nothing till they b bleſſed and ſanctified by God.

But what is God's Heavenly Benediction and Sanctification, ſaving only the aſſociation of his Spirit? Shall we ſay that Sacraments are like Magical Signs, if thu they have their effect? Is it Magick for God to manifeſt by things ſenſible wha he doth, and to do by his moſt glorious Spirit really, what he manifeſteth in hi Sacraments? The delivery and adminiſtration whereof remaineth in the hands of mortal Men, by whom, as by perſonal Inſtruments, God doth apply ſigns, and wit ſigns inſeparably joyn his Spirit, and through the power of his Spirit work Grace The firſt is by way of concomitance and conſequence to deliver the reſt alſo that either accompany, or enſue.

It is not here, as in Caſes of mutual Commerce, where divers Perſons have diver acts to be performed in their own behalf; a Creditor to ſhew his Bill, and a Debto to pay his Money. But God and Man do here meet in one Action upon a Third, i whom, as it is the work of God to create Grace, ſo it is his work by the hand o the Miniſter to apply a ſign which ſhould betoken, and his work to annex that Spirit which ſhall effect it. The Action therefore is but one, God the Author thereo and Man a Co-partner, by him aſſigned to work for, with, and under him. God th Giver of Grace, by the outward Miniſtry of Man, ſo far forth as he authoriſeth Man t apply the Sacraments of Grace in the Soul, which he alone worketh, without either Inſtrument or Co-agent.

Where

Whereas therefore with us the remiſſion of Sin is aſcribed unto God, as a thing which proceedeth from him only, and preſently followeth upon the virtue of true Repentance appearing in Man; that which we attribute to the Virtue, they do not only impute to the Sacrament of Repentance; but having made Repentance a Sacrament, and thinking of Sacraments as they do, they are enforced to make the Miniſtry of his Prieſts and their Abſolution a cauſe of that which the ſole Omnipotency of God worketh.

And yet for my own part, I am not able well to conceive how their Doctrine, that human Abſolution is really a cauſe out of which our Deliverance from Sin doth enſue, can cleave with the Council of *Trent*, defining, *That Contrition perfected with Charity doth at all times it-ſelf reconcile offenders to God, before they come to receive actually the Sacrament of Penance.* How it can ſtand with thoſe Diſcourſes of their learned Rabbies, which grant, *That whoſoever turneth unto God with his whole heart, hath immediately his Sins taken away; that if a Man be truly converted, his Pardon can neither be denyed nor delayed*; It doth not ſtay for the Prieſt's Abſolution, but preſently followeth: *Surely, if every contrite Sinner, in whom there is Charity and a ſincere converſion of Heart, have Remiſſion of Sins given him, before he ſeek it at the Prieſt's hands; if reconciliation to God be a preſent and immediate ſequel upon every ſuch Converſion or Change: It muſt of neceſſity follow, ſeeing no Man can be a true Penitent or Contrite, which doth not both love God, and ſincerely abhor Sin, that therefore they all before Abſolution attain Forgiveneſs; whereunto notwithſtanding Abſolution is pretended a Cauſe ſo neceſſary, that Sin, without it, except in ſome rare extraordinary Caſe, cannot poſſibly be remitted.* Shall Abſolution be a Cauſe producing and working that Effect, which is always brought forth without it, and had before Abſolution be thought off? But when they which are thus before-hand pardoned of God, ſhall come to be alſo aſſoiled by the Prieſt, I would know what force his Abſolution hath in this caſe? Are they able to ſay here that the Prieſt doth remit any thing? Yet, when any of ours aſcribeth the Work of Remiſſion to God, and interpreteth the Prieſts Sentence to be but a ſolemn Declaration of that which God himſelf hath already performed, they ſcorn at it; they urge againſt it, that, if this were true, our Saviour Chriſt ſhould rather have ſaid, *What is looſed in Heaven, ye ſhall looſe on Earth*, than as he doth, *Whatſoever ye looſe on Earth, ſhall in Heaven be looſed.* As if he were to learn of us how to place his words, and not we to crave rather of him a ſound and right underſtanding, leſt to his diſhonour and our own hurt we miſ-expound them. It ſufficeth, I think, both againſt their conſtructions, to have proved that they ground an untruth on his ſpeech; and in behalf of our own, that his words without any ſuch tranſpoſition do very well admit the ſenſe we give them; which is, that he taketh to himſelf the lawful proceedings of Authority in his Name, and that the Act of Spiritual Authority in this caſe, is by Sentence to acquit or pronounce them free from ſin, whom they judge to be ſincerely and truly penitent; which Interpretation they themſelves do acknowledge though not ſufficient, yet very true.

Conc. Trid. Seſſ. 14. c. 4.

Bellarm. de Pœnit. l. 2. c. 13.

Hæc expoſitio, Ego te abſolvo, id eſt, Abſolutum oſtendo, partim quidem vera eſt, non tamen perfecta. Sacramenta quippe novæ legis non ſolum ſignificant, ſed efficiunt quod ſignificant, *Soto.* ſent. l. 4. diſt. 14. q. 1. art. 3.

Abſolution, they ſay, declareth indeed; but this is not all, for it likewiſe maketh innocent; which addition being an untruth proved, our truth granted hath, I hope, ſufficiency without it; and conſequently our opinion therein, neither to be challenged as untrue, nor as inſufficient.

To rid themſelves out of theſe Bryars, and to make Remiſſion of Sins an effect of Abſolution, notwithſtanding that which hitherto hath been ſaid, they have two ſhifts: As firſt, that in many Penitents there is but Attrition of heart, which Attrition they define to be Grief proceeding from Fear without Love; and to theſe, they ſay, Abſolution doth give that Contrition whereby Men are really purged from Sin. Secondly, that even where Contrition or inward Repentance doth cleanſe without Abſolution; the reaſon why it cometh ſo to paſs, is, becauſe ſuch Contrites intend and deſire Abſolution, though they have it not. Which two things granted: The one, that Abſolution given maketh them contrite that are not; the other, that, even in them which are contrite, the cauſe why God remitteth Sin, is the purpoſe or deſire they have to receive Abſolution; we are not to ſtand againſt a ſequel ſo clear and manifeſt as this, that always remiſſion of Sin proceedeth from Abſolution either had or deſired.

Attritio ſolum dicit dolorem propter pœnas inferni; dum quis accedit attritus per gratiam Sacramentalem, fit contritus. *Soto.* ſent. 4. diſt. 14. q. 1. art. 1.

Dum accedit vere contritus propter Deum, illa etiam contritio non eſt contritio, niſi quatenus prius natura informetur gratia per Sacramentum in voto. *Soto.* ſent. 4. diſt. 14. q. 1. art. 1.

Legitima contritio votum Sacramenti pro ſuo tempore debet inducere, atque adeò in virtute futuri Sacramenti peccata remittit. *Id.* art. 3.

But ſhould a reaſonable Man give credit to their bare Conceit, and becauſe their Poſitions have driven them to imagine Abſolving of inſufficiently-diſpoſed Penitents, to be a real creating of further Virtue in them, muſt all other Men think it due? Let them cancel hence-forward and blot out of all their Books thoſe old Cautions touching Neceſſity of Wiſdom, leſt Prieſts ſhould inconſiderately Ab-

Tunc ſententia Sacerdotis judicio Dei & totius cœleſtis Curiæ approbatur, & confirmatur, cum ita ex diſcretione procedit, ut reorum merita non contradicant. Sent. l. 4. d. 18.

ſolve any Man, in whom there were not apparent tokens of true Repentance; which to do, was, in Saint *Cyprian's* Judgment, *Peſtilent Deceit and Flattery, not only not available, but hurtful to them that had tranſgreſt; a frivolous, fruſtrate, and falſe peace, ſuch as cauſed the unrighteous to truſt to a lye, and deſtroyed them unto whom it promiſed ſafety.* What needeth Obſervation, whether Penitents have Worthineſs, and bring Contrition, if the words of Abſolution do infuſe Contrition? Have they borne us all this while in hand, that Contrition is a part of the matter of their Sacrament; a Condition, or Preparation of the Mind towards Grace to be received by Abſolution in the form of their Sacrament? And muſt we now believe, That the Form doth give the Matter? That Abſolution beſtoweth Contrition, and that the words do make preſently of *Saul*, *David*; of *Judas*, *Peter*? For what was the Penitency of *Saul* and *Judas*, but plain Attrition; horror of Sin through fear of puniſhment, without any loving ſenſe, or taſte of God's Mercy.

Their other Fiction, imputing remiſſion of Sin to deſire of Abſolution from the Prieſt, even in them which are truly contrite, is an evaſion ſomewhat more witty, but no whit more poſſible for them to prove. Belief of the World and Judgment to come, Faith in the Promiſes and Sufferings of Chriſt for Mankind, Fear of his Majeſty, Love of his Mercy, Grief for Sin, Hope for Pardon, Suit for Grace; theſe we know to be the Elements of true Contrition; ſuppoſe that beſides all this God did alſo command, that every Penitent ſhould ſeek his Abſolution at the Prieſt's hands; where ſo many Cauſes are concurring unto one effect; have they any reaſon to impute the whole effect unto one? Any reaſon in the choice of that one to paſs by Faith, Fear, Love, Humility, Hope, Prayer, whatſoever elſe, and to enthronize above them all, A deſire of Abſolution from the Prieſt, as if in the whole work of Man's Repentance, God did regard and accept nothing but for and in conſideration of this? Why doth the *Tridentine* Council impute it to Charity, *That Contrites are reconciled in God's ſight, before they receive the Sacrament of Penance, if deſired Abſolution be the true Cauſe?*

But let this paſs how it will; ſeeing the Queſtion is not, What Virtue God may accept in penitent Sinners, but what Grace Abſolution actually given doth really beſtow upon them.

If it were as they would have it, That God regarding the Humiliation of a Contrite Spirit, becauſe there is joined therewith a lowly deſire of the Sacrament of Prieſtly Abſolution, pardoneth immediately, and forgiveth all Offences: Doth this any thing help to prove, that Abſolution received afterward from the Prieſt can more than declare him already pardoned which did deſire it? To deſire Abſolution, preſuppoſing it commanded, is Obedience; and Obedience in that Caſe is a Branch of the Virtue of Repentance, whith Virtue being thereby made effectual to the taking away of Sins without the Sacrament of Repentance, Is it not an Argument, that the Sacrament of Abſolution hath here no efficacy, but the Virtue of Contrition worketh all? For how ſhould any Effect enſue from Cauſes which actually are not? The Sacrament muſt be applied whereſoever any Grace doth proceed from it. *So that where it is but deſired only, whatſoever may follow upon God's acceptation of this deſire, the Sacrament afterwards received can be no cauſe thereof.* Therefore the further we wade, the better we ſee it ſtill appear, That the Prieſt doth never in Abſolution, no not ſo much as by way of Service and Miniſtry, really either forgive them, take away the uncleanneſs, or remove the puniſhment of Sin; but if the Party Penitent come Contrite, he hath, by their own grant, Abſolution before Abſolution; if not Contrite, although the Prieſt ſhould ſeem a thouſand times to Abſolve him, all were in vain. For which cauſe, the Antient and better ſort of their School-Divines, *Abulenſis*, *Alexander Hales*, and *Bonaventure*, aſcribe *the real abolition of Sin and eternal puniſhment, to the meer pardon of Almighty God, without dependency upon the Prieſt's Abſolution, as a cauſe to effect the ſame.* His Abſolution hath in their Doctrine certain other effects ſpecified, but this denied. Wherefore having hitherto ſpoken, of the Virtue of Repentance required, of the Diſcipline of Repentance which Chriſt did eſtabliſh, and of the Sacrament of Repentance invented ſithence, againſt the pretended force of Human Abſolution in Sacramental Penitency; *Let it ſuffice thus far to have ſhewed, how God alone doth truly give, the virtue of Repentance alone procure, and private Miniſterial Abſolution but declare, remiſſion of Sins.*

Non eſt periculoſum Sacerdoti dicere, Ego te abſolvo, illis in quibus ſigna contritionis videt, quæ ſunt dolor de præteritis, & propoſitum de cætero non peccandi; aliàs, abſolvere non debet. *Tho. Opuſc.* 22. *Cypr* de lapſis.

A reatu mortis æternæ abſolvitur homo à Deo per contritionem; manet autem reatus ad quandam pœnam temporalem, & Miniſter Eccleſiæ quicunque virtute clavium tollit reatum cujuſdam partis pœnæ illius. *Abul.* in defenſ. per. I. c. 7.

* Signum hujus Sacramenti eſt cauſa effectiva gratiæ ſive remiſſionis peccatorum, non ſimpliciter ſicut ipſa prima pœnitentia, ſed ſecundum quid; quia eſt cauſa efficaciæ gratiæ quâ fit remiſſio peccati, quantum ad aliquem effectum in pœnitente, ad minus quantum ad remiſſionem ſequelæ ipſius peccati, ſcilicet pœnæ. *Alex.* p. 4. q. 14. memb. 2. Poteſtas clavium propriè loquendo non ſe extendit ſupra culpam; ad illud quod objicitur, To. 22. Quorum remiſeritis peccata: dicendum, quod vel illud de remiſſione dicitur quantum ad oſtenſionem, vel ſolum quantum ad pœnam. *Bon.* ſent. l. 1. d. 18. q. 1. Ab æterna pœna nullo modo ſolvit Sacerdos, ſed à purgatorio; neque hoc per ſe, ſed per accidens, quod cum in pœnitente, virtute clavium, minuitur debitum pœnæ temporalis, non ita acriter punietur in purgatorio ſicut, ſi non eſſet abſolutus. Sent l. 4. d. 18. q. 2.

Now the laſt and ſometimes hardeſt to be ſatisfied by Repentance, are our Minds, and our Minds we have then ſatisfied, when the Conſcience is of guilty become clear. For, as long as we are in our-ſelves privy to our own moſt hainous crimes; but without ſenſe of God's Mercy and Grace towards us, unleſs the Heart be either brutiſh for want of Knowledge, or altogether hardned by wilful Atheiſm, the remorſe of Sin is in it as the deadly ſting of a Serpent. Which point ſince very Infidels and Heathens have obſerved in the nature of Sin, (for the diſeaſe they felt, though they knew no remedy to help it) we are not raſhly to deſpiſe thoſe Sentences, which are the teſtimonies of their experience touching this point. They knew that the eye of a Man's own Conſcience is more to be feared by evil doers than the preſence of a thouſand witneſſes, in as much as the mouths of other Accuſers are many ways ſtopt, the ears of the accuſed not always ſubject to glowing with contumely and exprobration; whereas a guilty Mind, being forced to be ſtill both a Martyr and a Tyrant to it-ſelf, muſt of neceſſity endure perpetual Anguiſh and Grief. For, as the Body is rent with ſtripes, ſo the Mind with guiltineſs of Cruelty, Luſt, and wicked Reſolutions. Which Furies brought the Emperor *Tiberius* ſometimes into ſuch perplexity, that writing to the Senate, his wonted art of diſſimulation failed him utterly in this Caſe: And whereas it had been ever his peculiar delight ſo to ſpeak that no Man might be able to ſound his meaning, he had not the power to conceal what he felt through the ſecret ſcourge of an evil Conſcience, though no neceſſity did now enforce him to diſcloſe the ſame. *What to write, or how to write, at this preſent if I know* (ſaith Tiberius) *let the Gods and Goddeſſes, who thus continually eat me, only be worſe to me than they are.* It was not his Imperial Dignity and Power, that could provide a way to protect him againſt himſelf, the fears and ſuſpitions which improbity had bred being ſtrengthned by every occaſion, and thoſe Virtues clean baniſhed which are the only foundation of ſound tranquillity of mind. For which cauſe it hath been truly ſaid, and agreeably with all Men's experience, that if the virtuous did excell in no other priviledge, yet far happier they are than the contrary ſort of Men, for that their hopes be always better.

Neither are we to marvel, that theſe things known unto all do ſtay ſo few from being Authors of their own woe.

For we ſee by the antient example of *Joſeph's* unkind Brethren, how it cometh to remembrance eaſily when Crimes are once paſt, what the difference is of good from evil, and of right from wrong. But ſuch conſiderations when they ſhould have prevented Sin, were overmatch'd by inordinate deſires. Are we not bound then with all thankfulneſs to acknowledge his infinite goodneſs and mercy, which hath revealed unto us the way how to rid our ſelves of theſe mazes; the way how to ſhake off that yoke, which no Fleſh is able to bear; the way how to change moſt griſly horror into a comfortable apprehenſion of heavenly joy?

Whereunto there are many which labour with ſo much the greater difficulty, becauſe imbecillity of mind doth not ſuffer them to cenſure rightly their own doings: Some, fearful leſt the enormity of their Crimes be ſo unpardonable that no Repentance can do them good; ſome, leſt the imperfection of their Repentance make it ineffectual to the taking away of Sin. The one drive all things to this iſſue, whether they be not Men that have ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt; the other to this, what Repentance is ſufficient to clear Sinners, and to aſſure them that they are delivered.

Such as by Error charge themſelves of unpardonable Sin, muſt think, it may be, they deem that unpardonable, which is not.

Our Saviour ſpeaketh indeed of Blaſphemy which ſhall never be forgiven: But have they any ſure and infallible knowledge what that Blaſphemy is? If not, why are they unjuſt and cruel to their own Souls, imagining certainty of Guiltineſs in a Crime, concerning the very nature whereof they are uncertain? For mine own part. although where the Blaſphemy is mentioned, the cauſe why our Saviour ſpake thereof, was, the Phariſees Blaſphemy, which was not afraid to ſay, *He had an unclean Spirit, and did caſt out Spirits by the Power of Beelzebub*; nevertheleſs I dare not preciſely deny, but that even the Phariſees themſelves might have repented and been forgiven, and that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt peradventure might but take occaſion at their Blaſphemy, which as yet was pardonable, to tell them further of an unpardonable Blaſphemy, whereinto he foreſaw that the Jews would fall. For it is plain, that many thouſands at the firſt profeſſing Chriſtian Religion, became afterwards wilful Apoſtates, moved with no other cauſe of revolt, but meer Indignation that the Gentiles ſhould enjoy the benefit of the Goſpel as much as they, and yet not be burthened with the yoke of *Moſes* his Law.

Mat. 21. 31.
Mar. 3. 30.

The Apoſtles by preaching had won them to Chriſt, in whoſe Name they embraced with great alacrity the full remiſſion of their former ſins and iniquities; they received by the impoſition of the Apoſtles hands *that Grace and Power of the Holy Ghoſt*, whereby they cured Diſeaſes, Prophecyed, ſpake with Tongues; and yet in the end after all this they fell utterly away, renounced the Myſteries of Chriſtian Faith, Blaſphemed in their formal Abjurations that moſt glorious and bleſſed Spirit, the Gifts whereof themſelves had poſſeſt; and by this means ſunk their Souls in the Gulf of that unpardonable Sin; whereof as our Lord JESUS CHRIST had told them before hand, ſo the Apoſtle at the

Acts 2. 38.

firſt appearance of ſuch their revolt, putting them in mind again, that falling now to their former Blaſphemies, their Salvation was irrecoverably gone: It was for them in this Caſe impoſſible to be renewed by any Repentance, becauſe they were now in the ſtate of Satan and his Angels; the Judge of Quick and Dead had paſſed his irrevocable Sentence againſt them.

Heb. 6. 6.

So great difference there is between Infidels unconverted, and Backſliders in this manner fallen away, that always we have hope to reclaim the one, which only hate whom they never knew; but to the other which know and Blaſpheme, to them that with more than infernal malice accurſe both the ſeen brightneſs of Glory which is in him, and in themſelves the taſted goodneſs of Divine Grace, as thoſe execrable Miſcreants did, who firſt received in extraordinary miraculous manner, and then in outragious ſort blaſphemed the *Holy Ghoſt*, abuſing *both it and the whole Religion*, which God by it did confirm and magnify; to ſuch as wilfully thus ſin, after ſo great light of the Truth and Gifts of the Spirit, there remaineth juſtly no fruit or benefit to be expected by Chriſt's Sacrifice.

Heb. 10. 26.

For all other Offenders, without exception or ſtint, whether they be Strangers that ſeek acceſs, or Followers that will make return unto God; upon the tender of their Repentance, the grant of his Grace ſtandeth everlaſtingly ſigned with his blood in the Book of Eternal Life. That which in this Caſe over-terrifieth fearful Souls, is, a miſconceit whereby they imagine every act which they do, knowing that they do amiſs, and every wilful Breach or Tranſgreſſion of God's Law, to be meer Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, forgetting that the Law of *Moſes* it-ſelf ordained Sacrifices of Expiation, as well for faults preſumptuouſly committed, as things wherein Men offend by Error.

Now there are on the contrary ſide others, who doubting not of God's mercy towards all that perfectly repent, remain notwithſtanding ſcrupulous and troubled with continual fear, leſt defects in their own Repentance be a bar againſt them.

Jer. 6. 26.
Mich. 1. 8, 9.
Lament. 2. 18.

Theſe caſt themſelves into very great, and peradventure needleſs Agonies, through miſ-conſtruction of things ſpoken about proportioning our griefs to our Sins, for which they never think they have wept and mourned enough; yea, if they have not always a ſtream of Tears at command, they take it for a heart congealed and hardned in ſin; when to keep the Wound of Contrition bleeding, they unfold the circumſtances of their Tranſgreſſions, and endeavour to leave nothing which may be heavy againſt themſelves.

Quam magna deliquimus, tam granditer defleamus. Alto vulneri diligens & longa medicina non deſit; pœnitentia crimine minor non ſit. *Cypr.* de lapſis. Non levi agendum eſt contritione, ut debita illa redimantur, quibus mors æterna debetur; nec tranſitoria opus eſt ſatisfactione pro malis illis, propter quæ paratus eſt ignis æternus. *Euſeb.* Emiſſenus, vel potius Salv. f. 106.

Yet, do what they can, they are ſtill fearful, leſt herein alſo they do not that which they ought and might. Come to Prayer, their coldneſs taketh all heart and courage from them with faſting; albeit their Fleſh ſhould be withered, and their Blood clean dryed up, would they ever the leſs object, what is this to *David's* humiliation, wherein notwithſtanding there was not any thing more than neceſſary? In works of Charity and Alms-deeds, it is not all the World can perſwade them they did ever reach the poor bounty of the Widow's two Mites, or by many millions of Leagues come near to the mark which *Cornelius* touched; ſo far they are off from the proud ſurmiſe of any Penitential Supererogation in miſerable wretched Worms of the Earth.

Pſal. 6. 6.
Mat. 12. 42.
Acts 10. 31.

Notwithſtanding, for as much as they wrong themſelves with over-rigorous and extreme Exactions, by means whereof they fall ſometimes into ſuch Perplexities as can hardly be allayed; it hath therefore pleaſed Almighty God, in tender commiſeration over theſe imbecillities of Men, to ordain for their Spiritual and Ghoſtly comfort conſecrated Perſons, which by Sentence of Power and Authority given from above, may, as it were, out of his own Mouth aſcertain timorous and doubtful minds in their own particular, eaſe them of all their ſcrupuloſities, leave them ſettled in Peace, and ſatisfied touching the Mercy of God towards them. To uſe the benefit of this help for our better ſatisfaction in ſuch caſes, is ſo natural, that it can be forbidden no Man; but yet not ſo neceſſary, that all Men ſhould be in caſe to need it.

They are, of the two, the happier therefore, that can content and ſatisfy themſelves by judging diſcreetly what they perform, and ſoundly what God doth require of them. For having that which is moſt material, the ſubſtance of Penitency rightly bred, touching ſigns and tokens thereof we may affirm that they do boldly, which imagine for every offence a certain proportionable degree in the Paſſions and Griefs of Mind, whereunto whoſoever aſpireth not, repenteth in vain.

That to fruſtrate Men's Confeſſions and Conſiderations of Sin, except every Circumſtance which may aggravate the ſame be unript and laid in the Balance, is a mercileſs extremity, although it be true, that, as near as we can, ſuch Wounds muſt be ſearched to the very bottom. Laſt of all, to let down the like ſtint, and ſhut up the doors of Mercy againſt Penitents which come ſhort thereof in the devotion of their Prayers, in the continuance of their Faſts, in the largeneſs and bounty of their Alms, or in the courſe of any other ſuch-like Duties, is more than God himſelf hath thought meet, and conſequently more than mortal Men ſhould preſume to do.

That which God doth chiefly reſpect in Men's Penitency, is their Hearts: *The Heart is it which maketh Repentance ſincere*, Sincerity that which findeth favour in God's ſight, and the favour of God that which ſupplyeth by Gracious acceptation whatſoever may ſeem defective in the faithful, hearty, and true Offices of his Servants.

Jer. 29. 13. Joel 2. 12.

Take it (ſaith *Chryſoſtome*) upon my credit, *Such is God's merciful inclination towards Men, that Repentance offered with a ſingle and ſincere mind, he never refuſeth, no, not although we be come to the very top of Iniquity.* If there be a will and deſire to return, he receiveth, embraceth, and omitteth nothing which may reſtore us to former happineſs; yea, that which is yet above all the reſt, albeit we cannot in the duty of ſatisfying him attain what we ought, and would, but come far behind our mark, he taketh nevertheleſs in good worth that little which we do; be it never ſo mean, we loſe not our labour therein.

Chryſ. de repar. lapſ. lib. ad Theodor. De poſit. diſt. 3. c. Talis.

The leaſt and loweſt ſtep of Repentance, in Saint *Chryſoſtom's* Judgment, ſevereth and ſetteth us above them that periſh in their Sin; I therefore will end with Saint *Auguſtine's* Concluſion; *Lord, in thy Book and Volume of Life all ſhall be written, as well the Leaſt of thy Saints, as the Chiefeſt.* Let not therefore the Imperfect fear; let them only proceed and go forward.

Aug. in Pſal. 138.

OF

OF THE
LAWS
OF
Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

BOOK VII.

Their Sixth Aſſertion, That there ought not to be in the **Church**, *Biſhops indued with ſuch Authority and Honour as ours are.*

The Matter contained in this Seventh Book.

1. *THE ſtate of Biſhops although ſometime oppugned and that by ſuch as therein would moſt ſeem to pleaſe God, yet by his Providence upheld hitherto, whoſe glory it is to maintain that whereof himſelf is the Author.*
2. *What a Biſhop is, what his name doth import, and what doth belong unto his office as he is a Biſhop.*
3. *In Biſhops two things traduced; of which two, the one their Authority, and in it the firſt thing condemned, their ſuperiority over other Miniſters: What kind of ſuperiority in Miniſters it is which the one part holdeth, and the other denieth lawful.*
4. *From whence it hath grown that the Church is governed by Biſhops.*
5. *The time and cauſe of inſtituting every where Biſhops with reſtraint.*
6. *What manner of power Biſhops from the firſt beginning have had.*
7. *After what ſort Biſhops, together with Presbyters, have uſed to govern the Churches which were under them.*
8. *How far the power of Biſhops hath reached from the beginning in reſpect of territory, or local compaſs.*
9. *In what reſpects Epiſcopal Regiment hath been gainſaid of old by* Aërius.
10. *In what reſpects Epiſcopal Regiment is gainſaid by the Authors of pretended Reformation at this day.*
11. *Their arguments in diſgrace of Regiment by Biſhops, as being a meer invention of Man, and not found in Scripture, anſwered.*
12. *Their Arguments to prove there was no neceſſity of inſtituting Biſhops in the Church.*
13. *The fore-alledged Arguments anſwered.*
14. *An anſwer unto thoſe things which are objected concerning the difference between that Power which Biſhops now have, and that which ancient Biſhops had, more than other Presbyters.*
15. *Concerning the civil Power and Authority which our Biſhops have.*
16. *The Arguments anſwered, whereby they would prove that the Law of God, and the judgment of the beſt in all Ages condemneth the ruling ſuperiority of one Miniſter over another.*
17. *The ſecond malicious thing, wherein the ſtate of Biſhops ſuffereth obloquy, is their Honour.*
18. *What good doth publickly grow from the Prelacy.*
19. *What kinds of Honour be due unto Biſhops.*
20. *Honour in Title, Place, Ornament, Attendance, and Priviledge.*
21. *Honour by Endowment with Lands and Livings.*
22. *That of Eccleſiaſtical Goods, and conſequently of the Lands and Livings which Biſhops enjoy, the propriety belongs unto God alone.*
23. *That Eccleſiaſtical perſons are receivers of God's Rents, and that the honour of Prelates is to be*

thereof his chief Receivers, not without liberty from him granted of converting the ſame unto their own uſe, even in large manner.

24. *That for their unworthineſs to deprive both them and their Succeſſors of ſuch Goods, and to convey the ſame unto Men of Secular callings, is now extream Sacrilegious Injuſtice.*

The ſtate of Biſhops although ſometime oppugned, and that by ſuch as therein would moſt ſeem to pleaſe God, yet by his Providence upheld hitherto, whoſe glory it is to maintain that whereof himſelf is the Author.

Cypr.l.1.ep.3.

I. I Have heard that a famous Kingdom in the World being ſolicited to reform ſuch diſorders as all Men ſaw the Church exceedingly burthened with, when of each degree great multitudes thereunto inclined, and the number of them did every day ſo encreaſe, that this intended work was likely to take no other effect than all good Men did wiſh and labour for: A principal actor herein (for zeal and boldneſs of Spirit) thought it good to ſhew them betimes what it was which muſt be effected, or elſe that there could be no work of perfect Reformation accompliſhed. To this purpoſe, in a ſolemn Sermon, and in a great Aſſembly he deſcribed unto them the preſent quality of their publick Eſtate, by the parable of a Tree, huge and goodly to look upon, but without that fruit which it ſhould and might bring forth, affirming that the only way of redreſs was a full and perfect eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's Diſcipline (for ſo their manner is to entitle a thing hammered out upon the forge of their own invention) and that to make way of entrance for it, there muſt be three great limbs cut off from the body of that ſtately Tree of the Kingdom: Thoſe three limbs were three ſorts of Men; Nobles, whoſe high Eſtate would make them otherwiſe diſdain to put their necks under that yoke: Lawyers, whoſe Courts being not pulled down, the new Church-Conſiſtories were not like to flouriſh: Finally, Prelates, whoſe Ancient Dignity, and the ſimplicity of their intended Church-Diſcipline, could not poſſibly ſtand together. The propoſition of which device being plauſible to active ſpirits, reſtleſs through deſire of innovation, whom commonly nothing doth more offend than a change which goeth fearfully on by ſlow and ſuſpicious paces; the heavier and more experienced ſort began preſently thereat to pull back their feet again, and exceedingly to fear the ſtratagem of Reformation for ever after. Whereupon enſued thoſe extream conflicts of the one part with the other, which continuing and encreaſing to this very day, have now made the ſtate of that flouriſhing Kingdom even ſuch, as whereunto we may moſt fitly apply thoſe words of the Prophet *Jeremiah, Thy breach is great like the Sea, who can heal thee?* Whether this were done in truth, according to the conſtant affirmation of ſome avouching the ſame, I take not upon me to examine; that which I note therein is, how with us that policy hath been corrected. For to the Authors of pretended Reformation with us it hath not ſeemed expedient, to offer the edge of the axe unto all three boughs at once, but rather to ſingle them, and ſtrike at the weakeſt firſt, making ſhow that the lop of that one ſhall draw the more abundance of ſap to the other two, that they may thereby the better proſper. All proſperity, felicity and peace we wiſh multiplyed on each Eſtate, as far as their own hearts deſire is: But let Men know that there is a God, whoſe eye beholdeth them in all their ways; a God, the uſual and ordinary courſe of whoſe juſtice is to return upon the head of malice the ſame devices, which it contriveth againſt others. The foul practiſes which have been uſed for the overthrow of Biſhops, may perhaps wax bold in proceſs of time to give the like aſſault even there, from whence at this preſent they are moſt ſeconded. Nor let it over-diſmay them who ſuffer ſuch things at the hands of this moſt unkind world, to ſee that heavenly eſtate and dignity thus conculcated, in regard whereof ſo many their Predeceſſors were no leſs eſteemed than if they had not been Men, but Angels amongſt Men, With former Biſhops it was as with *Job* in the days of that proſperity, which at large he deſcribeth, ſaying, *Unto me Men gave ear, they waited and held their tongue at my counſel, after my words they replied not, I appointed out their way and did ſit as chief, I dwelt as it had been a King in an Army.* At this day the caſe is otherwiſe with them, and yet no otherwiſe than with the ſelf-ſame *Job*, at what time the alteration of his eſtate wreſted theſe contrary ſpeeches from him, *But now they that are younger than I mock at me, the children of fools, and off-ſpring of ſlaves, creatures more baſe than the earth they tread on, ſuch as if they did ſhow their heads, young and old would ſhout at them and chaſe them through the ſtreets with a cry, their ſong I am, I am a theme for them to talk on.* An injury leſs grievous, if it were not offered by them whom Satan hath through his fraud and ſubtilty ſo far beguiled, as to make them imagine herein they do unto God a part of moſt faithful ſervice. Whereas the Lord in truth, whom they ſerve herein, is, as St. *Cyprian* telleth them, like, not Chriſt (for he it is that doth appoint and protect Biſhops) but rather Chriſt's adverſary and enemy of his Church. A thouſand five-hundred years and upward the Church of Chriſt hath now continued under the ſacred Regiment of Biſhops. Neither for ſo long hath Chriſtianity been ever planted in any Kingdom throughout the world, but with this kind of government alone; which to have been ordained of God, I am, for mine own part, even as reſolutely perſwaded, as that any other kind of Government in the world whatſoever is of God. In this Realm of *England*, before *Normans*, yea before *Saxons*, there being Chriſtians, the chief Paſtors of their ſouls were Biſhops. This order from about the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Religion, which was publickly begun through the virtuous diſpoſition of King *Lucius* not fully 200 years after Chriſt, continued till the coming in of the *Saxons*; by whom Paganiſm being every where elſe replanted, only one part of the Iſland, whereinto the ancient, natural inhabitants the *Britains* were driven, retained conſtantly the faith of Chriſt, together with the ſame form of ſpiritual Regiment, which their Fathers had before received. Wherefore in the Hiſtories of the Church we find very ancient mention made of our own Biſhops. At the Council of *Ariminum* about the year 359. *Britain* had three of her Biſhops preſent. At the arrival of *Auguſtine* the Monk, whom *Gregory* ſent hither to reclaim the *Saxons* from Gentility about ſix-hundred years after Chriſt, the *Britains* he found obſervers ſtill of the ſelf-ſame Government by Biſhops over the reſt of the Clergy; under this form Chriſtianity took root again, where it had been exiled. Under the ſelf-ſame form it remained till the days of the (*a*) *Norman* Conqueror. By him and his ſucceſſors thereunto (*b*) ſworn, it hath from that time till now, by the ſpace of above 500 years more been upheld. O Nation utterly without knowledge, without ſenſe! We are not through error of mind deceived, but ſome wicked thing hath undoubtedly bewitched us, if we forſake that Government, the uſe whereof univerſal experience hath for ſo many years approved, and betake our ſelves unto a Regiment, neither appointed of God himſelf, as they who favour it pretend, nor till yeſterday ever heard of among Men. By the Jews *Feſtus* was much complained of, as being a Governour marvellous corrupt, and almoſt intolerable: Such notwithſtanding were they who came after him, that Men which thought the publick condition moſt afflicted under *Feſtus*, began to wiſh they had him again, and to eſteem him a Ruler commendable. Great things are hoped for at the hands of theſe new Preſidents, whom Reformation would bring in: Notwithſtanding the time may come, when Biſhops, whoſe Regiment doth now ſeem a yoke ſo heavy to bear, will be longed for again even by them that are the readieſt to have it taken from off their necks. But in the hands of Divine Providence we leave the ordering of all ſuch events, and come now to the Queſtion it-ſelf which is raiſed concerning Biſhops. For the better underſtanding whereof we muſt before hand ſet down what is meant, when in this Queſtion we name a Biſhop.

Sulpit. Sever. lib. 2.
Beda Eccl. hiſt. l. 2. c. 2.

(*a*) An. 1066.
(*b*) Alfredus Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopus Gulielmum cognomento Nothum ſpirantem adhuc minarum & cædis in populum, mitem reddidit, & religioſis pro conſervanda repub. tuendaq; eccleſiaſt. diſc. ſacramento aſtrinxit. Nubrig. l. 1. c. 2.

What a Biſhop is, what his name doth import, and what doth belong to his Office as he is a Biſhop.

II. For whatſoever we bring from Antiquity by way of defence in this cauſe of Biſhops, it is caſt off as impertinent matter, all is wiped away with an odd kind of ſhifting Anſwer, *That the Biſhops which now are, be not like unto them which were*: We therefore beſeech all indifferent Judges, to weigh ſincerely with themſelves how the caſe doth ſtand. If it ſhould be at this day a controverſie, whether Kingly Regiment were lawful or no; peradventure in defence thereof, the long continuance which it hath had ſithence the firſt beginning might be alledged; mention perhaps might be made, what Kings there were of old even in *Abraham's* time, what Soveraign Princes both before and after. Suppoſe that herein ſome Man purpoſely bending his wit againſt Soveraignty, ſhould think to elude all ſuch allegations by making ample diſcovery through a number of particularities, wherein the Kings that are, do differ from thoſe that have been, and ſhould therefore in the end conclude, that ſuch ancient examples are no convenient proofs of that Royalty which is now in uſe. Surely for deciſion of truth in this caſe there were no remedy, but only to ſhew the nature of Soveraignty, to ſever it from accidental properties, to make it clear that ancient and preſent Regality are one and the ſame in ſubſtance, how great odds ſoever otherwiſe may ſeem to be between them. In like manner, whereas a Queſtion of late hath grown, whether Eccleſiaſtical Regiment by Biſhops be lawful in the Church of Chriſt or no: In which Queſtion they that hold the Negative, being preſſed with that generally received order, according whereunto the moſt renowned Lights of the Chriſtian World have governed the ſame in every age as Biſhops; ſeeing their manner is to reply, that ſuch Biſhops as thoſe ancient were, ours are not; there is no remedy but to ſhew, that to be a Biſhop is now the ſelf-ſame thing which it hath been; that one definition agreeth fully and truly as well to thoſe elder, as to theſe latter Biſhops. Sundry diſſimilitudes we grant there are, which notwithſtanding are not ſuch that they cauſe any equivocation in the name, whereby we ſhould think a Biſhop in thoſe times to have had a clean other definition than doth rightly agree unto Biſhops as they are now: Many things there are in the ſtate of Biſhops, which the times have changed; many a Parſonage at this day is larger than ſome ancient Biſhopricks were; many an ancient Biſhop poorer than at this day ſundry under them in degree. The ſimple hereupon, lacking judgment and knowledge to diſcern between the nature of things which changeth not, and theſe outward variable accidents, are made believe that a Biſhop heretofore and now are things in their very nature ſo diſtinct, that they cannot be judged the ſame. Yet to Men that have any part of skill, what more evident and plain in Biſhops, than that augmentation or diminution in their precincts, allowances, privileges, and ſuch like, do make a difference indeed, but no eſſential difference between one Biſhop and another? As for thoſe things in regard whereof we uſe properly to term them Biſhops, thoſe things whereby they eſſentially differ from other Paſtors, thoſe things which the natural definition of a Biſhop muſt contain, what one of them is there more or leſs applicable unto Biſhops now than of old? The name Biſhop hath been borrowed from the * Grecians, with whom it ſignifieth, One which hath principal charge to guide and overſee others. The ſame word in Eccleſiaſtical writings being applied unto Church-governors, at the firſt unto † all and not unto the chiefeſt only, grew in ſhort time peculiar and proper to ſignifie ſuch Epiſcopal Authority alone, as the chiefeſt Governours ex-

---

* Οἱ παρ' Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις πεμπόμενοι Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ Φύλακες ἐκαλοῦντο οὓς οἱ Λάκωνες ἁρμοστὰς ἔλεγον. *Suid.* Κατέστησεν ἐν ἑκάστοις τῶν πάγων ἄρχοντα ἐπίσκοπόν τε καὶ περίπολον τῆς ἰδίας μοίρας. *Dionyſ. Halicar.* de Numa Pompilio, Antiq. lib. 2. Vult me *Pompeius* eſſe quem tota hæc Campania & maritima ora habeat Ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus & negotii ſumma referatur. *Cic.* ad Attic. lib. 7. Epiſt. 11. † Acts 20. Phil. 1. 1.

exerciſed over the reſt; for with all Names this is uſual, that in as much as they are not given till the things whereunto they are given, have been ſome time firſt obſerved; therefore generally, ‖ Things are antienter than the Names whereby they are called.

‖ And God brought them unto *Adam*, that *Adam* might ſee or conſider what name it was meet he ſhould give unto them, Gen. 2. 19.

Again, ſith the firſt things that grow into general obſervation, and do thereby give Men occaſion to find Names for them, are thoſe which being in many Subjects, are thereby the eaſier, the oftner, and the more univerſally noted; it followeth, that names impoſed to ſignifie common qualities or operations are ancienter, than is the reſtraint of thoſe names, to note an excellency of ſuch qualities or operations in ſome one or few amongſt others. For example, the name Diſciple being invented to ſignifie generally a learner, it cannot chuſe but in that ſignification be more ancient than when it ſignifieth, as it were by a kind of appropriation, thoſe Learners who being taught of Chriſt were in that reſpect termed Diſciples by an excellency. The like is to be ſeen in the name Apoſtle, the uſe whereof to ſignifie a Meſſenger, muſt needs be more ancient than that uſe which reſtraineth it unto Meſſengers ſent concerning Evangelical affairs; yea this uſe more ancient than that whereby the ſame word is yet reſtrained farther to ſignifie only thoſe whom our Saviour himſelf immediately did ſend. After the ſame manner the Title or Name of a Biſhop having been uſed of old to ſignifie both an Eccleſiaſtical Overſeer in general, and more particularly alſo a Principal Eccleſiaſtical Overſeer; it followeth, that this latter reſtrained ſignification is not ſo ancient as the former, being more common: Yet becauſe the things themſelves are always ancienter than their names, therefore that thing which the reſtrained uſe of the word doth import, is likewiſe ancienter than the reſtraint of the word is; and conſequently that power of chief Eccleſiaſtical Overſeers, which the term of a Biſhop importeth, was before the reſtrained uſe of the name which doth import it. Wherefore a lame and an impotent kind of reaſoning it is, when Men go about to prove that in the Apoſtles time there was no ſuch thing as the reſtrained name of a Biſhop doth now ſignifie; becauſe in their writings there is found no reſtraint of that name, but only a general uſe whereby it reached unto all ſpiritual Governors and Overſeers.

So alſo the name *Deacon*; a Miniſter, appropriated to a certain order of Miniſters.

The name likewiſe of a Miniſter] was common to divers degrees, which now is peculiarly among our-ſelves given only to Paſtors, and not as anciently to Deacons alſo.

But to let go the name, and to come to the very nature of that thing which is thereby ſignified in all kinds of Regiment whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil: As there are ſundry operations publick, ſo likewiſe great inequality there is in the ſame operations, ſome being of principal reſpect, and therefore not fit to be dealt in by every one to whom publick actions, and thoſe of good importance, are notwithſtanding well and fitly enough committed. From hence have grown thoſe different degrees of Magiſtrates or publick perſons, even Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil. Amongſt Eccleſiaſtical Perſons therefore Biſhops being chief ones, a Biſhops function muſt be defined by that wherein his Chiefty conſiſteth. A Biſhop is a Miniſter of God, unto whom with permanent continuance, there is given not only power of adminiſtring the Word and Sacraments, which power other Presbyters have; but alſo a further power to ordain Eccleſiaſtical perſons, and a power of Chiefty in Government over Presbyters as well as Lay-Men, a power to be by way of juriſdiction a Paſtor even to Paſtors themſelves. So that this Office, as he is a Presbyter or Paſtor, conſiſteth in thoſe things which are common unto him with other Paſtors, as in miniſtring the Word and Sacraments: But thoſe things incident unto his Office, which do properly make him a Biſhop, cannot be common unto him with other Paſtors. Now even as Paſtors, ſo likewiſe Biſhops being principal Paſtors, are either at large or elſe with reſtraint. At large, when the ſubject of their Regiment is indefinite, and not tied to any certain place: Biſhops with reſtraint, are they whoſe Regiment over the Church is contained within ſome definite, local compaſs, beyond which compaſs their juriſdiction reacheth not. Such therefore we always mean, when we ſpeak of that Regiment by Biſhops which we hold a thing moſt lawful, divine and holy in the Church of Chriſt.

III. In our preſent Regiment by Biſhops two things there are complained of, the one their great Authority, and the other their great Honour. Touching the Authority of our Biſhops, the firſt thing which therein diſpleaſeth their Adverſaries, is the Superiority which Biſhops have over other Miniſters. They which cannot brook the Superiority which Biſhops have, do notwithſtanding themſelves admit that ſome kind of difference and inequality there may be lawfully amongſt Miniſters: Inequality as touching gifts and graces they grant, becauſe this is ſo plain that no miſt in the world can be caſt before Men's eyes ſo thick, but that they needs muſt diſcern thro' it, that one Miniſter of the Goſpel may be learneder, holier, and wiſer, better able to inſtruct, more apt to rule and guide them than another: Unleſs thus much were confeſt, thoſe Men ſhould loſe their fame and glory, whom they themſelves do entitle the Lights and grand Worthies of this preſent age. Again, a priority of Order they deny not, but that there may be; yea ſuch a priority as maketh one Man amongſt many a principal Actor in thoſe things whereunto ſundry of them muſt neceſſarily concur, ſo that the ſame be admitted only during the time of ſuch actions, and no longer; that is to ſay, juſt ſo much ſuperiority, and neither more nor leſs may be liked of, than it hath pleaſed them in their own kind of regiment to ſet down. The inequality which they complain of, is, *That one Miniſter of the Word and Sacraments ſhould have a permanent ſuperiority above another, or in any ſort a ſuperiority of power mandatory, judicial and coërcive over other Miniſters.* By us, on the contrary ſide, *inequality, even ſuch inequality as unto Biſhops being Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments granted a ſuperiority permanent above Miniſters, yea a permanent ſuperiority of power mandatory, judicial and coërcive over them,* is maintained a thing allowable,

In Biſhops two things traduced; of which two, the one their Authority, and in it the firſt thing condemned, their ſuperiority over other Miniſters: what kind of ſuperiority in Miniſters it is, which the one part holdeth and the other denieth lawful.

lawful and good. For ſuperiority of power may be either above them or upon them, in regard of whom it is termed ſuperiority. One Paſtor hath ſuperiority of power above another, when either ſome are authoriſed to do things worthier than are permitted unto all, ſome are preferred to be principal Agents, the reſt Agents with dependency and ſubordination. The former of theſe two kinds of ſuperiority is ſuch as the High-Prieſt had above other Prieſts of the Law, in being appointed to enter once a year the holy place, which the reſt of the Prieſts might not do. The latter ſuperiority, ſuch as Preſidents have in thoſe actions which are done by others with them, they nevertheleſs being principal and chief therein. One Paſtor hath ſuperiority of power, not only above but upon another, when ſome are ſubject unto others commandment and judicial controulment, by virtue of publick juriſdiction. Superiority in this laſt kind is utterly denied to be allowable, in the reſt it is only denied that the laſting continuance and ſettled permanency thereof is lawful. So that if we prove at all the lawfulneſs of ſuperiority in this laſt kind, where the ſame is ſimply denied, and of permanent ſuperiority in the reſt, where ſome kind of ſuperiority is granted, but with reſtraint to the term and continuance of certain actions, with which the ſame muſt, as they ſay, expire and ceaſe; if we can ſhew theſe two things maintainable, we bear up ſufficiently that which the adverſe Party endeavoureth to overthrow. Our deſire therefore is, that this iſſue may be ſtrictly obſerved, and thoſe things accordingly judged of, which we are to alledge. This we boldly therefore ſet down, as a moſt infallible truth, *That the Church of Chriſt is at this day lawfully, and ſo hath been ſithence the firſt beginning, governed by Biſhops, having permanent ſuperiority, and ruling power over other Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments.*

For the plainer explication whereof, let us briefly declare firſt, the birth and original of the ſame power, whence and by what occaſion it grew. Secondly, what manner of power antiquity doth witneſs Biſhops to have had more than Presbyters, which were no Biſhops. Thirdly, after what ſort Biſhops together with Presbyters have uſed to govern the Churches under them, according to the like teſtimonial evidence of antiquity. Fourthly, how far the ſame Epiſcopal power hath uſually extended, unto what number of perſons it hath reached, what bounds and limits of place it hath had. This done, we may afterwards deſcend unto thoſe by whom the ſame either hath been heretofore, or is at this preſent hour gainſaid.

IV. The firſt Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt were his bleſſed Apoſtles, for the Office whereunto *Matthias* was choſen the ſacred Hiſtory doth term 'Επισκοπὴν an Epiſcopal Office. Which being ſpoken expreſly of one, agreeth no leſs unto them all than unto him. For which cauſe St. *Cyprian* ſpeaking generally of them all doth call them Biſhops. They which were termed Apoſtles, as being ſent of Chriſt to publiſh his Goſpel throughout the world, and were named likewiſe Biſhops, in that the care of Government was alſo committed unto them, did no leſs perform the offices of their Epiſcopal Authority by governing, than of their Apoſtolical by teaching. The word 'Επισκοπὴ, expreſſing that part of their office which did conſiſt in Regiment, proveth not (I grant) their chiefty in regiment over others, becauſe as then that name was common unto the function of their inferiors, and not peculiar unto theirs. But the Hiſtory of their actions ſheweth plainly enough, how the thing it-ſelf which that name appropriated importeth, that is to ſay, even ſuch ſpiritual chiefty as we have already defined to be properly Epiſcopal, was in the holy Apoſtles of Chriſt. Biſhops therefore they were at large. But was it lawful for any of them to be a Biſhop with reſtraint? True it is their charge was indefinite, yet ſo, that in caſe they did all, whether ſeverally or jointly, diſcharge the Office of proclaiming every where the Goſpel, and of guiding the Church of Chriſt, none of them caſting off his part in their burthen which was laid upon them; there doth appear no impediment, but that they, having received their common charge indefinitely, might in the execution thereof notwithſtanding reſtrain themſelves, or at leaſtwiſe be reſtrained by the after-commandment of the Spirit, without contradiction or repugnancy unto that charge more indefinite and general before given them; eſpecially if it ſeemed at any time requiſite, and for the greater good of the Church, that they ſhould in ſuch ſort tye themſelves unto ſome ſpecial part of the flock of Jeſus Chriſt, guiding the ſame in ſeveral as Biſhops. For firſt, notwithſtanding our Saviour's commandment unto them all to go and preach unto all Nations, yet ſome reſtraint we ſee there was made, when by agreement between *Paul* and *Peter* moved with thoſe effects of their labours which the providence of God brought forth, the one betook himſelf unto the Gentiles, the other unto the Jews, for the exerciſe of that Office of every-where-preaching. A further reſtraint of their Apoſtolical labours as yet there was alſo made, when they divided themſelves into ſeveral parts of the world, (*a*) *John* for his charge taking *Aſia*, and ſo the reſidue other quarters, to labour in. If nevertheleſs it ſeem very hard that we ſhould admit a reſtraint ſo particular, as after general charge received, to make any Apoſtle notwithſtanding the Biſhop of ſome one Church, what think we of the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, (*b*) *James*, whoſe conſecration unto that Mother-See of the World, becauſe it was not meet that it ſhould at any time be left void of ſome Apoſtle, doth ſeem to have been the very cauſe of S. *Paul's* miraculous vocation to make up the (*c*) number of the Twelve again, for the gathering of Nations abroad, even as the (*d*) Martyrdom of the other *James*, the reaſon why *Barnabas* in his ſtead was called. Finally, Apoſtles, whether they did ſettle in any one certain place, as *James*, or elſe did otherwiſe, as the Apoſtle *Paul*, Epiſcopal Authority

From whence it hath grown, that the Church is governed by Biſhops.

Meminiſſe Diaconi debent, quoniam Apoſtolos, id eſt Epiſcopos & præpoſitos, Dominus elegit. Cypr. l. 3. ep. 9.

Rom. 2. 14, 15.
1 Cor. 9. 16.
Joh. 22. 15, 16.

Gal. 2. 8.

(*a*) Him *Euſebius* doth name the Governour of the Churches in *Aſia*, Lib. 3. Hiſt. Eccleſ. c. 16. *Tertullian* calleth the ſame Churches St. *Johns* Foſter-daughters. Lib. 3. adverſ. Marcion.

(*b*) *Jacobus*, qui appellatur frater Domini cognomento Juſtus, poſt paſſionem Domini ſtatim ab Apoſtolis Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus ordinatus eſt. *Hieron. de Script. Eccleſ.* Eodem tempore Jacobum primam ſedem Epiſcopalem Eccleſiæ, quæ eſt Hieroſolymis, obtinuiſſe memoriæ traditur. *Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 2. *cap.* 1. The ſame ſeemeth to be intimated. *Acts* 15. 13. and *Acts* 21. 18. (*c*) *Acts* 12. 2. (*d*) *Acts* 13. 2.

either at large or with reſtraint they had and exerciſed: Their Epiſcopal power they ſometimes gave unto others, to exerciſe as Agents only in their ſtead and as it were by commiſſion from them. Thus (a) *Titus*, and thus *Timothy*, at the firſt, though (b) afterwards indued with Apoſtolical power of their own. For in proceſs of time the Apoſtles gave Epiſcopal Authority, and that to continue always with them which had it. † *We are able to number up them*, ſaith *Irenæus*, *who by the Apoſtles were made Biſhops*. In *Rome* he affirmeth that the Apoſtles themſelves made *Linus* the firſt Biſhop. Again of *Polycarp* he ſaith likewiſe, that the Apoſtles made him Biſhop of the Church of *Smyrna*. Of *Antioch* they made *Evodius* Biſhop, as ‖ *Ignatius* witneſſeth, exhorting that Church to tread in his holy ſteps, and to follow his virtuous example. The Apoſtles therefore were the firſt which had ſuch authority, and all others who have it after them in orderly ſort are their lawful Succeſſors, whether they ſucceed in any particular Church, where before them ſome Apoſtle hath been ſeated, as *Simon* ſucceeded *James* in *Jeruſalem*; or elſe be otherwiſe indued with the ſame kind of Biſhoply power, although it be not where any Apoſtle before hath been. For to ſucceed them, is after them to have that Epiſcopal kind of power which was firſt given to them. *All Biſhops are*, ſaith *Jerom, the Apoſtles ſucceſſors*. In like ſort *Cyprian* doth term Biſhops, *Præpoſitos, qui Apoſtolis vicaria ordinatione ſuccedunt*. From hence it may haply ſeem to have grown, that they whom now we call Biſhops* were uſually termed at the firſt Apoſtles, and ſo did carry their very names in whoſe rooms of ſpiritual authority they ſucceeded. Such as deny Apoſtles to have (c) any ſucceſſors at all in the office of their Apoſtleſhip, may hold that opinion without contradiction to this of ours, if they well explain themſelves in declaring what truly and properly Apoſtleſhip is: In ſome things every Presbyter, in ſome things only Biſhops, in ſome things neither the one nor the other, are the Apoſtles Succeſſors. The Apoſtles were ſent as ſpecial choſen (d) eye-witneſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, from whom (e) immediately they received their whole Embaſſage, and their Commiſſion to be the principal (f) firſt founders of an Houſe of God, conſiſting as well of (g) Gentiles as of Jews: In this there are not after them any other like unto them; and yet the Apoſtles have now their Succeſſors upon earth, their true Succeſſors, if not in the largeneſs, ſurely in the kind of that Epiſcopal function, whereby they had power to ſit as ſpiritual ordinary Judges both over Laity and over Clergy, where Churches Chriſtian were eſtabliſhed.

V. The Apoſtles of our Lord did, according unto thoſe directions which were given them from above, erect Churches in all ſuch Cities as received the Word of Truth, the Goſpel of God: All Churches by them erected received from them the ſame Faith, the ſame Sacraments, the ſame form of publick Regiment. The form of Regiment by them eſtabliſhed at firſt was, *That the* **Laity** *of people ſhould be ſubject unto a Colledge of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, which were in every ſuch City appointed for that purpoſe*, theſe in their Writings they term ſometime Presbyters, ſometime Biſhops. To take one Church out of a number for a pattern what the reſt were; the Presbyters of *Epheſus*, as it is in the Hiſtory of their departure from the Apoſtle *Paul* at *Miletum*, are ſaid to have wept abundantly all, which ſpeech doth ſhew them to have been many. And by the Apoſtles exhortation it may appear, that they had not each his ſeveral flock to feed, but were in common appointed to feed that one flock the Church of E*pheſus*; for which cauſe the phraſe of his ſpeech is this, † *Attendite gregi*, Look all to that one flock over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Biſhops. Theſe perſons Eccleſiaſtical, being termed as then Presbyters and Biſhops both, were all ſubject unto *Paul* as to an higher Governour appointed of God to be over them. But for as much as the Apoſtles could not themſelves be preſent in all Churches, and as the Apoſtle S. ‖ *Paul* foretold the Presbyters of the *Epheſians*, that *there would riſe up Men from among their own ſelves, Men ſpeaking perverſe things to draw Diſciples after them*; there did grow in ſhort time amongſt the Governours of each Church, thoſe emulations, ſtrifes, and contentions, whereof there could be no ſufficient remedy provided, except, according unto the order of *Jeruſalem* already begun, ſome one were indued with Epiſcopal Authority over the reſt, which one being preſident might keep them in order, and have preheminence or principality in thoſe things, wherein the equality of many agents was the cauſe of diſorder and trouble. This one Preſident or Governour amongſt the reſt, had his known Authority eſtabliſhed a long time before that ſettled difference of name and title took place, whereby ſuch alone were named Biſhops. And therefore in the Book of S. *Johns Revelations* we find, that they are entituled (h) Angels. It will perhaps be anſwered, that the Angels of thoſe Churches were only in every Church a Miniſter of Sacraments: But then we ask, is it probable that in every of theſe Churches, even in *Epheſus* it-ſelf, where many ſuch Miniſters were long before, as hath been proved, there was but one ſuch when *John* directed his ſpeech to the Angel of that Church? If there were many, ſurely St. *John* in naming but only one of them an Angel, did behold in that one ſomewhat above the reſt. Nor was this order peculiar unto ſome few Churches, but the whole world univerſally became ſubject thereunto; inſomuch as they did not account it to be a Church, which was not ſubject unto a Biſhop. It was the general received perſwaſion of the ancient Chriſtian world, that (i) *Eccleſia eſt in Epiſcopo*, the outward being of a Church conſiſteth in the having of a Biſhop. That where Colledges of Presbyters were, there was at the firſt equality amongſt them, (k) St. *Jerom* thinketh it a matter clear; but when the reſt were thus equal, ſo that no one of them could command any other as inferior unto him, they all were controulable by the Apoſtles, who had that Epiſcopal authority abiding at the firſt in themſelves, which they afterwards derived unto

others,

(a) *Tit.* 1. 5.

(b) This appeareth by thoſe ſubſcriptions which are ſet after the Epiſtle to *Titus*, and the ſecond to *Timothy*, and by *Euſeb. Eccleſ. hiſt. lib.* 3. c. 4.

† Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

‖ In Ep. ad Antioch.

Hieron. ep. 81.

Cypr. ep. ad Florent.

* Theod in 1 Tim. 3.

(c) Ipſius Apoſtolatus nulla ſucceſſio. Finitur enim legatio cum legato, nec ad ſucceſſores ipſius tranſit. Stapl. doct. prin can.

(d) Act 1, 21, 22. 1 John 1. 3.

(e) Gal. 1. 1.

(f) Apoc. 21. 14.

(g) Mat. 23. 19.

The time and cauſe of inſtituting every where Biſhops with reſtraint.

Acts 20. 36, 37.

† Acts 20. 29, 30.

‖ As appeareth both by his ſending to call the Presbyters of *Epheſus* before him as far as to *Miletum*. Acts 20. 17. which was almoſt 50 miles, and by his leaving *Timothy* in his place with his Authority and inſtructions for ordaining of Miniſters there. 1 Tim. 5. 22. and for proportioning their maintenance, v. 17, 18. and for judicial hearing of accuſations brought againſt them v. 19. and for holding them in an uniformity of Doctrine, c. 1. v. 3.

(h) Revel. 2.

(i) Cypr. l. 4. Epiſt. 9.

(k) Hieron. Ep. ad Evag.

others. The cauſe, wherefore they under themſelves appointed ſuch Biſhops as were not every where at the firſt, is ſaid to have been thoſe ſtrifes and contentions, for remedy whereof, whether the Apoſtles alone did conclude of ſuch a Regiment, or elſe they together with the whole Church judging it a fit and needful polity did agree to receive it for a cuſtom; no doubt but being eſtabliſhed by them on whom the Holy Ghoſt was powred in ſo abundant meaſure for the ordering of Chriſt's Church, it had either Divine appointment before hand, or Divine approbation afterwards, and is in that reſpect to be acknowledged the Ordinance of God, no leſs than that ancient Jewiſh Regiment, whereof though *Jethro* were the Deviſer, yet after that God had allowed it, all Men were ſubject unto it, as to the Polity of God, and not of *Jethro*. That ſo the ancient Fathers did think of Epiſcopal Regiment, that they held this order as a thing received from the bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves, and authoriſed even from Heaven, we may perhaps more eaſily prove, than obtain that they all ſhall grant it who ſee it proved. St. *Auguſtine* ſetteth it down for a principle, that whatſoever poſitive order the whole Church every where doth obſerve, the ſame it muſt needs have received from the very Apoſtles themſelves, unleſs perhaps ſome general Council were the Authors of it. And he ſaw that the ruling ſuperiority of Biſhops was a thing univerſally eſtabliſhed, not by the force of any Council, (for Councils do all preſuppoſe Biſhops, nor can there any Council be named ſo ancient, either General, or as much as Provincial, ſithence the Apoſtles own times, but we can ſhew that Biſhops had their Authority before it, and not from it.) Wherefore St. *Auguſtine* knowing this, could not chuſe but reverence the Authority of Biſhops, as a thing to him apparently and moſt clearly apoſtolical. But it will be perhaps objected, that Regiment by Biſhops was not ſo univerſal nor ancient as we pretend; and that an Argument hereof may be *Jeroms* own Teſtimony, who living at the very ſame time with St. *Auguſtine*, noteth this kind of Regiment as being no where ancient, ſaving only in *Alexandria*; his words are theſe, *It was for a remedy of Schiſm that one was afterwards choſen to be placed above the reſt, leſt every man's pulling unto himſelf ſhould rend aſunder the Church of Chriſt. For (that which alſo may ſerve for an argument or token thereof) at* Alexandria, *from* Mark *the* Evangeliſt *unto* Heraclas *and* Dionyſius, *the Presbyters always choſe one* **OF THEMSELVES**, *whom they placed in higher degree, and gave unto him the Title of Biſhop.* Now St. *Jerom* they ſay would never have picked out that one Church from amongſt ſo many, and have noted that in it there had been Biſhops from the time that St. *Mark* lived, if ſo be the ſelf-ſame order were of like antiquity every where; his words therefore muſt be thus ſcholied. In the Church of *Alexandria* Presbyters indeed had even from the time of St. *Mark* the *Evangeliſt* always a Biſhop to rule over them, for a remedy againſt Diviſions, Factions, and Schiſms. Not ſo in other Churches, neither in that very Church any longer than *uſque ad Heraclam & Dionyſium*, till *Heraclas* and his Succeſſor *Dionyſius* were Biſhops. But this conſtruction doth bereave the words conſtrued, partly of wit, and partly of truth, it maketh them both abſurd and falſe. For if the meaning be, that Epiſcopal Government in that Church was then expired, it muſt have expired with the end of ſome one, and not of two ſeveral Biſhops days, unleſs perhaps it fell ſick under *Heraclas*, and with *Dionyſius* gave up the Ghoſt. Beſides it is clearly untrue, that the Presbyters of that Church did then ceaſe to be under a Biſhop. Who doth not know, that after *Dionyſius Maximus* was Biſhop of *Alexandria*, after him *Theonas*, after him *Peter*, after him *Achillas*, after him *Alexander*? Of whom *Socrates* in this ſort writeth. It fortuned on a certain time that this *Alexander*, in the preſence of the Presbyters which were under him and of the reſt of the Clergy there, diſcourſed ſomewhat curiouſly and ſubtilly of the Holy Trinity, bringing high Philoſophical proofs, that there is in the Trinity an Unity. Whereupon *Arius* one of the Presbyters which were placed in that degree under *Alexander*, oppoſed eagerly himſelf againſt thoſe things which were uttered by the Biſhop. So that thus long Biſhops continued even in the Church of *Alexandria*. Nor did their Regiment here ceaſe, but theſe alſo had others their Succeſſors till St. *Jeroms* own time, who living long after *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius* had ended their days, did not yet live himſelf to ſee the Presbyters of *Alexandria*, otherwiſe than ſubject unto a Biſhop. So that we cannot, with any truth, ſo interpret his words as to mean, that in the Church of *Alexandria* there had been Biſhops indued with ſuperiority over Presbyters from St. *Marks* time, only till the time of *Heraclas* and of *Dionyſius*; wherefore that St. *Jerom* may receive a more probable interpretation than this, we anſwer, that generally, of Regiment by Biſhops, and what term of continuance it had in the Church of *Alexandria*, it was no part of his mind to ſpeak, but to note one only circumſtance belonging to the manner of their election, which circumſtance is, that in *Alexandria* they uſed to chuſe their Biſhops altogether out of the Colledge of their own Presbyters, and neither from abroad nor out of any other inferior order of the Clergy, whereas oftentimes *elſewhere the uſe was to chuſe as well from abroad as at home, as well inferior unto Presbyters as Presbyters, when they ſaw occaſion. This cuſtom, ſaith he, the Church of *Alexandria* did always keep, till in *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius* they began to do otherwiſe. Theſe two were the very firſt not choſe out of their Colledge of Presbyters.

Exod. 18. 19.

Ep. ad Evag.

T.C.l.2. p 82. It is to be obſerved that *Jerom* ſaith, It was ſo in *Alexandria*, ſignifying that in other Churches it was not ſo.

Socrat.l.1.c.3.

The drift and purpoſe of St. *Jeroms* ſpeech doth plainly ſhow what his meaning was; for whereas ſome did over-extol the Office of the Deacon in the Church of *Rome*, where Deacons, being grown great through wealth, challenged place above Presbyters: St. *Jerom*, to abate this inſolency, writing to *Evagrius*, diminiſheth by all means the Deacons eſtimation,

and

*Unto *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch Hero* a Deacon there was made Succeſſor. *Chryſoſtom* being a Presbyter of *Antioch*, was choſen to ſucceed *Nectarius* in the Biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*.

and lifteth up Presbyters, as far as poſſibly the truth might bear. *An attendant,* ſaith he, *upon Tables and Widows proudly to exalt himſelf above them, at whoſe prayers is made the body and blood of Chriſt; above them, between whom and Biſhops there was at the firſt for a time no difference, neither in authority nor in title. And whereas after-ſchiſms and contentions made it neceſſary that ſome one ſhould be placed over them, by which occaſion the title of Biſhop became proper unto that one, yet was that one choſen out of the Presbyters, as being the chiefeſt, the higheſt, the worthieſt degree of the Clergy, and not out of Deacons; in which conſideration alſo it ſeemeth, that in* Alexandria *even from St.* Mark *to* Heraclas *and* Dionyſius *Biſhops there, the Presbyters evermore have choſen one of themſelves, and not a Deacon at any time to be their Biſhop. Nor let any Man think that Chriſt hath one Church in* Rome, *and another in the reſt of the world; that in* Rome *he alloweth Deacons to be honoured above Presbyters, and otherwhere will have them to be in the next degree to the Biſhop. If it be deemed that abroad where Biſhops are poorer, the Presbyters under them may be the next unto them in honour; but at* Rome *where the Biſhop hath ample revenues, the Deacons whoſe eſtate is neareſt for wealth, may be alſo for eſtimation the next unto him: We muſt know that a Biſhop in the meaneſt City is no leſs a Biſhop than he who is ſeated in the greateſt; the countenance of a rich, and the meanneſs of a poor eſtate, doth make no odds between Biſhops; and therefore if a Presbyter at* Engubium *be the next in degree to a Biſhop, ſurely, even at* Rome *it ought in reaſon to be ſo likewiſe, and not a Deacon for wealths ſake only to be above, who by order ſhould be, and elſewhere is, underneath a Presbyter. Bnt ye will ſay that according to the cuſtom of* Rome *a Deacon preſenteth unto the Biſhop him which ſtandeth to be ordained Presbyter, and upon the Deacons teſtimony given concerning his fitneſs, he receiveth at the Biſhops hands Ordination: So that in* Rome *the Deacon having this ſpecial preheminence, the Presbyter ought there to give place unto him. Wherefore is the cuſtom of one City brought againſt the practice of the whole World? The paucity of Deacons in the Church of* Rome *hath gotten the credit, as unto Presbyters their multitude hath been cauſe of contempt: Howbeit even in the Church of* Rome *Presbyters ſit and Deacons ſtand, an Argument as ſtrong againſt the ſuperiority of Deacons, as the fore-alledged reaſon doth ſeem for it. Beſides, whoſoever is promoted muſt needs be raiſed from a lower degree to an higher; wherefore either let him which is Presbyter be made a Deacon, that ſo the Deacon may appear to be the greater; or if of Deacons Presbyters be made, let them know themſelves to be in regard of Deacons, though below in gain, yet above in Office. And to the end we may underſtand that thoſe Apoſtolical Orders are taken out of the Old Teſtament, what* Aaron *and his Sons and the Levites were in the Temple, the ſame in the Church may Biſhops and Presbyters and Deacons challenge unto themſelves.* This is the very drift and ſubſtance, this the true conſtruction and ſenſe of St. *Jerom's* whole diſcourſe in that Epiſtle: Which I have therefore endeavoured the more at large to explain, becauſe no one thing is leſs effectual or more uſual to be alledged againſt the ancient Authority of Biſhops; concerning whoſe Government St. *Jerom's* own words otherwhere are ſufficient to ſhew his opinion, that this order was not only in *Alexandria* ſo ancient, but even as ancient in other Churches. We have before alledged his teſtimony touching *James* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem.* As for Biſhops in other Churches, on the firſt of the Epiſtle to *Titus* thus he ſpeaketh, *Till through inſtinct of the Devil there grew in the Church factions, and among the people it began to be profeſt, I am of* Paul, *I of* Apollos, *and I of* Cephas, *Churches were governed by the common advice of Presbyters; but when every one began to reckon thoſe whom himſelf had baptized, his own and not Chriſt's, it was decreed* ***IN THE WHOLE WORLD*** *that one choſen out of the Presbyters ſhould be placed above the reſt, to whom all care of the Church ſhould belong, and ſo the ſeeds of ſchiſm be removed.* If it be ſo, that by St. *Jerom's* own Confeſſion this order was not then begun, when people in the Apoſtles abſence began to be divided into factions by their Teachers, and to rehearſe, *I am of Paul,* but that even at the very firſt appointment thereof was agreed upon and received throughout the World; how ſhall a Man be perſwaded, that the ſame *Jerom* thought it ſo ancient no where ſaving in *Alexandria,* one only Church of the whole world? A ſentence there is indeed of St. *Jerom's,* which being not throughly conſidered and weighed, may cauſe his meaning ſo to be taken, as if he judged Epiſcopal Regiment to have been the Churches invention long after, and not the Apoſtles own inſtitution; as namely, when he admoniſheth Biſhops in this manner; *As therefore Presbyters do know, that the cuſtom of the Church makes them ſubject to the Biſhop which is ſet over them; ſo let* (a) *Biſhops know, that cuſtom rather than the truth of any Ordinance of the Lord, maketh them greater than the reſt, and that with common advice they ought to govern the Church.* To clear the ſenſe of theſe words therefore, as we have done already the former: Laws which the Church from the beginning univerſally hath obſerved, were ſome delivered by Chriſt himſelf with a charge to keep them till the worlds end, as the Law of baptizing and adminiſtring the holy Euchariſt; ſome brought in afterwards by the Apoſtles, yet not without the ſpecial direction of the Holy Ghoſt, as occaſions did ariſe. Of this ſort are thoſe Apoſtolical orders and laws, whereby Deacons, Widows, Virgins, were firſt appointed in the Church.

(a) Biſhops he meaneth by reſtraint; for Epiſcopal power was always in the Church inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf, the Apoſtles being in government Biſhops at large, as no Man will deny, having received from Chriſt himſelf that Epiſcopal Authority. For which cauſe *Cyprian* hath ſaid of them, Meminiſſe Diaconi debent, quoniam Apoſtolos, id eſt, Epiſcopos & præpoſitos, Dominus elegit, Diaconos autem poſt aſcenſum Domini cœlos, Apoſtoli ſibi conſtituerunt, Epiſcopatus ſui & Eccleſiæ miniſtros. Lib. 3. Ep. 9.

This anſwer to St. *Jerom* ſeemeth dangerous, I have qualified it as I may, by addition of ſome words of reſtraint; yet I ſatisfie not my-ſelf, in my judgment it would be altered. *Now whereas* Jerom *doth term the Government of Biſhops by reſtraint, an Apoſtolical tradition,* *on, acknowledging thereby the ſame to have been of the Apoſtles own inſtitution, it may be demanded, how theſe two will ſtand together; namely, that the Apoſtles by divine inſtinct ſhould be, as* Jerom *confeſſeth, the Authors of that Regiment, and yet the cuſtom of the Church be accounted (for ſo by* Jerom *it may ſeem to be in this place accounted) the chiefeſt prop that upholdeth the ſame.* To this we anſwer, *That for as much as the whole body of the Church hath power to alter, with general conſent and upon neceſſary occaſions, even the poſitive law of the Apoſtles, if there be no commandment to the contrary, and it manifeſtly appears to her, that change of times have clearly taken away the very reaſon of God's firſt inſtitution, as by ſundry examples may be moſt clearly proved; what laws the univerſal Church might change, and doth not, if they have long continued without any alteration, it ſeemeth that St.* Jerom *aſcribeth the continuance of ſuch poſitive laws, though inſtituted by God himſelf, to the judgment of the Church. For they which might abrogate a Law and do not, are properly ſaid to uphold, to eſtabliſh it, and to give it being. The Regiment therefore whereof* Jerom *ſpeaketh being poſitive, and conſequently not abſolutely neceſſary, but of a changeable nature, becauſe there is no Divine voice which in expreſs words forbiddeth it to be changed; he might imagine both that it came to the Apoſtles by divine appointment at the firſt, and notwithſtanding be, after a ſort, ſaid to ſtand in force, rather by the cuſtom of the Church chooſing to continue in it, than by the neceſſary conſtraint of any Commandment from the Word requiring perpetual continuance thereof.* So that St. *Jeroms* admonition is reaſonable, ſenſible, and plain, being contrived to this effect; the ruling ſuperiority of one Biſhop over many Presbyters in each Church, is an Order deſcended from Chriſt to the Apoſtles, who were themſelves Biſhops at large, and from the Apoſtles to thoſe whom they in their ſteads appointed Biſhops over particular Countries and Cities, and even from thoſe ancient times univerſally eſtabliſhed, thus many years it hath continued throughout the World; for which cauſe Presbyters muſt not grudge to continue ſubject unto their Biſhops, unleſs they will proudly oppoſe themſelves againſt that which God himſelf ordained by his Apoſtles, and the whole Church of Chriſt approveth and judgeth moſt convenient. On the other ſide, Biſhops albeit they may avouch with conformity of truth that their Authority had thus deſcended even from the very Apoſtles themſelves, yet the Abſolute and everlaſting continuance of it they cannot ſay that any Commandment of the Lord doth injoyn, *and therefore muſt acknowledge that the Church hath power by univerſal conſent upon urgent cauſe to take it away, if thereunto ſhe be conſtrained through the proud, tyrannical, and unreformable dealings of her Biſhops, whoſe Regiment ſhe hath thus long delighted in, becauſe ſhe hath found it good and requiſite to be ſo governed. Wherefore leſt Biſhops forget themſelves, as if none on earth had Authority to touch their ſtates, let them continually bear in mind, that it is rather the force of cuſtom, whereby the Church, having ſo long found it good to continue under the Regiment of her virtuous Biſhops, doth ſtill uphold, maintain, and honour them in that reſpect, than that any ſuch true and heavenly Law can be ſhewed, by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear that the Lord himſelf hath appointed Presbyters for ever to be under the Regiment of Biſhops, in what ſort ſoever they behave themſelves; let this conſideration be a bridle unto them, let it teach them not to diſdain the advice of their Presbyters, but to uſe their authority with ſo much the greater humility and moderation, as a Sword which the Church hath power to take from them.* In all this there is no let why St: *Jerom* might not think the Authors of Epiſcopal Regiment to have been the very bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves, directed therein by the ſpecial motion of the Holy Ghoſt, which the Ancients, all before and beſides him, and himſelf alſo elſewhere, being known to hold, we are not, without better evidence than this, to think him in judgment divided both from himſelf and from them. Another Argument that the Regiment of Churches by one Biſhop over many Presbyters hath been always held Apoſtolical, may be this. We find that throughout all thoſe Cities where the Apoſtles did plant Chriſtianity, the Hiſtory of times hath noted ſucceſſion of paſtors in the ſeat of one, not of many (there being in every ſuch Church evermore many Paſtors) and the firſt one in every rank of ſucceſſion we find to have been, if not ſome Apoſtle, yet ſome Apoſtles Diſciple. By *Epiphanius* the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem* are reckoned down from *James* to *Hilarion* then Biſhop. Of them which boaſted that they held the ſame things which they received of ſuch as lived with the Apoſtles themſelves, *Tertullian* ſpeaketh after this ſort, let them therefore ſhew the beginnings of their Churches, let them recite their Biſhops one by one, each in ſuch ſort ſuceeding other, that the firſt Biſhop of them have had for his Author and Predeceſſour ſome Apoſtle, or at leaſt ſome Apoſtolical Perſon who perſevered with the Apoſtles. For ſo Apoſtolical Churches are wont to bring forth the evidence of their eſtates. So doth the Church of *Smyrna*, having *Polycarp* whom *John* did conſecrate. Catalogues of Biſhops in a number of other Churches (Biſhops and ſucceeding one another) from the very Apoſtles times are by *Euſebius* and *Socrates* collected, whereby it appeareth ſo clear as nothing in the World more, that under them and by their appointment this Order began, which maketh many Presbyters ſubject unto the Regiment of ſome one Biſhop. For as in *Rome*, while the civil ordering of the Common-wealth was joyntly and equally in the hands of two Conſuls, Hiſtorical Records concerning them did evermore mention them both, and note which two as Colleagues ſucceeded from time to time; ſo there is no doubt but Eccleſiaſtical antiquity had done the very like, had not one Paſtors place and calling been always ſo eminent above the reſt in the ſame Church. And what need we to ſeek far for proofs that the Apoſtles, who began this order of Regiment by Biſhops, did it not but by divine inſtinct, when without ſuch dire-

Lib. 2. to. 2. Hæres. 66.

De preſcrip. adverſ. hæret.

Acts 13.
Acts 8.
Acts 16.
1 Tim. 1. 18.

ction things of far leſs weight and moment they attended not? *Paul* and *Barnabas* did not open their mouths to the Gentiles, till the Spirit had ſaid, Separate me *Paul* and *Barnabas* for the work whereunto I have ſent them. The *Eunuch* by *Philip* was neither baptized nor inſtructed, before the Angel of God was ſent to give him notice that ſo it pleaſed the moſt High. In *Aſia*, *Paul* and the reſt were ſilent, becauſe the Spirit forbad them to ſpeak. When they intended to have ſeen *Bithynia*, they ſtayed their journey, the Spirit not giving them leave to go. Before *Timothy* was imployed in thoſe Epiſcopal affairs of the Church, about which the Apoſtle St. *Paul* uſed him, the Holy Ghoſt gave ſpecial charge for his Ordination, and prophetical intelligence more than once, what ſucceſs the ſame would have. And ſhall we think that *James* was made Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Evodius* Biſhop of the Church of *Antioch*, the Angels in the Churches of *Aſia* Biſhops, that Biſhops every where were appointed to take away factions, contentions and ſchiſms, without ſome like divine inſtigation and direction of the Holy Ghoſt? Wherefore let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that, if any thing in the Churches Government, ſurely the firſt inſtitution of Biſhops was from Heaven, was even of God, the Holy Ghoſt was the Author of it.

What manner of Power Biſhops from the firſt beginning have had

Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. & de hæreſ. 53.

1 Cor. 7. 25.
1 Tim. 5. 9.
Tertul. de vel. virg.

Epiph. 3. 1. 10. 1. hær. 7.

Acts 14. 23.
Tit. 1. 5.
1 Tim. 5. 22.

Apud Ægyptum Presbyteri confirmant, ſi præſens non ſit Epiſcopus. Com.q. vulgo Amb. dic. in 4. Ep. ad Epheſ.

VI. A Biſhop, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, is a Presbyter's Superior; but the queſtion is now, wherein that ſuperiority did conſiſt. The Biſhops pre-eminence we ſay therefore was twofold. Firſt, he excelled in latitude of the power of Order, ſecondly, in that kind of power which belongeth unto Juriſdiction. Prieſts in the law had authority and power to do greater things than *Levites*, the High-Prieſt greater than inferior Prieſts might do, therefore *Levites* were beneath Prieſts, and Prieſts inferior to the High Prieſt, by reaſon of the very degree of dignity, and of worthineſs in the nature of thoſe functions which they did execute; and not only, for that the one had power to command and controul the other. In like ſort, Presbyters having a weightier and a worthier charge than Deacons had, the Deacon was in this ſort the Presbyters inferior, and where we ſay that a Biſhop was likewiſe ever accounted a Presbyters ſuperior, even according unto his very power of Order, we muſt of neceſſity declare what principal duties belonging unto that kind of power a Biſhop might perform, and not a Presbyter. The cuſtom of the primitive Church in conſecrating holy Virgins and Widows unto the ſervice of God and his Church, is a thing not obſcure, but eaſie to be known, *both by that which S.* Paul *himſelf concerning them hath, and by the later conſonant evidence of other Men's writings.* Now a part of the pre-eminence which Biſhops had in their power of Order, was, that by them only ſuch were conſecrated. Again, the power of ordaining both Deacons and Presbyters, the power to give the power of order unto others, this alſo hath been always peculiar unto Biſhops. It hath not been heard of, that inferior Presbyters were ever authoriſed to ordain. And concerning Ordination ſo great force and dignity it hath, that whereas Presbyters, by ſuch power as they have received for Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, are able only to beget Children unto God; Biſhops having power to ordain, do by virtue thereof create Fathers to the people of God, as *Epiphanius* fitly diſputeth. There are which hold that between a Biſhop and a Presbyter, touching power of Order, there is no difference: The reaſon of which conceit is, for that they ſee Presbyters no leſs than Biſhops authoriſed to offer up the prayers of the Church, to Preach the Goſpel, to Baptize, to adminiſter the holy Euchariſt; but they conſidered not withal, as they ſhould, that the Presbyters authority to do theſe things is derived from the Biſhops which doth ordain him thereunto, ſo that even in thoſe things which are common unto both, yet the power of the one is as it were a certain light borrowed from the others lamp. The Apoſtles being Biſhops at large ordained every where Presbyters. *Titus* and *Timothy* having received Epiſcopal power, as Apoſtolick Embaſſadors or Legates, the one in *Greece*, the other in *Epheſus*, they both did, by virtue thereof, likewiſe ordain throughout all Churches Deacons and Presbyters within the circuits allotted unto them. As for Biſhops by reſtraint, their power this way incommunicable unto Presbyters which of the Ancients do not acknowledge? I make not Confirmation any part of that power, which hath always belonged only unto Biſhops; becauſe in ſome places the cuſtom was, that Presbyters might alſo confirm in the abſence of a Biſhop, albeit for the moſt part none but only Biſhops were thereof the allowed Miniſters.

Here it will be perhaps Objected, that the power of Ordination it-ſelf was not every where peculiar and proper unto Biſhops, as may be ſeen by a Council of *Carthage*, which ſheweth their Churches Order to have been, that Presbyters ſhould together with the Biſhop lay hands upon the ordained. But the anſwer hereunto is eaſie; for doth it hereupon follow, that the power of Ordination was not principally and originally in the Biſhop? Our Saviour hath ſaid unto his Apoſtles, *With me ye ſhall ſit and judge the Twelve Tribes of Iſrael*; yet we know that to him alone it belongeth to judge the World, and that to him all judgment is given. With us even at this day Presbyters are licenſed to do as much as that Council ſpeaketh of, if any be preſent. Yet will not any Man thereby conclude, that in this Church others than Biſhops are allowed to ordain. The aſſociation of Presbyters is no ſufficient proof that the power of Ordination is in them; but rather that it never was in them we may hereby underſtand, for that no Man is able to ſhew either Deacon or Presbyter ordained by Presbyters only, and his Ordination accounted lawful in any ancient part of the Church; every where examples being found both of Deacons and of Presbyters ordained by Biſhops alone oftentimes, neither ever in that reſpect thought inſufficient. Touching that other chiefty, which is of Juriſdiction; amongſt the Jews he which was higheſt through the worthineſs of peculiar duties incident into his function in the legal ſervice of God, did bear always in Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction the chiefeſt ſway. As long as the glory of the Temple of God did laſt, there were in it ſundry orders of Men conſecrated unto the ſervice thereof, one ſort of them inferior unto another in dignity and degree; the Nethinims ſubordinate unto the Levites, the Levites unto the Prieſts, the reſt of the Prieſts to thoſe twenty four which were chief Prieſts, and they all to the High-Prieſt. If any Man ſurmiſe that the difference between them was only by diſtinction in the former kind of power, and not in this latter of juriſdiction, are not the words of the Law manifeſt which make *Eleazer* the Son of *Aaron* the Prieſt chief Captain of the Levites, and Overſeer of them, unto whom the charge of the Sanctuary was committed? Again, at the commandment of *Aaron* and his Sons are not the Gerſonites themſelves required to do all their ſervice in the whole charge belonging unto the Gerſonites being inferior Prieſts, as *Aaron* and his Sons were High-Prieſts? Did not *Jehoſhaphat* appoint *Amazias* the Prieſt to be chief over them who were Judges for the cauſe of the Lord in *Jeruſalem*? *Prieſts,* ſaith *Joſephus, worſhip God continually, and the eldeſt of the ſtock are governours over the reſt. He doth ſacrifice unto God before others, he hath care of the Laws, judgeth controverſies, correcteth offenders, and whoſoever obeyeth him not is convict of impiety againſt God.* But unto this they anſwer, that the reaſon thereof was becauſe the High-Prieſt did prefigure Chriſt, and repreſent to the people that chiefty of our Saviour which was to come; ſo that Chriſt being now come, there is no cauſe why ſuch pre-eminence ſhould be given unto any one. Which fancy pleaſeth ſo well the humour of all ſorts of rebellious ſpirits, that they all ſeek to ſhroud themſelves under it. Tell the *Anabaptiſt,* which holdeth the uſe of the ſword unlawful for a Chriſtian Man, that God himſelf did allow his people to make wars; they have their anſwer round and ready, *Thoſe ancient Wars were figures of the ſpiritual Wars of Chriſt.* Tell the *Barrowiſt* what ſway *David,* and others the Kings of *Iſrael,* did bear in the ordering of ſpiritual affairs, the ſame anſwer again ſerveth, namely, *That David and the reſt of the Kings of Iſrael prefigured Chriſt.* Tell the *Martiniſt* of the High-Prieſts great authority and juriſdiction amongſt the Jews, what other thing doth ſerve his turn but the ſelf-ſame ſhift; *By the power of the High-Prieſt the univerſal ſupreme Authority of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was ſhadowed.* The thing is true, that indeed High-Prieſts were figures of Chriſt, yet this was in things belonging unto their power of Order; they figured Chriſt by entring into the holy place, by offering for the ſins of all the people once a year, and by other the like duties: But, that to govern and to maintain order amongſt thoſe that were ſubject to them, is an office figurative and abrogated by Chriſt's coming in the Miniſtry; that their exerciſe of juriſdiction was figurative, yea figurative in ſuch ſort, that it had no other cauſe of being inſtituted, but only to ſerve as a repreſentation of ſomewhat to come, and that herein the Church of Chriſt ought not to follow them; this Article is ſuch as muſt be confirmed, if any way, by miracle, otherwiſe it will hardly enter into the heads of reaſonable Men, why the High-Prieſt ſhould more figure Chriſt in being a Judge, than in being whatſoever he might be beſides. St. *Cyprian* deemed it no wreſting of Scripture to challenge as much for Chriſtian Biſhops, as was given to the High-Prieſt among the Jews, and to urge the Law of *Moſes* as being moſt effectual to prove it. St. *Jerom* likewiſe thought it an argument ſufficient to ground the Authority of Biſhops upon. *To the end,* ſaith he, *we may underſtand Apoſtolical traditions to have been taken from the Old Teſtament, that which* Aaron, *and his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple; Biſhops, and Presbyters, and Deacons in the Church may lawfully challenge to themſelves.* In the office of a Biſhop *Ignatius* obſerveth theſe two functions ἱερατεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν, concerning the one ſuch is the pre-eminence of a Biſhop, that he only hath the heavenly myſteries of God committed originally unto him, ſo that otherwiſe than by his Ordination, and by authority received from him, others beſides him are not licenſed therein to deal as ordinary Miniſters of God's Church. And touching the other part of their ſacred Function, wherein the power of their juriſdiction doth appear, firſt how the Apoſtles themſelves, and ſecondly how *Titus* and *Timothy* had rule and juriſdiction over Presbyters, no Man is ignorant. And had not Chriſtian Biſhops afterward the like power? *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch* being ready by bleſſed martyrdom to end his life, writeth unto his Presbyters, the Paſtors under him, in this ſort. Ὁι Πρεσβύτεροι ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον, ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι. After the death of *Fabian* Biſhop of *Rome,* there growing ſome trouble about the receiving of ſuch perſons into the Church, as had fallen away in perſecution and did now repent their fall, the Presbyters and Deacons of the ſame Church advertiſed St. *Cyprian* thereof, ſignifying, *That they muſt of neceſſity defer to deal in that cauſe, till God did ſend them a new Biſhop which might moderate all things.* Much we read of extraordinary faſting uſually in the Church, and in this appeareth alſo ſomewhat concerning the chiefty of Biſhops. The cuſtom is, ſaith *Tertullian,* that Biſhops do appoint when the people ſhall all faſt. Yea, it is not a matter left to our own free choice whether Biſhops ſhall rule or no, but the will of our Lord and Saviour is, ſaith *Cyprian,* that every act of the Church be governed by her Biſhops. An Argument it is of the Biſhops high pre-eminence, rule, and government over all the reſt of the Clergy, even that the Sword of perſecution did ſtrike, eſpecially, always at the Biſhop as at the Head, the reſt by reaſon of their lower eſtate being more ſecure, as the ſelf-ſame *Cyprian* noteth; the very manner of whoſe ſpeech unto his own, both Deacons and Presbyters who remained ſafe, when himſelf then Biſhop was driven into exile, argueth

Numb. 3. 32.

Numb. 4. 27.

2 Chron. 19. 11.

Joſeph. Antiq. p. 612.

Cypr. l. 3. ep. 9. ad Rogatianum.

Hieron. Ep. 85.

Ep. ad Smyr.

1 Tim. 5. 19. Againſt a Presbyter receive no acceſation under two or three witneſſes.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Antioch.

Apud Cypr. Ep. 1. Ep. 7.

Tertul. adverſ. Pſychic. Epiſcopi univerſæ plebi mandare jejunia aſſolent.

Cypr. Ep. 27.

Cypr. Ep. 39. Vide Ignat. ad Magneſ.

gueth likewiſe his eminent authority and rule over them, *By theſe letters,* ſaith he, *I both exhort and COMMAND that ye, whoſe preſence there is not envied at nor ſo much beſet with dangers, ſupply my room in doing thoſe things which the exerciſe of Religion doth require.* Unto the ſame purpoſe ſerve moſt directly thoſe compariſons, than which nothing is more familiar in the books of the ancient Fathers, who as oft as they ſpeak of the ſeveral degrees in God's Clergy, if they chance to compare Presbyters with *Levitical* Prieſts of the Law, the Biſhop (*a*) they compare unto *Aaron* the High Prieſt; if they compare the one with the Apoſtles, the other they compare (although in a lower proportion) ſometime (*b*) to Chriſt, and ſometime to God himſelf, evermore ſhewing that they placed the Biſhop in an eminent degree of ruling authority and power above other Presbyters. (*c*) *Ignatius* comparing Biſhops with Deacons, and with ſuch Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments as were but Presbyters, and had no Authority over Presbyters; *What is,* ſaith he, *the Biſhop but one which hath all principality and power over all, ſo far forth as Man may have it, being to his power a follower even of God's own Chriſt;* Mr. (*d*) *Calvin* himſelf, though an Enemy unto Regiment by Biſhops, doth notwithſtanding confeſs, that in old time the Miniſters which had charge to teach, choſe in their Company one in every City, to whom they appropriated the Title of Biſhop, leſt equality ſhould breed diſſention. He addeth farther, that look what duty the *Roman* Conſuls did execute in propoſing matters unto the Senate, in asking their opinions, in directing them by advice, admonition, exhortation, in guiding Actions by their Authority, and in ſeeing that performed which was with common conſent agreed on, the like charge had the Biſhop in the aſſembly of other Miniſters. Thus much *Calvin* being forced by the evidence of truth to grant, doth yet deny the Biſhops to have been ſo in Authority at the firſt as to bear rule over other Miniſters. Wherein what rule he doth mean I know not. But if the Biſhops were ſo far in dignity above other Miniſters, as the Conſuls of *Rome* for their year above other Senators, it is as much as we require. And undoubtedly, if as the Conſuls of *Rome* ſo the Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt had ſuch authority, as both to direct other Miniſters, and to ſee that every of them ſhould obſerve that which their common conſent had agreed on, how this could be done by the Biſhop not bearing rule over them, for mine own part I muſt acknowledge that my poor conceit is not able to comprehend. One objection there is of ſome force to make againſt that which we have hitherto endeavoured to prove, if they miſtake it not who alledge it. St. *Jerom* comparing other Presbyters with him, unto whom the name of Biſhop was then appropriate, asketh, *What a Biſhop by virtue of his place and calling may do more than a Presbyter, except it be only to Ordain.* In like ſort *Chryſoſtom* having moved a queſtion, wherefore St. *Paul* ſhould give *Timothy* precept concerning the quality of Biſhops, and deſcend from them to Deacons, omitting the Order of Presbyters between, he maketh thereunto this anſwer, *What things he ſpake concerning Biſhops, the ſame are alſo meet for Presbyters, whom Biſhops ſeem not to excell in any thing, but only in the power of Ordination.* Wherefore ſeeing this doth import no ruling ſuperiority, it follows that Biſhops were as then no rulers over that part of the Clergy of God. Whereunto we anſwer, that both S. *Jerom* and S. *Chryſoſtom* had in thoſe their ſpeeches an eye no farther than only to that function, for which Presbyters and Biſhops were conſecrated unto God. Now we know that their Conſecration had reference to nothing but only that which they did by force and virtue of the power of Order, wherein ſith Biſhops received their charge, only by that one degree to ſpeak of more ample than Presbyters did theirs, it might be well enough ſaid that Presbyters were that way authorized to do, in a manner, even as much as Biſhops could do, if we conſider what each of them did by virtue of ſolemn conſecration; for as concerning power of regiment and juriſdiction, it was a thing withal added unto Biſhops for the neceſſary uſe of ſuch certain perſons and people, as ſhould be thereunto ſubject in thoſe particular Churches whereof they were Biſhops, and belonging to them only as Biſhops of ſuch or ſuch a Church; whereas the other kind of power had relation indefinitely unto any of the whole ſociety of Chriſtian Men, on whom they ſhould chance to exerciſe the ſame, and belonged to them abſolutely, as they were Biſhops whereſoever they lived. St. *Jeroms* concluſion thereof is, *that ſeeing in the one kind of power there is no greater difference between a Presbyter and a Biſhop, Biſhops ſhould not, becauſe of their preeminence in the other, too much lift up themſelves above the Presbyters under them.* St. *Chryſoſtom*'s collection, *that whereas the Apoſtle doth ſet down the qualities, whereof regard ſhould be had in the Conſecration of Biſhops, there was no need to make a ſeveral diſcourſe how Presbyters ought to be qualified when they are Ordained; becauſe there being ſo little difference in the functions, whereunto the one and the other receive Ordination, the ſame precepts might well ſerve for both; at leaſt-wiſe by the virtues required in the greater, what ſhould need in the leſs might be eaſily underſtood. As for the difference of juriſdiction, the truth is, the Apoſtles yet living, and themſelves, where they were reſident, exerciſing the juriſdiction in their own perſons, it was not every where eſtabliſhed in Biſhops.* When the Apoſtles preſcribed thoſe laws, and when *Chryſoſtom* thus ſpake concerning them, it was not by him at all reſpected, but his eye was the ſame way with *Jeroms*; his cogitation was wholly fixed on that power, which by Conſecration is given to Biſhops more than to Presbyters, and not on that which they have over Presbyters by force of their particular acceſſory juriſdiction. Wherein if any Man ſuppoſe that *Jerom* and *Chryſoſtom* knew no difference at all between a Presbyter and a Biſhop, let him weigh but one or two of their ſentences. The pride of in-

(*a*) Quod Aaron & filios ejus, hoc Epiſcopum & Preſbyteros eſſe noverimus. Hier. Ep. 2. ad Nepotianum.

(*b*) Ita eſt ut in Epiſcopis Hominem, in Presbyteris Apoſtolos recognoſcas. Auctor. opuſc. de ordinib. Eccl. inter opera Hieron.

(*c*) Ignat. Ep. ad Tra.

(*d*) Inſtit. l. 4. cap. 4. Sect. 2.

Hieron. Ep. ad Euagr. 85.

Chryſ. 10. in 1 Tim. 3.

ſolent Biſhops, hath not a ſharper Enemy than *Jerom*, for which cauſe he taketh often occaſions moſt ſeverely to inveigh againſt them, ſometimes for (*a*) ſhewing diſdain and contempt of the Clergy under them; ſometimes for not (*b*) ſuffering themſelves to be told of their faults, and admoniſhed of their duty by inferiors; ſometimes for not (*c*) admitting their Presbyters to teach, if ſo be themſelves were in preſence; ſometimes for not vouchſafing to uſe any conference with them, or to take any counſel of them. Howbeit, never doth he in ſuch wiſe bend himſelf againſt their diſorders, as to deny their Rule and Authority over Presbyters: Of *Vigilantius* being a *Presbyter* he thus writeth, (*d*) *Miror ſanctum Epiſcopum, in cujus Parochia Presbyter eſſe dicitur, acquieſcere furori ejus, & non virga Apoſtolica virgáque ferrea confringere vas inutile. I marvel that the holy Biſhop under whom* Vigilantius *is ſaid to be a Presbyter, doth yield to his fury, and not break that unprofitable Veſſel with his Apoſtolick and Iron rod.* With this agreeth moſt fitly the grave advice he giveth to (*e*) *Nepotian, be thou ſubject unto thy Biſhop, and receive him as the Father of thy Soul.* (*f*) *This alſo I ſay, that Biſhops ſhould know themſelves to be Prieſts, and not* Lords, *that they ought to honour the Clergy as becometh the Clergy to be honoured, to the end their Clergy may yield them the honour which, as Biſhops, they ought to have: That of the Orator* Domitius *is famous, wherefore ſhould I eſteem of thee as of a Prince, when thou makeſt not of me that reckoning which ſhould in reaſon be made of a Senator? Let us know the Biſhop and his Presbyters to be the ſame, which* Aaron *ſometimes and his Sons were.* Finally, writing againſt the Hereticks which were named *Luciferians, the very ſafety of the Church,* ſaith he, *dependeth on the dignity of the Chief Prieſt, to whom unleſs Men grant an exceeding and an eminent power, there will grow in Churches even as many Schiſms as there are Perſons which have authority.*

Touching *Chryſoſtom*, to ſhew that by him there was alſo acknowledged a ruling ſuperiority of Biſhops over Presbyters, both then uſual, and in no reſpect unlawful; what need we alledge his Words and Sentences, when the Hiſtory of his own Epiſcopal actions in that very kind is till this day extant for all Men to read that will? For St. *Chryſoſtom* of a Presbyter in *Antioch* grew to be afterwards Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and in proceſs of time when the Emperors heavy diſpleaſure had, through the practiſe of a powerful faction againſt him, effected his baniſhment; *Innocent* the Biſhop of *Rome* underſtanding thereof, wrote his Letters unto the Clergy of that Church, *That no Succeſſor ought to be choſen in* Chryſoſtom'*s room: Nec ejus clerum alii parere Pontifici, nor his Clergy* O B E Y *any other Biſhop than him.* A fond kind of ſpeech, if ſo be there had been, as then, in Biſhops no ruling ſuperiority over Presbyters. When two of *Chryſoſtom*'s Presbyters had joined themſelves to the faction of his mortal Enemy *Theophilus*, Patriarch in the Church of *Alexandria*, the ſame *Theophilus* and other Biſhops which were of his Conventicle, having ſent thoſe two amongſt others to cite *Chryſoſtom* their lawful Biſhop, and to bring him into publick Judgment, he taketh againſt this one thing ſpecial exception, as being contrary to all order, that thoſe Presbyters ſhould come as Meſſengers and call him to Judgment, who were a part of that Clergy, whereof himſelf was Ruler and Judge. So that Biſhops to have had in thoſe times a ruling ſuperiority over Presbyters, neither could *Jerom* nor *Chryſoſtom* be ignorant; and therefore, hereupon it were ſuperfluous that we ſhould any longer ſtand.

VII. Touching the next point, how Biſhops together with Presbyters have uſed to govern the Churches which were under them: It is by *Zonaras* ſomewhat plainly and at large declared, that the Biſhop had his Seat on high in the Church above the reſidue which were preſent, that a number of Preſbyters did always there aſſiſt him, and that in the overſight of the People thoſe Presbyters were * after a ſort the Biſhops Coadjutors. The Biſhops and Presbyters, who together with him governed the Church, are for the moſt part by *Ignatius* joyntly mentioned. In the Epiſtle to them of *Trallis* he ſaith of Presbyters, that they are σύμβουλοι κ̀ συνεδρευταὶ τῦ ἐπισκόπυ, *Counſellors and Aſſiſtants of the Biſhop,* and concludeth in the end, *He that ſhould diſobey theſe, were a plain Atheiſt, and an irreligious Perſon, and one that did ſet Chriſt himſelf and his own Ordinances at nought.* Which Orders making Presbyters or Prieſts the Biſhop's Aſſiſtants doth not import, that they were of equal authority with him, but rather ſo adjoyned that they alſo were ſubject, as hath been proved. In the Writings of St. *Cyprian* nothing is more uſual, than to make mention of the Colledge of Presbyters ſubject unto the Biſhop, although in handling the common affairs of the Church they aſſiſted him. But of all other places which open the ancient order of Epiſcopal Presbyters, the moſt clear is that Epiſtle of *Cyprian* unto *Cornelius*, concerning certain *Novatian* Hereticks received again upon their converſion into the unity of the Church, *After that* Urbanus *and* Sidonius, *Confeſſors, had come and ſignified unto our Presbyters, that* Maximus, *a Confeſſor and Presbyter, did, together with them, deſire to return into the Church, it ſeemed meet to hear from their own mouths and confeſſions that which by meſſage they had delivered. When they were come, and had been called to account by the*

(*a*) Velut in aliqua ſublimi ſpecula conſtituti vix dignantur videre mortales & alloqui conſervos ſuos. In 4. c. Epiſt. ad Gal.

(*b*) Nemo peccantibus Epiſcopis audet contradicere: Nemo audet accuſare majorem, propterea quaſi ſancti & beati & in præceptis Domini ambulantes augent peccata peccatis. Difficilis eſt accuſatio in Epiſcopum. Si enim peccaverit, non creditur, & ſi convictus fuerit, non punitur. In cap. 8. Eccleſiaſt.

(*c*) Peſſimæ conſuetudinis eſt in quibuſdam Eccleſiis, tacere Presbyteros & præſentibus Epiſcopis non loqui; quaſi aut invideant aut non dignentur audire. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian.

(*d*) Ep. 54. ad Ripar.

(*e*) Hieron. ad Nepot.

(*f*) No Biſhop may be a Lord, in reference unto the Presbyters which are under him, if we take that name in the worſe part, as *Jerom* here doth. For a Biſhop is to rule his Presbyters, not as Lords do their Slaves, but as Fathers do their children.

In vita Chryſ. per Caſſiod. Sen.

Pallad. in vita Chryſ.

After what ſort Biſhops together with Presbyters have uſed to govern the Churches which were under them.

* Ὥσπερ σύμπονοι δοθέντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ. Zon. in Can. Apoſt.

Cum Epiſcopo Presbyteri Sacerdotali honore conjuncti, Ep. 58. Ego & Compresbyteri noſtri qui nobis aſſidebant, Ep. 27.

Presbyters touching thoſe things they had committed; their anſwer was, that they had been deceived, and did requeſt that ſuch things as there they were charged with might be forgotten. It being brought unto me what was done, I took order that the Presbytery might be aſſembled. There were alſo preſent five Biſhops, that upon ſetled advice it might be with conſent of all determined, what ſhould be done about their Perſons. Thus far St. *Cyprian.* Wherein it may be peradventure demanded, whether he and other Biſhops did thus proceed with advice of their Presbyters in all ſuch Publick affairs of the Church, as being thereunto bound by Eccleſiaſtical Canons; or elſe that they voluntarily ſo did, becauſe they judged it in diſcretion as then moſt convenient. Surely the words of *Cyprian* are plain, that of his own accord he choſe this way of proceeding. *Unto that,* ſaith he, *which* Donatus, *and* Fortunatus, *aud* Novatus, *and* Gordius *our Com-Presbyters have written, I could by my-ſelf alone make no anſwer, foraſmuch as at the very firſt entrance into my Biſhoprick I reſolutely determined not to do any thing of mine own private judgment, without your counſel, and the peoples conſent.* The reaſon whereof he rendreth in the ſame Epiſtle, ſaying, *When, by the grace of God, my-ſelf ſhall come unto you* (for St. *Cyprian* was now in exile) *of things, which either have been, or muſt be done, we will conſider,* ſicut honor mutuus poſcit, *as the law of courteſie which one doth owe to another of us, requireth.* And at this very mark doth St. *Jerom* evermore aim, in telling Biſhops, that Presbyters were at the firſt their Equals; that in ſome Churches for a long time no Biſhop was made, but only ſuch as the Presbyters did chuſe out amongſt themſelves, and therefore no cauſe why the Biſhop ſhould diſdain to conſult with them, and in weighty affairs of the Church to uſe their advice; ſometime to countenance their own Actions, or to repreſs the boldneſs of proud and inſolent Spirits, that which Biſhops had in themſelves ſufficient authority and power to have done, notwithſtanding they would not do alone, but craved therein the aid and aſſiſtance of other Biſhops, as in the caſe of thoſe *Novatian* Hereticks, before alledged, *Cyprian* himſelf did. And in *Cyprian* we find of others the like practiſe. *Rogatian,* a Biſhop, having been uſed contumelioſly by a Deacon of his own Church, wrote thereof his complaint unto *Cyprian* and other Biſhops. In which caſe their anſwer was, *That although, in his own cauſe, he did of humility rather ſhew his grievance, than himſelf take revenge, which, by the rigor of his Apoſtolical Office and the authority of his Chair, he might have preſently done without any further delay:* Yet if the Party ſhould do again as before, their Judgments were, *Fungaris circa eum poteſtate honoris tui, & eum vel deponas vel abſtineas,* Uſe on him that power which the honour of thy Place giveth thee, either to depoſe him, or exclude him from acceſs unto holy things. The Biſhop, for his aſſiſtance and eaſe, had under him, to guide and direct Deacons in their charge, his Arch-deacon, ſo termed in reſpect of care over Deacons, albeit himſelf were not Deacon but Presbyter; for the guidance of Presbyters in their Function, the Biſhop had likewiſe under him one of the ſelf-ſame Order with them, but above them in authority, one whom the Ancients termed uſually an * Arch-Presbyter, we at this day name him Dean. For moſt certain truth it is, that Churches Cathedral and the Biſhops of them are as glaſſes, wherein the face and very countenance of Apoſtolical antiquity remaineth even as yet to be ſeen, notwithſtanding the alterations which tract of time, and the courſe of the world hath brought. For defence and maintenance of them we are moſt earneſtly bound to ſtrive, even as the Jews were for their Temple and the High-Prieſt of God therein: The overthrow and ruin of the one, if ever the Sacrilegious avarice of Atheiſts ſhould prevail ſo far, which God of his infinite mercy forbid, ought no otherwiſe to move us than the people of God were moved, when having beheld the ſack and combuſtion of his Sanctuary in moſt lamentable manner flaming before their eyes, they uttered from the bottom of their grieved Spirits thoſe voices of doleful ſupplication, *Exſurge Domine & miſerearis Sion, ſervi tui diligunt lapides ejus, pulveris ejus miſeret eos.*

Cypr. Ep. 93.

Cyp. Ep. 38.

* Such a one was that *Peter* whom *Caſſiodore* writing the life of *Chryſoſtome* doth call the Arch-Presbyter of the Church of *Alexandria* under *Theophilus* at that time Biſhop.

Pſal. 141.

How far the power of Biſhops hath reached from the beginning in reſpect of Territory or local compaſs.

VIII. How far the power which Biſhops had did reach, what number of Perſons was ſubject unto them at the firſt, and how large their Territories were, it is not for the queſtion we have in hand a thing very greatly material to know: For if we prove that Biſhops have lawfully of old ruled over other Miniſters, it is enough, how few ſoever thoſe Miniſters have been, how ſmall ſoever the circuit of Place which hath contained them. Yet hereof ſomewhat, to the end we may ſo far forth illuſtrate Church-Antiquities; A Law Imperial there is, which ſheweth that there was great care had to provide for every Chriſtian City a Biſhop as near as might be, and that each City had ſome Territory belonging unto it, which Territory was alſo under the Biſhop of the ſame City; that, becauſe it was not univerſally thus, but in ſome Countries one Biſhop had ſubject unto him many Cities and their Territories, the Law which provided for eſtabliſhment of the other Orders, ſhould not prejudice thoſe Churches wherein this contrary Cuſtom had before prevailed. Unto the Biſhop of every ſuch City, not only the Presbyters of the ſame City, but alſo of the Territory thereunto belonging, were from the firſt beginning ſubject. For we muſt note, that when

L. 36. c. de Epiſc. ad Cler.

Ubi Eccleſiaſtici ordinis non eſt conſeſſus, & offert & tingit Sacerdos qui eſt ibi ſolus. Tert. exhort. ad caſtit.

Ἑκάϛῃ πόλις ἴδιον ἐπίσκοπον ἐχέτω· Καὶ κἂν διὰ θείας ἀντιγραφῆς τολμήσῃ τις ἀφελέσθαι πόλιν τῆ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἢ τῆς περιοικίδος αὐτῆς ἢ τινος ἄλλου δικαίου, γυμνοῦται τῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀτιμοῦται. Ἐξήρηται δὲ ἡ τομέων Σκυθίας πόλις. Ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προνοεῖ· Καὶ ἡ Λεοντόπολις Ἰσαυρίας ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐϛὶν Ἰσαυροπόλεως. *Beſides,* Cypr. Ep. 51. Cum jampridem per omnes provincias & per urbes ſingulas ordinati ſunt Epiſcopi.

when as yet there were in Cities no Pariſh-Churches, but only Colledges of Presbyters under their Biſhops Regiment, yet ſmaller Congregations and Churches there were even then abroad, in which Churches there was but ſome one only Presbyter to perform amongſt them Divine duties. Towns and Villages abroad receiving the Faith of Chriſt from Cities whereunto they were adjacent, did as Spiritual and Heavenly Colonies by their ſubjection honour thoſe ancient Mother-Churches, out of which they grew. And in the Chriſtian Cities themſelves, when the mighty increaſe of Believers made it neceſſary to have them divided into certain ſeveral companies, and over every of thoſe companies one only Paſtor to be appointed for the Miniſtry of holy things, between the firſt and the reſt after it there could not be but a natural inequality, even as between the Temple and Synagogues in *Jeruſalem*. The Clergy of Cities were termed *Urbici*, to ſhew a difference between them and the Clergy of Towns, of Villages, of Caſtles abroad. And how many ſoever theſe Pariſhes or Congregations were in number, which did depend on any one principal City-Church, unto the Biſhop of that one Church they and their ſeveral ſole Presbyters were all ſubject.

For if ſo be, as ſome imagine, every petty Congregation or Hamlet had his own particular Biſhop, what ſenſe could there be in thoſe words of *Jerom*, concerning Caſtles, Villages, and other places abroad, which having only Presbyters to teach them and to miniſter unto them the Sacraments, were reſorted unto by Biſhops for the Adminiſtration of that wherewith their Presbyters were not licenſed to meddle. To note a difference of that one Church where the Biſhop hath his ſeat, and the reſt which depend upon it, that one hath uſually been termed Cathedral, according to the ſame ſenſe wherein *Ignatius*, ſpeaking of the Church of *Antioch*, termeth it his Throne; and *Cyprian* making mention of *Euariſtus*, who had been Biſhop and was now depoſed, termeth him, *Cathedræ extorrem*, one that was thruſt beſides his Chair. The Church where the Biſhop is ſet with his Colledge of Presbyters about him, we call a See; the Local compaſs of his Authority we term a Dioceſs. Unto a Biſhop within the compaſs of his own, both See and Dioceſs, it hath by right of his place evermore appertained * to ordain Presbyters, to make Deacons, and with judgment to diſpoſe of all things of weight. The Apoſtle St. *Paul* had Epiſcopal Authority, but ſo at large, that we cannot aſſign unto him any one certain Dioceſs. His (*a*) poſitive Orders and Conſtitutions Churches every where did obey. Yea, a charge and care, ſaith he, I (*b*) have even of all the Churches. The walks of *Titus* and *Timothy* were limited within the bounds of a narrow precinct. As for other Biſhops, that which *Chryſoſtom* hath concerning them, if they be evil, could not poſſibly agree unto them, unleſs their Authority had reached farther than to ſome only Congregation. *The danger being ſo great, as it is, to him that ſcandalizeth one Soul, what ſhall he,* ſaith *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaking of a Biſhop, *what ſhall he deſerve, by whom ſo many Souls, yea, even whole Cities and People, Men, Women, and Children, Citizens, Peaſants, Inhabitants, both of his own City, and of other Towns ſubiect unto it, are offended*? A thing ſo unuſual it was for a Biſhop not to have ample Juriſdiction, that *Theophilus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, for making one a Biſhop of a ſmall Town, is noted a proud Deſpiſer of the commendable Orders of the Church with this cenſure, ſuch Novelties ‖ *Theophilus* preſumed every where to begin, taking upon him, as it had been, another *Moſes*. Whereby is diſcovered alſo their Error, who think, that ſuch as in Eccleſiaſtical Writings they find termed *Chorepiſcopos*, were the ſame in the Country, which the Biſhop was in the City: Whereas the old *Chorepiſcopi* are they, that were appointed of the Biſhops to have, as his Vicegerents, ſome over-ſight of thoſe Churches abroad, which were ſubject unto his See; in which Churches they had alſo power to make Sub-deacons, Readers, and ſuch like petty Church-Officers. With which power ſo ſtinted they not contenting themſelves, but adventuring at the length to Ordain even Deacons and Presbyters alſo, as the Biſhop himſelf did, their preſumption herein was controlled and ſtayed by the ancient Edict of Councils. For example, that of *Antioch*, It hath ſeemed good to the holy Synod that ſuch in Towns and Countries as are called *Chorepiſcopi* do know their limits, and govern the Churches under them, contenting themſelves with the charge thereof, and with Authority to make Readers, Sub-deacons, Exorciſts, and to be Leaders or Guiders of them; but not to meddle with the Ordination either of a Presbyter or of a Deacon, without the Biſhop of that City, whereunto the *Chorepiſcopus*, and his Territory alſo is ſubject. The ſame Synod appointeth likewiſe, that thoſe *Chorepiſcopi* ſhall be made by none but the Biſhop of that City, under which they are. Much might hereunto be added, if it were further needful to prove, that the local compaſs of a Biſhop's authority and power was never ſo ſtreightly liſted, as ſome Men would have the world to imagine. But to go forward; degrees of theſe are, and have been of old, even amongſt Biſhops alſo themſelves: One ſort of Biſhops being Superiors unto Presbyters only, another ſort having pre-eminence alſo above Biſhops. It cometh here to be conſidered in what reſpect inequality of Biſhops was thought, at the firſt, a thing expedient for the Church, and what odds there hath been between them, by how much the power of one hath been larger, higher, and greater than of another. Touching the cauſes for which it hath been eſteemed meet, that Biſhops themſelves ſhould not every way be Equals, they are the ſame for which the wiſdom both of God and Man hath evermore approved it as moſt requiſite, that where many Governours muſt of neceſſity concur for the ordering of the ſame affairs, of what nature ſoever they be, one ſhould have ſome kind of ſway or ſtroke more than all the reſidue. For where number is, there muſt be order, or elſe of force

there

Cypr. Ep. 25.

Hieron. adverſ. Luciferi.

Cypr. Ep. 49.

* Conc. Antioch. cap. 9. Ἀκλήτȣς δὲ ἐπισκόπȣς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν οὐδὲ χειροτονίᾳ ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς. Conc. Conſt. c. 2. Τοῦτο γὰρ πρότερον διὰ τοὺς διωγμοὺς ἐγένετο ἀδιαφόρως. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 8.

(*a*) 1 Cor. 16. As I have ordained in the Churches of *Galatia*, the ſame do ye alſo.

(*b*) 2 Cor. 11. 8.

(*c*) Chryſ. in 1. ad Tit.

‖ Pallad. in vita Chryſoſt.

Concil. Antioch. can. 10.

there will be confuſion. Let there be divers Agents, of whom each hath his private inducements, with reſolute purpoſe to follow them, (as each may have;) unleſs in this caſe ſome had pre-eminence above the reſt, a Chance it were, if ever any thing ſhould be either begun, proceeded in, or brought unto any Concluſion by them; Deliberations and Counſels would ſeldom go forward, their Meetings would always be in danger to break up with jars and contradictions. In an Army a number of Captains, all of equal power, without ſome higher to over-ſway them, what good would they do? In all Nations, where a number are to draw any one way, there muſt be ſome one principal Mover. Let the practiſe of our very Adverſaries themſelves herein be conſidered; Are the Presbyters able to determine of Church-affairs, unleſs their Paſtors do ſtrike the chiefeſt ſtroke and have power above the reſt? Can their Paſtoral Synod do any thing, unleſs they have ſome Preſident amongſt them? In Synods they are forced to give one Paſtor pre-eminence and ſuperiority above the reſt. But they anſwer that he who being a Paſtor according to the Order of their Diſcipline, is for the time ſome little deal mightier than his Brethren, doth not continue ſo longer than only during the Synod. Which Anſwer ſerveth not to help them out of the bryars; for by their practiſe they confirm our Principle touching the neceſſity of one Man's pre-eminence, whereſoever a concurrency of many is required unto any one ſolemn action; this Nature teacheth, and this they cannot chuſe but acknowledge. As for the change of his Perſon to whom they give this pre-eminence, if they think it expedient to make for every Synod a new Superior, there is no Law of God which bindeth them ſo to do, neither any that telleth them, that they might not ſuffer one and the ſame Man being made Preſident, even to continue ſo during life; and to leave his pre-eminence unto his Succeſſors after him, as, by the ancient Order of the Church, Archbiſhops, Preſidents amongſt Biſhops, have uſed to do. The ground therefore of their pre-eminence above Biſhops, is the neceſſity of often concurrency of many Biſhops about the publick affairs of the Church, as conſecration of Biſhops, conſultations of remedy of general diſorders, audience judicial, when the actions of any Biſhop ſhould be called in queſtion, or Appeals are made from his Sentence by ſuch as think themſelves wronged. Theſe and the like affairs uſually requiring, that many Biſhops ſhould orderly aſſemble, begin, and conclude ſomewhat; it hath ſeemed, in the eyes of Reverend Antiquity, a thing moſt requiſite, that the Church ſhould not only have Biſhops, but, even amongſt Biſhops, ſome to be in Authority chiefeſt. Unto which purpoſe, the very ſtate of the whole World, immediately before Chriſtianity took place, doth ſeem, by the ſpecial providence of God to have been prepared: For we muſt know, that the Countries where the Goſpel was firſt planted, were, for the moſt part, ſubject to the *Roman* Empire. The *Romans* uſe was commonly, when by war they had ſubdued Foreign Nations, to make them Provinces, that is, to place over them *Roman* Governours, ſuch as might order them according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *Rome*. And to the end that all things might be the more eaſily and orderly done, a whole Country being divided into ſundry parts, there was in each part ſome one City, whereinto they about did reſort for Juſtice. Every ſuch part was termed a (*a*) Dioceſs. Howbeit the name *Dioceſs* is ſometime ſo generally taken, that it containeth not only mo ſuch parts of a Province, but even more Provinces alſo than one, as the Dioceſs of *Aſia* contained eight, the Dioceſs of *Africa* ſeven. Touching Dioceſſes according unto a ſtricter ſenſe, whereby they are taken for a part of a Province, the words of *Livy* do plainly ſhew, what Orders the *Romans* did obſerve in them. For at what time they had brought the *Macedonians* into ſubjection, the *Roman* Governour, by order from the Senate of *Rome*, gave charge that *Macedonia* ſhould be divided into four Regions or Dioceſſes. *Capita Regionum ubi conſilia fierent, primæ Sedis* Amphipolim, *ſecundæ* Theſſalonicen, *tertiæ* Pellam, *quartæ* Pelagoniam *fecit. Eo, Conſilia ſuæ cujuſque Regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi Magiſtratus creari juſſit.* This being before the days of the Emperors, by their appointment *Theſſalonica* was afterwards the chiefeſt, and in it the higheſt Governour of *Macedonia* had his Seat: Whereupon the other three Dioceſſes were in that reſpect inferior unto it, as Daughters unto a Mother-City; for not unto every Town of Juſtice was that Title given, but was peculiar unto thoſe Cities, wherein principal Courts were kept. Thus in *Macedonia*, the Mother-City was *Theſſalonica*: In *Aſia*, (*b*) *Epheſus*; in *Africa*, *Carthage*; For ſo (*c*) *Juſtinian* in his time made it. The Governours, Officers, and Inhabitants of thoſe Mother-Cities were termed for differences ſake *Metropolites*, that is to ſay, *Mother-city-Men*; than which, nothing could poſſibly have been deviſed more fit to ſuit with the nature of that form of Spiritual Regiment, under which afterwards the Church ſhould live. Wherefore if the Prophet ſaw cauſe to acknowledge unto the Lord, that the light of his gracious Providence did ſhine no where more apparently to the eye, than in preparing the Land of *Canaan* to be a Receptacle for that Church which was of old, (*d*) *Thou haſt brought a Vine out of Egypt, thou haſt caſt out the Heathen, and planted it, thou madeſt room for it, and when it had taken root, it filled the Land.* How much more ought

---

(*a*) *Cic. Fam. Ep.*15. Si quid habebis cum aliquo Helleſpontio controverſiæ ut in illam διοίκησιν rejicias. The ſuit which *Tully* maketh was this, that the Party in whoſe behalf he wrote to the proprætor, might have his Cauſes put over to that Court which was held in the Dioceſs of *Helleſpont*, where the Man did abide, and not to his trouble be forced to follow them at *Epheſus*, which was the chiefeſt Court in that Province.

(*b*) Cic. ad Attic. lib. 5. Ep. 13. Item, l. obſerv. D. de Officio Proconſulis & Legati.

(*c*) Lib. 1. Tit. 27. l. 1. ſect. 1. & 2. Sancimus ut ſicut Oriens atque Illyricum, ita & Africa prætoriana maxima poteſtate ſpecialiter à noſtra clementia decoretur. Cujus ſedem jubemus eſſe Carthaginem, & ab ea, auxiliante Deo, ſeptem provinciæ cum ſuis judicibus diſponantur.

(*d*) Pſal.30.8, 9.

we to wonder at the handy-work of Almighty God, who, to ſettle the Kingdom of his dear Son, did not caſt out any one People, but directed in ſuch ſort the Politick Counſels of them who ruled far and wide over all, that they throughout all Nations, People, and Countries upon Earth, ſhould unwittingly prepare the Field wherein the Vine which God did intend, that is to ſay, the Church of his dearly-beloved Son, was to take root. For unto nothing elſe can we attribute it, ſaving only unto the very incomprehenſible force of Divine Providence, that the World was in ſo marvellous-fit ſort divided, levelled, and laid out before hand? Whoſe work could it be but his alone, to make ſuch proviſion for the direct implantation of his Church? Wherefore inequality of Biſhops being found a thing convenient for the Church of God, in ſuch conſideration as hath been ſhewed; when it came ſecondly in queſtion, which Biſhops ſhould be higher and which lower, it ſeemed herein not to the Civil Monarch only, but to the moſt, expedient that the dignity and celebrity of Mother-Cities ſhould be reſpected. They which dream, that, if Civil Authority had not given ſuch pre-eminence unto one City more than another, there had never grown an inequality among Biſhops, are deceived; Superiority of one Biſhop over another would be requiſite in the Church, although that Civil diſtinction were aboliſhed; other cauſes having made it neceſſary, even amongſt Biſhops, to have ſome in degree higher than the reſt, the civil dignity of place was conſidered only as a reaſon wherefore this Biſhop ſhould be preferred before that: Which deliberation had been likely enough to have raiſed no ſmall trouble, but that ſuch was the circumſtance of place, as being followed in that choice, beſides the manifeſt conveniency thereof, took away all ſhow of Partiality, prevented ſecret emulations, and gave no Man occaſion to think his Perſon diſgraced in that another was preferred before him.

Concil. Antiochen. c. 5. Τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μετροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας, ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτόν.

Thus we ſee upon what occaſion Metropolitan Biſhops became Archbiſhops. Now while the whole Chriſtian World, in a manner, ſtill continued under one Civil Government, there being oftentimes within ſome one more large Territory divers and ſundry Mother-Churches, the Metropolitans whereof were Archbiſhops, as for Order's ſake it grew hereupon expedient there ſhould be a difference alſo amongſt them; ſo no way ſeemed in thoſe times more fit, than to give pre-eminence unto them whoſe Metropolitan Sees were of ſpecial deſert or dignity; for which cauſe theſe, as being Biſhops in the chiefeſt Mother-Churches were termed Primates, and at the length by way of excellency *Patriarchs*. For ignorant we are not, how ſometimes the Title of *Patriarch* is generally given to all Metropolitan Biſhops. They are mightily therefore to blame, which are ſo bold and confident as to affirm, that, for the ſpace of above four-hundred and thirty years after Chriſt, all Metropolitan Biſhops were in every reſpect equals, till the ſecond Council of *Conſtantinople* exalted certain Metropolitans above the reſt. True it is, they were equals as touching the exerciſe of Spiritual power within their Dioceſes, when they dealt with their own flock. For what is it that one of them might do within the compaſs of his own precinct, but another within his might do the ſame? But that there was no ſubordination at all, of one of them unto another; that when they all, or ſundry of them, were to deal in the ſame Cauſes, there was no difference of firſt and ſecond in degree, no diſtinction of higher and lower in authority acknowledged amongſt them, is moſt untrue. The great Council of *Nice* was after our Saviour Chriſt but three-hundred-twenty-four years, and in that Council certain Metropolitans are ſaid even then to have had ancient pre-eminence and dignity above the reſt, namely, the Primate of *Alexandria*, of *Rome*, and of *Antioch*. Threeſcore years after this, there were Synods under the Emperor *Theodoſius*, which Synod was the firſt at *Conſtantinople*, whereat one-hundred and fifty Biſhops were aſſembled; at which Council it was decreed, that the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* ſhould not only be added unto the former Primates, but alſo that his Place ſhould be ſecond amongſt them, the next to the Biſhop of *Rome* in dignity. The ſame Decree again renewed concerning *Conſtantinople*, and the reaſon thereof laid open in the Council of *Chalcedon*. At the length came that ſecond of *Conſtantinople*, whereat were ſix-hundred and thirty Biſhops, for a third confirmation thereof. Laws Imperial there are likewiſe extant to the ſame effect. Herewith the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* being over-much puffed up, not only could not endure that See to be in eſtimation higher, whereunto his own had preferment to be the next, but he challenged more than ever any Chriſtian Biſhops in the World before either had, or with reaſon have. What he challenged, and was therein as then refuſed by the Biſhop of *Rome*, the ſame the Biſhop of *Rome* in proceſs of time obtained for himſelf, and having gotten it by bad means, hath both upheld and augmented it, and upholdeth it, by acts and practiſes much worſe. But Primates, according to their firſt Inſtitution, were all in relation unto Archbiſhops the ſame by Prerogative, which Archbiſhops were being compared unto Biſhops. Before the Council of *Nice*, albeit there were both Metropolitans and Primates, yet could not this be a means forcible enough to procure the peace of the Church; but all things were wonderfully tumultuous and troubleſome, by reaſon of one ſpecial practiſe common unto the Hereticks of thoſe times, which was, that when they had been condemned and caſt out of the Church by the Sentence of their own Biſhops, they, contrary to the ancient-received Orders of the Church, had a cuſtom to wander up and down, and to inſinuate themſelves into favour where they were not known; imagining themſelves to be ſafe enough, and not to be clean cut off from the body of the Church, if they could any where find a Biſhop which was content to communicate with them; whereupon enſued, as in that

Vilierius de ſtatu primitivæ Eccleſiæ.

Socr. l. 3. c. 8.

Can. 28.

Can. 39.

Novel. 123. 22.

that caſe there needs muſt, every day quarrels and jarrs unappeaſable amongſt Biſhops. The *Nicene* Council, for redreſs hereof, conſidered the bounds of every Archbiſhops Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, what they had been in former times; and accordingly appointed unto each grand part of the Chriſtian World ſome one Primate, from whoſe Judgment no Man living within his Territory might appeal, unleſs it were to a Council General of all Biſhops. The drift and purport of which order was, that neither any Man oppreſt by his own particular Biſhop might be deſtitute of a remedy, through appeal unto the more indifferent Sentence of ſome other ordinary Judge, nor yet every Man be left at ſuch liberty as before, to ſhift himſelf out of their hands; for whom it was moſt meet to have the hearing and determining of his cauſe. The evil, for remedy whereof this order was taken, annoyed at that preſent eſpecially the Church of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where Arianiſm begun. For which cauſe the ſtate of that Church is in the *Nicene* Canons concerning this matter mentioned before the reſt. The words of their ſacred Edict are theſe, Let thoſe cuſtoms remain in force, which have been of old the cuſtoms of *Egypt*, and *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*; by which cuſtoms the Biſhop of *Alexandria* hath authority over all theſe, the rather, for that this hath alſo been the uſe of the Biſhop of *Rome*, yea, the ſame hath been kept in *Antioch* and in other Provinces. Now becauſe the cuſtom likewiſe had been, that great honour ſhould be done to the Biſhop of *Ælia* or *Jeruſalem*, therefore leſt their Decree concerning the Primate of *Antioch* ſhould any whit prejudice the dignity and honour of that See, ſpecial proviſion is made, that although it were inferior in degree, not only unto *Antioch* the chief of the *Eaſt*, but even unto *Cæſarea* too, yet ſuch pre-eminence it ſhould retain as belonged to a Mother-City, and enjoy whatſoever ſpecial Prerogative or Priviledge it had beſides. Let Men therefore hereby judge of what continuance this Order which upholdeth degrees of Biſhops muſt needs have been, when a general Council of three-hundred and eighteen Biſhops, living themſelves within three-hundred years after Chriſt, doth reverence the ſame for Antiquities ſake, as a thing which had been even then of old obſerved in the moſt renowned parts of the Chriſtian World. Wherefore needleſs altogether are thoſe vain and wanton demands, no mention of an Archbiſhop in *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch*? none in *Ignatius*? none in *Clemens* of *Alexandria*? none in *Juſtin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*? none in all thoſe old Hiſtoriographers, out of which *Euſebius* gathereth his Story? none till the time of the Council of *Nice* three-hundred and twenty years after Chriſt? As if the mention, which is thereof made in that very Council, where ſo many Biſhops acknowledge Archiepiſcopal dignity even then ancient, were not of far more weight and value, than if every of thoſe Fathers had written large Diſcourſes thereof. But what is it which they will bluſh at, who dare ſo confidently ſet it down, that in the Council of *Nice* ſome Biſhops being termed Metropolitans, no more difference is thereby meant to have been between one Biſhop and another, than is ſhewed between one Miniſter and another, when we ſay ſuch a one is a Miniſter in the City of *London*, and ſuch a one a Miniſter in the Town of *Newington*. So that to be termed a Metropolitan Biſhop did, in their conceit, import no more pre-eminence above other Biſhops, than we mean, that a Girdler hath over others of the ſame trade, if we term him which doth inhabit ſome Mother-City for differences ſake a Metropolitan Girdler. But the Truth is too manifeſt to be eluded; a Biſhop at that time had power in his own Dioceſs over all other Miniſters there, and a Metropolitan Biſhop ſundry pre-eminences above other Biſhops, one of which pre-eminences was, in the ordination of Biſhops to have κύρος τῶν γινομένων, the chief power of ordering all things done. Which pre-eminence that Council it-ſelf doth mention, as alſo a greater belonging unto the Patriarch or Primate of *Alexandria*, concerning whom it is there likewiſe ſaid, that to him did belong Ἐξουσία, *authority and power over all Egypt, Pentapolis, and Libya*; within which compaſs ſundry Metropolitan Sees to have been there is no Man ignorant, which in thoſe Antiquities have any knowledge. Certain Prerogatives there are wherein Metropolitans excelled other Biſhops, certain alſo wherein Primates excelled other Metropolitans. Archiepiſcopal or Metropolitan Prerogatives are thoſe mentioned in the old Imperial conſtitutions, to (*a*) convocate the holy Biſhops under them within the compaſs of their own Provinces, when need required their meeting together for inquiſition and redreſs of publick diſorders; (*b*) to grant unto Biſhops under them leave and faculty of abſence from their own Dioceſes, when it ſeemed neceſſary that they ſhould otherwhere converſe for ſome reaſonable while; (*c*) to give notice unto Biſhops under them of things commanded by Supream Authority; (*d*) to have the hearing and firſt determining of ſuch Cauſes as any Man had againſt a Biſhop; (*e*) to receive the appeals of the inferior Clergy, in caſe they found themſelves over-borne by the Biſhop, their immediate Judge. And leſt haply it ſhould be imagined, that Canons Eccleſiaſtical we want to make the ſelf-ſame thing manifeſt, in the Council of *Antioch* it was thus decreed, (*f*) *the Biſhop in every Province muſt know, that he which is Biſhop in the Mother-City hath not only charge of his own Pariſh or Dioceſs, but even of the whole Province alſo.* Again, *it hath ſeemed*

good

T. C. l. 1. 92. What? no mention of him in *Theophilus*, Biſhop of *Antioch*? none in *Clemens Alexandrinus*? none in *Ignatius*? none in *Juſtin Martyr*? in *Irenæus*, in *Tertullian*, in *Origen*, in *Cyprian*? in thoſe old Hiſtoriographers, out of which *Euſebius* gathered his Story? was it for his baſeneſs and ſmalneſs that he could not be ſeen amongſt the Biſhops, Elders and Deacons, being the chief and principal of them all? Can the Cedar of *Lebanon* be hidden amongſt the Box-trees? *T. C.* l. 1. *ubi ſupra.* A Metropolitan Biſhop was nothing elſe but a Biſhop of that place which it pleaſed the Emperor or Magiſtrate to make the chief of the Dioceſs or Shire, and as for this name it makes no more difference between a Biſhop and a Biſhop, than when I ſay a Miniſter of *London*, and a Miniſter of *Newington*.

Conc. Nic. c. 6.

Ejuſd. Conc. c. 7.

Conc. Nicen. c. 6. Illud autem omnino manifeſtum, quod ſiquis abſq; Metropolitani ſententia factus ſit Epiſc. hunc magna Synodus definivit Epiſc. eſſe non oportere. Can. 4.

(*a*) Novel. 123. can. 10.

(*b*) Nov. 123. c. 9.

(*c*) Nov. 79. c. 2.

(*d*) Novel. 123. can. 22.

(*e*) Novel. 123. c. 23.

(*f*) Can. 9.

good that other Biſhops, without him, ſhould do nothing more than only that which concerneth each one's Pariſh, and the places underneath it. Further, by the ſelf-ſame Council all Councils provincial are reckoned void and fruſtrate, unleſs the Biſhop of the Mother-City within that Province, where ſuch Councils ſhould be, were preſent at them. So that the want of his preſence, and, in Canons for Church-Government, want of his approbation alſo, did diſannul them. Not ſo the want of any others. Finally, concerning election of Biſhops the Council of *Nice* hath this general rule, that the chief ordering of all things here is in every Province committed to the Metropolitan. Touching them, who amongſt Metropolitans were alſo Primates, and had of ſundry united Provinces the chiefeſt Metropolitan See, of ſuch that Canon, in the Council of *Carthage*, was eminent, whereby a Biſhop is forbidden to go beyond Seas, without the licenſe of the higheſt Chair within the ſame Biſhops own Country; and of ſuch which beareth the name of Apoſtolical, is that ancient Canon likewiſe, which chargeth the Biſhops of each NATION to know him which is FIRST amongſt them, and to eſteem of him as an HEAD, and to do no extraordinary thing but with his leave. The chief Primates of the Chriſtian World were the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*. To whom the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* being afterwards added, St. *Chryſoſtom* the Biſhop of that See is in that reſpect ſaid to have had the care and charge, not only of the City of *Conſtantinople, ſed etiam totius Thraciæ, quæ ſex præfecturis eſt diviſa, & Aſiæ totius, quæ ab undecim præſidibus regitur.* The reſt of the Eaſt was under *Antioch*, the South under *Alexandria*, and the Weſt under *Rome*. Whereas therefore *John* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* being noted of Hereſie, had written an Apology for himſelf unto the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, named *Theophilus*; Saint *Jerom* reproveth his breach of the Order of the Church herein, ſaying, *Tu qui regulas quæris Eccleſiaſticas, & Niceni Concilii canonibus uteris, reſponde mihi, Ad Alexandrinum Epiſcopum Palæſtina quid pertinet? Ni fallor, hoc ibi decernitur, ut Palæſtinæ Metropolis Cæſarea ſit, & totius Orientis Antiochia. Aut igitur ad Cæſarienſem Epiſcopum referre debueras, aut ſi procul expetendum judicium erat, Antiochiam potius literæ dirigendæ.* Thus much concerning that Local Compaſs, which was anciently ſet out to Biſhops; within the bounds and limits whereof we find, that they did accordingly exerciſe that Epiſcopal authority and power, which they had over the Church of Chriſt.

Can. 16.

Can. 4. τὸ κῦρος τῶν γινόμενον.

Can. 23.
Can. 34.

Caſſiod. in vita Chryſoſt.

Hieron. Ep. 91.

IX. The firſt whom we read to have bent themſelves againſt the Superiority of Biſhops, were *Aerius* and his Followers. *Aerius* ſeeking to be made a Biſhop, could not brook that *Euſtathius* was thereunto preferred before him. Whereas therefore he ſaw himſelf unable to riſe to that greatneſs which his ambitious pride did affect, his way of revenge was, to try what Wit, being ſharpned with envy and malice, could do, in raiſing a new ſeditious opinion, that the Superiority which Biſhops had, was a thing which they ſhould not have; that a Biſhop might not ordain; and that a Biſhop ought not any way to be diſtinguiſhed from a Presbyter: For ſo doth St. *Auguſtin* deliver the opinion of *Aerius*: *Epiphanius* not ſo plainly, nor ſo directly, but after a more Rhetorical ſort. His ſpeech was rather furious than convenient for Man to uſe, *What is,* ſaith he, *a Biſhop more than a Presbyter? The one doth differ from the other nothing. For their Order is one, their Honour one, one their Dignity. A Biſhop impoſeth his hands, ſo doth a Presbyter. A Biſhop baptizeth, the like doth a Presbyter. The Biſhop is a Miniſter of Divine Service, a Presbyter is the ſame. The Biſhop ſitteth as a Judge in a Throne, even the Presbyter ſitteth alſo. A Presbyter therefore doing thus far the ſelf-ſame thing which a Biſhop did, it was by* Aerius *inforced, that they ought not in any thing to differ.* Are we to think *Aerius* had wrong in being judged an Heretick for holding this opinion? Surely if Hereſie be an error, falſly fathered upon Scriptures, but indeed repugnant to the truth of the Word of God, and by the conſent of the univerſal Church in the Councils, or in her contrary uniform practice throughout the whole world, declared to be ſuch, and the opinion of *Aerius* in this point be a plain error of that nature, there is no remedy, but *Aerius* ſo ſchiſmatically and ſtifly maintaining it muſt even ſtand where *Epiphanius* and *Auguſtin* have placed him. An error repugnant unto the truth of the Word of God is held by them, whoſoever they be that ſtand in defence of any Concluſion drawn erroneouſly out of Scripture, and untruly thereon fathered. The opinion of *Aerius* therefore being falſly collected out of Scripture, muſt needs be acknowledged an error repugnant unto the truth of the Word of God. His opinion was, that there ought not to be any difference between a Biſhop and a Presbyter. His grounds and reaſons for this Opinion were Sentences of Scripture. Under pretence of which Sentences, whereby it ſeemed that Biſhops and Presbyters at the firſt did not differ, it was concluded by *Aerius*, that the Church did ill in permitting any difference to be made. The Anſwer which *Epiphanius* maketh unto ſome part of the proofs by *Aerius* alledged, was not greatly ſtudied or laboured; for through a contempt of ſo baſe an error, for this himſelf did perceive and profeſs, yieldeth he thereof expreſly this reaſon, Men that have wit do evidently ſee, that all this is meer fooliſhneſs. But how vain and ridiculous ſoever his opinion ſeemed unto wiſe Men, with it *Aerius* deceived many, for which cauſe ſomewhat was convenient to be ſaid againſt it. And in that very extemporal ſlightneſs which *Epiphanius* there uſeth, albeit the anſwer made to *Aerius* be (*a*) in part but raw, yet ought not hereby

In what reſpects Epiſcopal Regiment hath been gainſaid of old by *Aerius*. *Aug. de hær. ad quod vult deus.* Aeriani ab Aerio quodam ſunt nominati, qui quum eſſet Presbyter, docuiſſe fertur, quod Epiſcopus non poteſt ordinare. Diceba Epiſcopum à Presbytero nullâ ratione debere diſcerni. *Aug. de hær.*

Ἐν τούτῳ πολλοὺς ἠπάτησε.

(*a*) As in that he ſaith, the Apoſtle doth name ſometimes Presbyters and not Biſhops, 1 Tim. 4. 14. ſometime Biſhops and not Presbyters, Phil. 1. 1. becauſe all Churches had not both, for want of able and ſufficient Men. In ſuch Churches therefore as had but the one, the Apoſtle could not mention the other. Which Anſwer is nothing to the latter place above mentioned: For that the Church of *Philippi* ſhould have more Biſhops than one, and want a few able Men to be Presbyters under the Regiment of one Biſhop, how ſhall we think it probable or likely?

the Truth to find any leſs favour than in other Cauſes it doth, where we do not therefore judge Hereſie to have the better, becauſe now and then it alledgeth that for it-ſelf, which Defenders of the Truth do not always ſo fully anſwer. Let it therefore ſuffice, that *Aerius* did bring nothing unanſwerable. The weak Solutions which the one doth give, are to us no prejudice againſt the Cauſe, as long as the others oppoſitions are of no greater ſtrength and validity. Did not *Aerius*, trow you, deſerve to be eſteemed as a new *Apollos*, mighty and powerful in the Word, which could for maintenance of his Cauſe bring forth ſo plain Divine Authorities, to prove by the Apoſtles own Writings, that Biſhops ought not in any thing to differ from other Presbyters? For example, where it is ſaid that Presbyters made *Timothy* Biſhop, is it not clear, that a Biſhop ſhould not differ from a Presbyter, by having power of Ordination? Again, if a Biſhop might by Order be diſtinguiſhed from a Presbyter, would the Apoſtle have given, (*a*) as he doth, unto Presbyters the Title of Biſhops? Theſe were the invincible demonſtrations, wherewith *Aerins* did ſo fiercely aſſault Biſhops. But the Sentence of *Aerius* perhaps was only, that the difference between a Biſhop and a Presbyter hath grown by the order and cuſtom of the Church, the Word of God not appointing that any ſuch difference ſhould be. Well, let *Aerius* then find the favour to have his Sentence ſo conſtrued; yet his fault in condemning the order of the Church, his not ſubmitting himſelf unto that Order, the Schiſm which he cauſed in the Church about it, who can excuſe? No, the truth is that theſe things did even neceſſarily enſue, by force of the very opinion which he and his followers did hold. His concluſion was, that there ought to be no difference between a Presbyter and a Biſhop. His proofs, thoſe Scripture ſentences which make mention of Biſhops and Presbyters without any ſuch diſtinction or difference. So that if between his Concluſion and the Proofs whereby he laboured to ſtrengthen the ſame, there be any ſhew of coherence at all, we muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that when *Aerius* did plead there is by the Word of God no difference between a Presbyter and a Biſhop; his meaning was, not only that the Word of God it-ſelf appointeth not, but that it enforceth on us the duty of not appointing, nor allowing, that any ſuch difference ſhould be made.

(*a*) 1 Tim. 4. 14. With the Impoſition of the Preſbyteries hand. Of which Preſbytery S. *Paul* was chief, 2 Tim. 1. 6. And I think no Man will deny that St. *Paul* had more than a ſimple Preſbyters Authority. Phil. 1. 1. To all the Saints at *Philippi*. with the Biſhops and Deacons. For as yet in the Church of *Philippi* there was no one which had Authority beſides Apoſtles, but their Preſbyters or Biſhops were all both in Title and in Power equal.

In what reſpect Epiſcopal Regiment is gain-ſaid by the Authors of pretended Reformation at this day.

X. And of the ſelf-ſame mind are the Enemies of Government by Biſhops, even at this preſent day. They hold, as *Aerius* did, that if Chriſt and his Apoſtles were obeyed, a Biſhop ſhould not be permitted to ordain; that between a Presbyter and a Biſhop the Word of God alloweth not any inequality or difference to be made; that their Order, their Authority, their Power ought to be one; that it is but by uſurpation and corruption, that the one ſort are ſuffered to have rule of the other, or to be any way ſuperior unto them. Which opinion having now ſo many Defenders, ſhall never be able, while the World doth ſtand, to find in ſome believing Antiquity, as much as one which hath given it countenance, or borne any friendly affection towards it. Touching theſe Men therefore, whoſe deſire is to have all equal, three ways there are, whereby they uſually oppugn the received Order of the Church of Chriſt. Firſt, by diſgracing the inequality of Paſtors, as a new and meer Human invention, a thing which was never drawn out of Scripture, where all Paſtors are found (they ſay) to have one and the ſame power, both of Order and Juriſdiction. Secondly, by gathering together the difference between that power which we give to Biſhops, and that which was given them of old in the Church: So that, albeit even the ancient took more than was warrantable, yet ſo far they ſwerved not as ours have done. Thirdly, by endeavouring to prove, that the Scripture directly forbiddeth, and that the judgment of the wiſeſt, the holieſt, the beſt in all Ages, condemneth utterly the inequality which we allow.

XI. That inequality of Paſtors is a meer Human invention, a thing not found in the Word of God, they prove thus:

Their Arguments in diſgrace of Regiment by Biſhops, as being a meer invention of Man, and not found in Scripture, Anſwered. Titus 1. 5. 1 Timothy 3. 5. Philip. 1. 1. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2.

1. *All the places of Scripture where the word* Biſhop *is uſed, or any other derived of that name ſignifie an Overſight in reſpect of ſome particular Congregation only, and never in regard of Paſtors committed unto his Overſight. For which cauſe the names of Biſhops, and Presbyters, or Paſtoral Elders, are uſed indifferently, to ſignifie one and the ſelf-ſame thing. Which ſo indifferent and common uſe of theſe words, for one and the ſelf-ſame Office, ſo conſtantly and perpetually in all places, declareth, that the word* Biſhop *in the Apoſtles Writing, importeth not a Paſtor of higher Power and Authority over other Paſtors.*

2. *All Paſtors are called to their Office by the ſame means of proceeding; the Scripture maketh no difference in the manner of their Tryal, Election, Ordination; which proveth their Office and Power to be by Scripture all one.*

3. *The Apoſtles were all of equal power, and all Paſtors do alike ſucceed the Apoſtles in their Miniſtry and Power, the Commiſſion and Authority whereby they ſucceed, being in Scripture but one and the ſame that was committed to the Apoſtles, without any difference of committing to one Paſtor more, or to another leſs.*

4. *The power of the Cenſures and Keyes of the Church, and of Ordaining and ordering Miniſters (in which two points eſpecially this Superiority is challenged) is not committed to any one Paſtor of the Church, more than to another; but the ſame is committed as a thing to be carried equally in the guidance of the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that Scripture maketh all Paſtors not only in the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments, but alſo in all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Authority, equal.*

5. *The Council of* Nice *doth attribute this difference, not unto any Ordination of God, but to an ancient Cuſtom uſed in former times, which judgment is alſo followed afterward by other Councils,* Concil. Antioch. cap. 9.

6. Upon theſe Premiſes their ſummary collection and concluſion is, *That the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the Functions thereof, ought to be from Heaven and of God,* Joh. 1. 23. *that if they be of God and from Heaven, then are they ſet down in the Word of God; that if they be not in the Word of* God (*as by the premiſes it doth appear* (they ſay) *that our kinds of Biſhops are not*) *it followeth, they are invented by the brain of Men, and are of the Earth, and that conſequently they can do no good in the Church of Chriſt, but harm.*

T.C.l.1.p.13. So that it appeareth that the Miniſtery of the Goſpel, and the Functions thereof ought to be from Heaven:

From Heaven, I ſay, and Heavenly, becauſe although it be executed by Earthly Men, and Miniſters are choſen alſo by Men like unto themſelves, yet becauſe it is done by the Word and Inſtitution of God, it may well be accounted to come from Heaven, and from God.

Anſwer.

Our Anſwer hereunto is, firſt, that their proofs are unavailable to ſhew, that Scripture affordeth no evidence for the inequality of Paſtors. Secondly, that, albeit the Scripture did no way inſinuate the ſame to be God's Ordinance, and the Apoſtles to have brought it in, albeit the Church were acknowledged by all Men to have been the firſt beginner thereof, a long time after the Apoſtles were gone; yet is not the Authority of Biſhops hereby diſanulled, it is not hereby proved unfit, or unprofitable for the Church.

1. That the Word of God doth acknowledge no inequality of power amongſt Paſtors of the Church, neither doth it appear by the ſignification of this word *Biſhop*, nor by the indifferent uſe thereof. For, concerning ſignification, firſt it is clearly untrue, that no other thing is thereby ſignified, but only an overſight in reſpect of a particular Church and Congregation. For, I beſeech you, of what Pariſh or particular Congregation was *Matthias* Biſhop? His Office Scripture doth term Epiſcopal, which being no other than was common unto all the Apoſtles of Chriſt, foraſmuch as in that number there is not any to whom the overſight of many Paſtors did not belong by force and virtue of that Office; it followeth, that the very Word doth ſometimes, even in Scripture, ſignifie an overſight, ſuch as includeth charge over Paſtors themſelves. And if we look to the uſe of the Word, being applyed with reference unto ſome one Church, as *Epheſus*, *Philippi*, and ſuch like, albeit the Guides of thoſe Churches be interchangeably in Scripture termed ſometime Biſhops, ſometime Presbyters, to ſignifie Men having overſight and charge, without relation at all unto other than the Chriſtian Laity alone; yet this doth not hinder, but that Scripture may in ſome place have other names, whereby certain of thoſe Presbyters or Biſhops are noted to have the overſight and charge of Paſtors, as out of all peradventure they had, whom St. *John* doth intitle Angels.

Acts 1. 20.

Revel. 1.

2. As for thoſe things which the Apoſtle hath ſet down concerning Tryal, Election, and Ordination of Paſtors, that he maketh no difference in the manner of their Calling, this alſo is but a ſilly Argument to prove their Office and their Power equal by the Scripture. The form of admitting each ſort unto their Offices, needed no particular Inſtruction: There was no fear, but that ſuch matters of courſe would eaſily enough be obſerved. The Apoſtle therefore toucheth thoſe things wherein Judgment, Wiſdom, and Conſcience is required; he carefully admoniſheth of what quality Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſhould be, that their dealing might not be ſcandalous in the Church. And foraſmuch as thoſe things are general, we ſee that of Deacons there are delivered, in a manner, the ſelf-ſame Precepts, which are given concerning Paſtors, ſo far as concerneth their Tryal, Election, and Ordination. Yet who doth hereby collect, that Scripture maketh Deacons and Paſtors equal? If notwithſtanding it be yet demanded, *Wherefore he which teacheth what kind of Perſons Deacons and Presbyters ſhould be, hath nothing in particular about the quality of chief Presbyters, whom we call Biſhops?* I anſwer briefly, that there it was no fit place for any ſuch diſcourſe to be made, inaſmuch as the Apoſtle wrote unto *Timothy* and *Titus*, who having by Commiſſion Epiſcopal Authority, were to exerciſe the ſame in ordaining, not Biſhops (the Apoſtles themſelves yet living, and retaining that power in their own hands,) but Presbyters, ſuch as the Apoſtles at the firſt did create throughout all Churches. Biſhops by reſtraint (only *James* at *Jeruſalem* excepted) were not yet in being.

3. About equality amongſt the Apoſtles there is by us no Controverſie moved. If in the rooms of the Apoſtles, which were of equal Authority, all Paſtors do by Scripture ſucceed alike, where ſhall we find a Commiſſion in Scripture which they ſpeak of, which appointed all to ſucceed in the ſelf-ſame equality of power, except that Commiſſion which doth authoriſe to Preach and Baptize ſhould be alledged, which maketh nothing to the purpoſe, for in ſuch things all Paſtors are ſtill equal: We muſt, I fear me, wait very long before any other will be ſhewed. For howſoever the Apoſtles were Equals amongſt themſelves, all other Paſtors were not Equals with the Apoſtles while they lived, neither are they any where appointed to be afterward each others Equals. Apoſtles had, as we know, authority over all ſuch as were no Apoſtles, by force of which their Authority they might both command and judge. It was for the ſingular good and benefit of thoſe Diſciples whom Chriſt left behind him, and of the Paſtors which were afterwards choſen; for the great good, I ſay, of all ſorts, that the Apoſtles were in power above them. Every day brought forth ſomewhat, wherein they ſaw by experience how much it ſtood them in ſtead, to be under controulment of thoſe Superiors and Higher Governours of God's Houſe.

Was

Was it a thing ſo behoveful, that Paſtors ſhould be ſubject unto Paſtors in the Apoſtles own times, and is there any commandment that this Subjection ſhould ceaſe with them, and that the Paſtors of the ſuceeding Ages ſhould be all Equals? No, no, this ſtrange and abſurd conceit of Equality amongſt Paſtors (the Mother of Schiſm, and of Confuſion) is but a dream newly brought forth, and ſeen never in the Church before.

1 Tim. 5. 19.
Tit. 1. 5.

4. Power of Cenſure and Ordination appeareth even by Scripture marvellous-probable to have been derived from Chriſt to his Church, without this ſurmiſed Equality in them to whom he hath committed the ſame. For I would know, whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were commanded by Saint *Paul* to do any thing more than Chriſt hath authoriſed Paſtors to do; And to the one it is Scripture which ſaith, *Againſt a Presbyter receive THOU no accuſation, ſaving under two or three Witneſſes*: Scripture which likewiſe hath ſaid to the other, *For this very cauſe left I THEE in* Crete, *that THOU ſhouldſt redreſs the things that remain, and ſhouldſt ORDAIN Presbyters in every City, as I appointed THEE.* In the former place the power of Cenſure is ſpoken of, and the power of Ordination in the latter. Will they ſay that every Paſtor there was equal to *Timothy* and *Titus* in theſe things? If they do, the Apoſtle himſelf is againſt it, who ſaith, that of their two very Perſons he had made choice, and appointed in thoſe places them for performances of thoſe Duties, whereas, if the ſame had belonged unto others no leſs than to them, and not principally unto them above others, it had been fit for the Apoſtle accordingly to have directed his Letters concerning theſe things in general unto them all which had equal intereſt in them; even as it had been likewiſe fit to have written thoſe Epiſtles in St. *John*'s Revelation unto whole Eccleſiaſtical Senates, rather than only unto the Angels of each Church, had not ſome one been above the reſt in Authority, to order the affairs of the Church. Scripture therefore doth moſt probably make for the inequality of Paſtors, even in all Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and by very expreſs mention, as well in Cenſures as Ordinations.

5. In the *Nicene* Council there are confirmed certain Prerogatives and Dignities belonging unto Primates or Archbiſhops, and of them it is ſaid, that the ancient cuſtom of the Church had been to give them ſuch pre-eminence, but no ſyllable whereby any Man ſhould conjecture, that thoſe Fathers did not honour the Superiority which Biſhops had over other Paſtors, only upon ancient cuſtom, and not as a true, Apoſtolical, heavenly and divine Ordinance.

They of Walden, Aen. Syl. hiſt. Boem. Marſilius. Defenſ. pac. Nicl. Thom. Wald. c. 1. l. 2. c. 10. Calvin. Com. in 1 ad Tit. Bullinger, Decad. 1. Ser. 3. Juel. Def. apol. par. 2. c. 9. Di. 1. Fulk. Anſw. to the Teſt.
Tit. 1. 5.
John 1. 25.
Mat. 21. 23.

6. Now although we ſhould leave the general-received perſwaſion held from the firſt beginning, that the Apoſtles themſelves left Biſhops inveſted with power above other Paſtors; although, I ſay, we ſhould give over this opinion, and imbrace that other conjecture, which ſo many have thought good to follow, and which my-ſelf did ſometimes judge a great deal more probable than now I do, meerly that after the Apoſtles were deceaſed, Churches did agree amongſt themſelves, for preſervation of Peace and Order, to make one Presbyter in each City, Chief over the reſt, and to tranſlate into him that power, by force and virtue whereof the Apoſtles, while they were alive, did preſerve and uphold order in the Church, exerciſing Spiritual Juriſdiction, partly by themſelves, and partly by Evangeliſts, becauſe they could not always every where themſelves be preſent: This order taken by the Church it-ſelf (for ſo let us ſuppoſe, that the Apoſtles did neither by word nor deed appoint it) were notwithſtanding more warrantable, than that it ſhould give place and be abrogated, becauſe the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and the Functions thereof, ought to be from Heaven. There came Chief Prieſts and Elders unto our Saviour Chriſt as he was teaching in the Temple, and the Queſtion which they moved unto him was this, *By what Authority doſt thou theſe things, and who gave thee this Authority*? Their Queſtion he repelled with a Counter-demand, *The Baptiſm of* John *whence was it, from Heaven, or of Men*? Hereat they pauſed, ſecretly diſputing within themſelves, *If we ſhall ſay from Heaven, he will ask, wherefore did ye not then believe him? And if we ſay of Men, we fear the People,* for all hold *John* a Prophet. What is it now which hereupon theſe Men would infer, That all Functions Eccleſiaſtical ought in ſuch ſort to be from Heaven, as the Function of *John* was? No ſuch matter here contained. Nay, doth not the contrary rather appear moſt plainly by that which is here ſet down? For when our Saviour doth ask concerning the Baptiſm, that is to ſay, the whole Spiritual Function of *John*, whether it were from Heaven or of Men, he giveth clearly to underſtand that Men give Authority unto ſome, and ſome God himſelf from Heaven doth Authoriſe. Nor is it ſaid, or in any ſort ſignified, that none have lawful Authority which have it not in ſuch manner as *John*, from Heaven. Again, when the Prieſts and Elders were loth to ſay, that *John* had his calling from Men, the reaſon was not becauſe they thought that ſo *John* ſhould not have had any good or lawful Calling, but becauſe they ſaw, that by this means they ſhould ſomewhat embaſe the Calling of *John*, whom all Men knew to have been ſent from God, according to the manner of Prophets, by a meer Celeſtial vocation. So that out of the evidence here alledged theſe things we may directly conclude, firſt, that whoſo doth exerciſe any kind of Function in the Church, he cannot lawfully ſo do, except Authority be given him; ſecondly, that if Authority be not given him from Men, as the Authority of Teaching was given unto Scribes and Phariſees, it muſt be given him from Heaven, as Authority was given unto *Chriſt, Elias, John Baptiſt,* and the Prophets. For theſe two only ways there are to have Authority. But a ſtrange Concluſion it is, God himſelf did from Heaven authoriſe *John* to bear Witneſs of the light, to prepare a way for the promiſed *Meſſiah*, to publiſh the

nearneſs of the Kingdom of God, to Preach Repentance, and to Baptize (for by this part which was in the Function of *John* moſt noted, all the reſt are together ſignified;) therefore the Church of God hath no power upon new occurrences to appoint, to ordain an Eccleſiaſtical Function, as *Moſes* did upon *Jethro's* advice deviſe a Civil. All things we grant which are in the Church ought to be of God. But foraſmuch as they may be two ways accounted ſuch, one if they be of his own inſtitution, and not of ours; another if they be of ours, and yet with his approbation; this latter way there is no impediment, but that the ſame thing which is of Men may be alſo juſtly and truly ſaid to be of God, the ſame thing from Heaven which is from Earth. Of all good things God himſelf is Author, and conſequently an Approver of them. The rule to diſcern when the actions of Men are good, when they are ſuch as they ought to be, is more ample and large than the Law which God hath ſet particular down in his holy Word, the Scripture is but a part of that rule, as hath been heretofore at large declared. If therefore all things be of God, which are well done; and if all things be well done, which are according unto the rule of well-doing; and if the rule of well-doing be more ample than the Scripture; what neceſſity is there, that every thing which is of God ſhould be ſet down in holy Scripture? True it is in things of ſome one kind, true it is, that what we are now of neceſſity for ever bound to believe or obſerve in the ſpecial myſteries of Salvation, Scripture muſt needs give notice of it unto the World; yet true it cannot be, touching all things that are of God. Sufficient it is for the proof of lawfulneſs in any thing done, if we can ſhew that God approveth it. And of his approbation the evidence is ſufficient, if either himſelf have by revelation in his word warranted it, or we by ſome diſcourſe of Reaſon find it good of it-ſelf, and unrepugnant unto any of his revealed Laws and Ordinances. Wherefore injurious we are unto God, the Author and Giver of Human capacity, Judgment and Wit, when, becauſe of ſome things wherein he preciſely forbiddeth Men to uſe their own inventions, we take occaſion to diſ-authoriſe and diſgrace the works which he doth produce by the hand, either of nature or of grace in them. We offer contumely, even unto him, when we ſcornfully reject what we liſt without any other exception than this, *The brain of Man hath deviſed it.* Whether we look into the Church or Common-wealth, as well in the one as in the other, both the Ordination of Officers and the very inſtitution of their Offices may be truly derived from God, and approved of him, although they be not always of him in ſuch ſort as thoſe things are which are in Scripture. Doth not the Apoſtle term the Law of Nature even as the Evangeliſt doth the Law of Scripture, δικαίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, God's own righteous Ordinance? The Law of Nature then being his Law, that muſt needs be of him, which t hath directed Men unto. Great odds, I grant, there is between things deviſed by Men, lthough agreeable with the Law of Nature, and things in Scripture ſet down by the finger f the Holy Ghoſt. Howbeit the dignity of theſe is no hinderance, but that thoſe be alſo everendly accounted of in their Place. Thus much they very well ſaw, who, although not ving themſelves under this kind of Church-Polity, yet being, through ſome experience, more moderate, grave and circumſpect in their Judgment, have given hereof their ſounder nd better-adviſed Sentence. That which the holy Fathers (ſaith *Zanchius*) have by common conſent, without contradiction of Scripture, received, for my part, I neither will, nor dare with good Conſcience diſallow. And what more certain, than that the ordering of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, one in authority above another, was received into the Church by the common conſent of the Chriſtian World? What am I, that I ſhould take upon me to controul the whole Church of Chriſt in that which is ſo well known to have been lawfully, religiouſly, and to notable purpoſe inſtituted? *Calvin* maketh mention even of Primates that have authority above Biſhops, *It was*, ſaith he, *the inſtitution of the ancient Church, to the end that the Biſhops might by this bond of Concord continue the faſter linked amongſt themſelves.* And leſt any Man ſhould think that as well he might allow the Papacy it-ſelf, to prevent this he addeth, *Aliud eſt moderatum gerere & honorem, quam totum terrarum orbem immenſo imperio complecti.* Theſe things ſtanding as they do, we may conclude, that, albeit the Offices which Biſhops execute had been committed unto them only by the Church, and that the ſuperiority which they have over other Paſtors were not firſt by Chriſt himſelf given to the Apoſtles, and from them deſcended to others, but afterwards in ſuch conſideration brought in and agreed upon, as is pretended; yet could not this be a juſt or lawful exception againſt it.

Lib. 2.

Rom. 1. 32.
Luke 1. 6.

Confeſ. 169.

Epiſt. 190.

The Arguments to prove there was no neceſſity of inſtituting Biſhops in the Church.

XII. But they will ſay, *There was no neceſſity of inſtituting Biſhops, the Church might have ſtood well enough without them, they are as thoſe ſuperfluous things, which neither while they continue do good, nor do harm when they are removed, becauſe there is not any profitable uſe whereunto they ſhould ſerve. For firſt, in the Primitive Church their Paſtors were all equal, the Biſhops of thoſe days were the very ſame which Paſtors of Pariſh-Churches at this day are with us, no one at commandment or controulment by any others Authority amongſt them. The Church therefore may ſtand and flouriſh without Biſhops: If they be neceſſary, wherefore were they not ſooner inſtituted?* 2. *Again, if any ſuch thing were needful for the Church, Chriſt would have ſet it down in Scripture, as he did all kind of Officers needful for Jewiſh Regiment. He which preſcribed unto the Jews ſo particularly the leaſt thing pertinent unto their Temple, would not have left ſo weighty Offices undetermined of in Scripture, but that he knew the Church could never have any profitable uſe of them.* 3. *Furthermore, it is the judgment of* Cyprian, *that equity requireth every Man's cauſe to be heard, where the fault he is charged with*

Ep. 3. lib. 3.

with was committed. And the reaſon he alledgeth is, foraſmuch as there they may have bot Accuſers and Witneſſes in their cauſe. Sith therefore every Man's cauſe is meeteſt to be handled at home by the Judges of his own Pariſh, to what purpoſe ſerveth their device, which hav appointed Biſhops unto whom ſuch cauſes may be brought, and Archbiſhops to whom they may b alſo from thence removed?

The fore-alledged Arguments anſwered.

XIII. What things have neceſſary uſe in the Church, they of all others are the moſt unfi to judge, who bend themſelves purpoſely againſt whatſoever the Church uſeth, except i pleaſe themſelves to give it the grace and countenance of their favourable approbation which they willingly do not yield unto any part of Church-Polity, in the forehead whero there is not the mark of that new-deviſed ſtamp. But howſoever Men like or diſlike, whether they judge things neceſſary or needleſs in the Houſe of God, a Conſcience they ſhoul have touching that which they boldly affirm or deny. 1. *In the Primitive Church no Biſhops, no Paſtor having power over other Paſtors, but all Equals, every Man Supreme Commander and Ruler within the Kingdom of his own Congregation or Pariſh? The Biſhops that ar ſpoken of in the time of the Primitive Church, all ſuch as Parſons or Rectors of Pariſhes ar with us?* If thus it have been in the prime of the Church, the queſtion is, how far they will have that prime to extend, and where the latter ſpring of that new-ſuppoſed diſorder to begin: That primitive Church, wherein they hold that amongſt the Fathers al which had Paſtoral charge were Equal, they muſt of neceſſity ſo far enlarge, as to contain ſome hundreds of years, becauſe for proof hereof they alledge boldly and confidently Saint *Cyprian*, who ſuffered Martyrdom about three-hundred and threeſcore years after our bleſſed Lord's Incarnation. A Biſhop, they ſay, ſuch as *Cyprian* doth ſpeak of, had only a Church or Congregation, ſuch as the Miniſters and Paſtors with us, which are appointed unto ſeveral Towns. Every Biſhop in *Cyprian*'s time was Paſtor of one only Congregation, aſſembled in one place to be taught of one Man. A thing impertinent, although it were true. For the Queſtion is about Perſonal inequality amongſt Governors of the Church. Now to ſhew there was no ſuch thing in the Church at ſuch time as *Cyprian* lived, what bring they forth? Forſooth, that Biſhops had then but a ſmall circuit of place for the exerciſe of their Authority. Be it ſuppoſed, that no one Biſhop had more than one only Town to govern, one only Congregation to rule: Doth it by *Cyprian* appear, that in any ſuch Town or Congregation, being under the cure and charge of ſome one Biſhop, there were not, beſides that one Biſhop, other alſo Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments, yet ſubject to the power of the ſame Biſhop? If this appear not, how can *Cyprian* be alledged for a Witneſs, that in thoſe times there were no Biſhops which did differ from other Miniſters, as being above them in degree of Eccleſiaſtical power? But a groſs and a palpable untruth it is, *That Biſhops with* Cyprian *were as Miniſters are with us in Pariſh-Churches, and that each of them did guide ſome Pariſh without any other Paſtors under him.* St. *Cyprian*'s own Perſon may ſerve for a manifeſt diſproof hereof. *Pontius* being Deacon under *Cyprian* noteth, that his admirable virtues cauſed him to be Biſhop with the ſooneſt; which advancement therefore himſelf endeavoured for a while to avoid. It ſeemed in his own eyes too ſoon for him to take the title of ſo great Honour, in regard whereof a Biſhop is termed *Pontifex, Sacerdos, Antiſtes Dei.* Yet ſuch was his quality, that whereas others did hardly perform that duty, whereunto the Diſcipline of their Order together with the Religion of the Oath they took at their entrance into the Office even conſtrained them; him the Chair did not make, but receive ſuch a one, as behoved that a Biſhop ſhould be. But ſoon after followed that Proſcription, whereby being driven into exile, and continuing in that eſtate for the ſpace of ſome two years, he ceaſed not by Letters to deal with his Clergy, and to direct them about the Publick affairs of the Church. They unto whom thoſe * Epiſtles were written, he commonly entituleth the Presbyters and Deacons of that Church. If any Man doubt, whether thoſe Presbyters of *Carthage* were Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments or no, let him conſider but that one only place of *Cyprian*, where he giveth them this careful advice, how to deal with circumſpection in the perilous times of the Church, that neither they which were for the truths ſake impriſoned, might want thoſe Ghoſtly comforts which they ought to have, nor the Church by miniſtring the ſame unto them incur unneceſſary danger and peril. In which Epiſtle it doth expreſly appear, that the Presbyters of whom he ſpeaketh, did offer, that is to ſay, adminiſter the Euchariſt; and that many there were of them in the Church of *Carthage*, ſo as they might have every day change for performance of that duty. Nor will any Man of ſound Judgment I think deny, that *Cyprian* was in Authority and Power above the Clergy of that Church, above thoſe Presbyters unto whom he gave direction. It is apparently thereſore untrue, that in *Cyprian*'s time Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments were all equal, and that no one of them had either Title more excellent than the reſt, or Authority and Government over the reſt. *Cyprian* being Biſhop of *Carthage*, was clearly Superiour unto all other Miniſters there: Yea, *Cyprian* was by reaſon of the Dignity of his See an Archbiſhop, and ſo conſequently Superior unto Biſhops. Biſhops, we ſay, there have been always, even as long as the Church of Chriſt it-ſelf hath been. The A-

T. C. l. 1. p. 99. & 100. The Biſhop which *Cyprian* ſpeaketh of, is nothing elſe but ſuch as we call Paſtor, or as the common name with us is, Parſon; and his Church whereof he is Biſhop, is neither Dioceſs nor Province, but a Congregation, which met together in one place, and to be taught of one Man.

---

* Etſi Fratres pro dilectione ſua cupidi ſunt ad conveniendum & viſitandum Confeſſores bonos, quos illuſtravit jam glorioſis initiis divina dignatio; tamen caute hoc & non glomeratim nec per multitudinem ſimul junctam puto eſſe faciendum, ne ex hoc ipſo invidia concitetur, & introeundi aditus denegetur, & dum inſatiabiles multum volumus, totum perdamus; Conſulite ergo & providete ut cum temperamento hoc agi tutiùs poſſit. Ita ut Presbyteri quoque qui illic apud Confeſſores offerunt ſinguli cum ſingulis Diaconis per vices accernent, quia & mutatio perſonarum, & viciſſitudo convenientium minuit invidiam. Ep. 5.

poſtles who planted it, did themſelves rule as Biſhops over it, neither could they ſo well have kept things in order during their own times, but that Epiſcopal Authority was given them from above, to exerciſe far and wide over all other Guides and Paſtors of God's Church. The Church indeed for a time continued without Biſhops by reſtraint; every where eſtabliſhed in Chriſtian Cities. But ſhall we thereby conclude, that the Church hath no uſe of them, that without them it may ſtand and flouriſh? No, the cauſe wherefore they were ſo ſoon univerſally appointed was, for that it plainly appeared, that without them the Church could not have continued long. It was by the ſpecial Providence of God no doubt ſo diſpoſed, that the evil whereof this did ſerve for remedy might firſt be felt, and ſo the Reverend Authority of Biſhops be made by ſo much the more effectual, when our general experience had taught Men what it was for Churches to want them. Good Laws are never eſteemed ſo good, nor acknowledged ſo neceſſary, as when precedent Crimes are as Seeds out of which they grow. Epiſcopal Authority was even in a manner ſanctified unto the Church of Chriſt, by that little bitter experience which it firſt had of the peſtilent evil of Schiſms. Again, when this very thing was propoſed as a remedy, yet a more ſuſpicious and fearful acceptance it muſt needs have found, if the ſelf-ſame provident Wiſdom of Almighty God, had not alſo given before-hand ſufficient tryal thereof in the Regiment of *Jeruſalem*, a Mother-Church, which having received the ſame order even at the firſt, was by it moſt peaceably governed, when other Churches without it had trouble. So that by all means the neceſſary uſe of Epiſcopal Government is confirmed, yea ſtrengthened it is and ratified, even by the not-eſtabliſhment thereof in all Churches every where at the firſt. 2. When they further diſpute, *That if any ſuch thing were needful, Chriſt would in Scripture have ſet down paticular Statutes and Laws, appointing that Biſhops ſhould be made, and preſcribing in what order, even as the Law doth for all kind of Officers which were needful in the Jewiſh Regiment*; might not a Man, that would bend his wit to maintain the fury of the *Petrobruſian* Hereticks in pulling down Oratories, uſe the ſelf-ſame argument with as much countenance of reaſon? *If it were needful that we ſhould aſſemble our ſelves in Churches, would that God, which taught the Jews ſo exactly the frame of their ſumptuous Temple, leave us no particular inſtructions in writing, no not ſo much as which way to lay an one ſtone?* Surely ſuch kind of Argumentation doth not ſo ſtrengthen the ſinews of their cauſe, as weaken the credit of their Judgment which are led therewith. 3. And whereas Thirdly, in diſproof of that uſe which Epiſcopal Authority hath in Judgment of Spiritual Cauſes, they bring forth the verdict of *Cyprian*, who ſaith, *That equity requireth every Man's Cauſe to be heard, where the fault he was charged with was committed, foraſmuch as there they may have both Accuſers and Witneſſes in the Cauſe*: This Argument, grounding it-ſelf on Principles no leſs true in Civil than in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, unleſs it be qualified with ſome exceptions or limitations, over-turneth the higheſt Tribunal-Seats both in Church and Commonwealth, it taketh utterly away all appeals, it ſecretly condemneth even the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelf, as having tranſgreſſed the Law of Equity, by his appeal from the Court of *Judea* unto thoſe higher which were in *Rome*. The generality of ſuch kind of axioms deceiveth, unleſs it be conſtrued with ſuch cautions as the matter whereunto they are applicable doth require. An uſual and ordinary tranſportation of cauſes out of *Africa* into *Italy*, out of one Kingdom into another, as diſcontented Perſons liſt, which was the thing which *Cyprian* diſalloweth, may be unequal and unmeet; and yet not therefore a thing unneceſſary, to have the Courts erected in higher places, and judgment committed unto greater Perſons, to whom the meaner may bring their cauſes either by way of appeal or otherwiſe, to be determined according to the order of Juſtice; which hath been always obſerved every where in Civil States, and is no leſs requiſite alſo for the State of the Church of God. The Reaſons which teach it to be expedient for the one, will ſhew it to be for the other, at leaſtwiſe not unneceſſary. Inequality of Paſtors is an Ordinance both Divine and profitable: Their exceptions againſt it in theſe two reſpects we have ſhewed to be altogether cauſleſs, unreaſonable, and unjuſt.

Cypr. lib. 1. Ep. 3.

Acts. 25.

An Anſwer unto thoſe things which are objected concerning the difference between that power which Biſhops now have, and that which ancient Biſhops had more than other Presbyters.

XIV. The next thing which they upbraid us with, is the difference between that inequality of Paſtors which hath been of old, and which now is: For at length they grant, *That the ſuperiority of Biſhops and of Archbiſhops is ſomewhat ancient, but no ſuch kind of Superiority as ours have.* By the Laws of our Diſcipline a Biſhop may ordain without asking the Peoples conſent, a Biſhop may excommunicate and releaſe alone, a Biſhop may impriſon, a Biſhop may bear Civil Office in the Realm, a Biſhop may be a Councellor of State; theſe things ancient Biſhops neither did nor might do. Be it granted that ordinarily, neither in elections nor deprivations, neither in excommunicating nor in releaſing the excommunicate; in none of the weighty affairs of Government, Biſhops of old were wont to do any thing without conſultation with their Clergy, and conſent of the People under them. Be it granted, that the ſame Biſhops did neither touch any Man with corporal puniſhment, nor meddle with ſecular affairs and Offices, the whole Clergy of God being then tyed by the ſtrict and ſevere Canons of the Church, to uſe no other than ghoſtly power, to attend no other buſineſs than heavenly. *Tarquinius* was in the *Roman* Common-wealth deſervedly hated, of whoſe unorderly proceedings the Hiſtory ſpeaketh thus, *Hic Regum primus traditum à Prioribus morem de omnibus Senatum conſulendi ſolvit; domeſticis Conſiliis Rempub. adminiſtravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, ſocietates, per ſeipſum cum quibus voluit, injuſſu Populi ac Senatus, fecit diremitque.* Againſt Biſhops the like is objected, *That they are Invaders of*

Liv. lib. 1.

of other Men’s right, and by intolerable uſurpation take upon them to do that alone, wherein ancient Laws have appointed, that others, not they only, ſhould bear ſway. Let the Caſe of Biſhops be put, not in ſuch ſort as it is, but even as their very heavieſt Adverſaries would deviſe it: Suppoſe that Biſhops at the firſt had encroached upon the Church, that by ſleights and cunning practiſes they had appropriated Eccleſiaſtical, as *Auguſtus* did Imperial, power; that they had taken the advantage of Men’s inclinable affections, which did not ſuffer them for Revenues ſake to be ſuſpected of Ambition; that in the mean while their uſurpation had gone forward by certain eaſie and inſenſible degrees; that being not diſcerned in the growth, when it was thus far grown, as we now ſee it hath proceeded, the world at length perceiving there was juſt cauſe of complaint, but no place of remedy left, had aſſented unto it by a general ſecret agreement to bear it now as an helpleſs evil: All this ſuppoſed for certain and true, yet ſurely a thing of this nature, as for the Superior to do that alone, unto which of right the conſent of ſome other Inferiors ſhould have been required by them; though it had an indirect entrance at the firſt, muſt needs through continuance of ſo many ages as this hath ſtood be made now a thing more natural to the Church, than that it ſhould be oppreſt with the mention of contrary Orders worn ſo many ages ſince quite and clean out of ure. But with Biſhops the caſe is otherwiſe; for in doing that by themſelves, which others together with them have been accuſtomed to do, they do not any thing, but that whereunto they have been upon juſt occaſions authoriſed by orderly means. All things natural have in them naturally, more or leſs, the power of providing for their own ſafety: And, as each particular Man hath this power, ſo every Politick Society of Men muſt needs have the ſame, that thereby the whole may provide for the good of all parts therein. For other benefit we have not any, by ſorting our ſelves into Politick Societies, ſaving only that by this mean each part hath that relief, which the virtue of the whole is able to yield it. The Church therefore being a Politick Society or Body, cannot poſſibly want the power of providing for it-ſelf: And the chiefeſt part of that power conſiſteth in the Authority of making Laws. Now, foraſmuch as Corporations are perpetual, the Laws of the ancienter Church cannot chuſe but bind the latter, while they are in force. But we muſt note withal, that, becauſe the body of the Church continueth the ſame, it hath the ſame Authority ſtill, and may abrogate old Laws or make new, as need ſhall require. Wherefore vainly are the ancient Canons and Conſtitutions objected as Laws, when once they are either let ſecretly to dye by diſ-uſage, or are openly abrogated by contrary Laws. The Ancients had cauſe to do no otherwiſe than they did; and yet ſo ſtrictly they judged not themſelves in Conſcience bound to obſerve thoſe Orders, but that in ſundry caſes they eaſily diſpenſed therewith, which I ſuppoſe they would never have done, had they eſteemed them as things, whereunto everlaſting, immutable, and indiſpenſable obſervation did belong. The Biſhop uſually promoted none, which were not firſt allowed as fit, by conference had with the reſt of his Clergy and with the People: Notwithſtanding, in the caſe of *Aurelius* Saint *Cyprian* did otherwiſe. In matters of Deliberation and Counſel for diſpoſing of that, which belongeth generally to the whole body of the Church, or which being more particular is nevertheleſs of ſo great conſequence, that it needeth the force of many Judgments conferred; in ſuch things the common ſaying muſt neceſſarily take place, *An Eye cannot ſee that which Eyes can.* As for Clerical Ordinations, there are no ſuch reaſons alledged againſt the Order which is, but that it may be eſteemed as good in every reſpect, as that which hath been; and in ſome conſiderations better, at leaſtwiſe (which is ſufficient to our purpoſe) it may be held in the Church of Chriſt, without tranſgreſſing any Law, either Ancient or Late, Divine or Human, which we ought to obſerve and keep. The form of making Eccleſiaſtical Officers hath ſundry parts, neither are they all of equal moment. When Deacons having not been before in the Church of Chriſt, the Apoſtles ſaw it needful to have ſuch ordained: They, firſt, aſſemble the multitude, and ſhew them how needful it is that Deacons be made. Secondly, they name unto them what number they judge convenient, what quality the Men muſt be of, and to the People they commit the care of finding ſuch out. Thirdly, the People hereunto aſſenting make their choice of *Stephen* and the reſt, thoſe choſen Men they bring and preſent before the Apoſtles: Howbeit, all this doth not endue them with any Eccleſiaſtical Power. But when ſo much was done, the Apoſtles finding no cauſe to take exception did with Prayer and impoſition of Hands make them Deacons. This was it which gave them their very being, all other things beſides were only preparations unto this. Touching the form of making Presbyters, although it be not wholly of purpoſe any where ſet down in the Apoſtles Writings, yet ſundry ſpeeches there are, which inſinuate the chiefeſt things that belong unto that Action: As when *Paul* and *Barnabas* are ſaid to have faſted, prayed, and made Presbyters: When *Timothy* is willed to lay hands ſuddenly on no Man, for fear of participating with other Men’s ſins. For this cauſe the Order of the Primitive Church was, between Choice and Ordination to have ſome ſpace for ſuch Probation and Tryal as the Apoſtle doth mention in Deacons, ſaying, *Let them firſt be proved, and then miniſter, if ſo be they be found blameleſs.*

Alexander Severus beholding in his time how careful the Church of Chriſt was, eſpecially for this point; how, after the choice of their Paſtors, they uſed to publiſh the names of the Parties choſen, and not to give them the final act of Approbation, till they ſaw whether any let or impediment would be alledged; he gave Commandment, that the like ſhould alſo be done in his own Imperial Elections, adding this as a Reaſon wherefore he ſo required, namely, *For that both Chriſtians and Jews being ſo wary about the Ordination of their Prieſts, it ſeemed very unequal for him not to be in like ſort circumſpect, to whom be committed the Government of Provinces, containing Power over Men's both Eſtates and Lives.* This the Canon-Law it-ſelf doth provide for, requiring before Ordination ſcrutiny: *Let them diligently be examined three days together before the Sabbath, and on the Sabbath let them be preſented unto the Biſhop.* And even this in effect alſo is the very uſe of the Church of *England*, at all Solemn Ordaining of Miniſters; and if all Ordaining were Solemn, I muſt confeſs it were much the better. Deca quando Epiſ. ſect. Igitur.

The pretended diſorder of the Church of *England* is, that Biſhops ordain them, to whoſe Election the People give no voices, and ſo the Biſhops make them alone, that is to ſay, they give Ordination without Popular Election going before, which ancient Biſhops neither did nor might do. Now in very truth, if the multitude have hereunto a right, which right can never be tranſlated from them for any cauſe, then is there no remedy but we muſt yield, that unto the lawful making of Miniſters the voice of the People is required; and that, according to the Adverſe Parties Aſſertion, ſuch as make Miniſters without asking the Peoples conſent, do but exerciſe a certain Tyranny. Eccl. diſc.p.34.

At the firſt Erection of the Common-wealth of *Rome*, the People (for ſo it was then fitteſt) determined of all affairs: Afterwards, this growing troubleſome, their Senators did that for them, which themſelves before had done: In the end all came to one Man's hands, and the Emperor alone was inſtead of many Senators.

In theſe things the experience of time may breed both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical change from that which hath been before received, neither do latter things always violently exclude former, but the one growing leſs convenient than it hath been, giveth place to that which is now become more. That which was fit for the People themſelves to do at the firſt, might afterwards be more convenient for them to do by ſome other: Which other is not thereby proved a Tyrant, becauſe he alone doth that which a multitude were wont to do, unleſs by violence he take that Authority upon him, againſt the Order of Law, and without any publick appointment; as with us, if any did, it ſhould (I ſuppoſe) not long be ſafe for him ſo to do.

This Anſwer (I hope) will ſeem to be ſo much the more reaſonable, in that themſelves, who ſtand againſt us, have furniſh'd us therewith. For whereas againſt the making of Miniſters by Biſhops alone their uſe hath been to object, what ſway the People did bear when *Stephen* and the reſt were ordained Deacons: They begin to eſpy how their own Platform ſwerveth not a little from that example, wherewith they controul the practiſes of others. For, touching the form of the Peoples concurrence in that Action, they obſerve it not; no, they plainly profeſs, that they are not in this point bound to be followers of the Apoſtles. The Apoſtles Ordained whom the People had firſt choſen. They hold, that their Eccleſiaſtical Senate ought both to chuſe, and alſo to Ordain. Do not themſelves then take away that which the Apoſtles gave the People, namely, the priviledge of chuſing Eccleſiaſtical Officers? They do. But behold in what ſort they anſwer it.

By the ſixth and the fourteenth of the Acts (ſay they) *it doth appear, that the people had the chiefeſt power of chuſing. Howbeit that, as unto me it ſeemeth, was done upon ſpecial cauſe, which doth not ſo much concern us, neither ought it to be drawn unto the ordinary and perpetual form of governing the Church: For, as in eſtabliſhing Common-wealths, not only if they be popular, but even being ſuch as are ordered by the power of a few the chiefeſt, or as by the ſole Authority of one, till the ſame be eſtabliſhed, the whole ſway is in the Peoples hands, who voluntarily appoint thoſe Magiſtrates by whoſe Authority they may be governed; ſo that afterward not the multitude it-ſelf, but thoſe Magiſtrates which are choſen by the multitude, have the ordering of Publick Affairs: After the ſelf-ſame manner it fared in eſtabliſhing alſo the Church: When there was not as yet any placed over the People, all Authority was in them all; but when they all had choſen certain to whom the Regiment of the Church was committed, this power is not now any longer in the hands of the whole multitude, but wholly in theirs who are appointed Guides of the Church. Beſides, in the choice of Deacons there was alſo another ſpecial cauſe, wherefore the whole Church at that time ſhould chuſe them. For inaſmuch as the Grecians murmured againſt the Hebrews, and complained, that in the daily diſtribution which was made for relief of the poor, they were not indifferently reſpected, nor ſuch regard had of their Widows as was meet; this made it neceſſary, that they all ſhould have to deal in the choice of thoſe, unto whom that care was afterwards to be committed, to the end that all occaſion of jealouſies and complaints might be removed. Wherefore that which was done by the People for certain Cauſes, before the Church was fully ſettled, may not be drawn out, and applyed unto a conſtant and perpetual form of ordering the Church.* Eccl. Diſcipl. fol. 41.

Let them caſt the Diſcipline of the Church of *England* into the ſame ſcales where they weigh their own, let them give us the ſame meaſure which here they take, and our ſtrifes ſhall ſoon be brought to a quiet end. When they urge the Apoſtles as Precedents; when they condemn us of Tyranny, becauſe we do not, in making Miniſters, the ſame which the Apoſtles did; when they plead, *That with us one alone doth ordain, and that our Ordinations are without the Peoples knowledge, contrary to that example which the bleſſed Apoſtles gave*: We do not requeſt at their hands allowance as much as of one word we ſpeak in our own defence, if that which we ſpeak be of our own; but that which themſelves ſpeak, they muſt be content to liſten unto. To exempt themſelves from being over-far preſt with the Apoſtles example, they can anſwer, *That which was done by the People once upon ſpecia Cauſes, when the Church was not yet eſtabliſhed, is not to be made a rule for the conſtant an continual ordering of the Church.* In defence of their own Election, although they do no therein depend on the People ſo much as the Apoſtles in the choice of Deacons, they think it a very ſufficient Apology, that there were ſpecial conſiderations why Deacons at tha time ſhould be choſen by the whole Church, but not ſo now. In excuſe of diſſimilitude between their own and the Apoſtles Diſcipline, they are contentedto uſe this Anſwer, *Tha many things were done in the Apoſtles times, before the ſettling of the Church, which afterward the Church was not tyed to obſerve.* For countenance of their own proceedings, wherein their Governors do more than the Apoſtles, and their People leſs than under the Apoſtles the firſt Churches are found to have done at the making of Eccleſiaſtical Officers they deem it a marvellous-reaſonable kind of Pleading to ſay, *That even as in Commonwealths, when the multitude have once choſen many or one to rule over them, the right which was at the firſt in the whole body of the People, is now derived into thoſe many, or that one which is ſo choſen; and that this being done, it is not the whole multitude, to whom the adminiſtration of ſuch publick affairs any longer appertaineth, but that which they did, their Rulers may now do lawfully without them: After the ſelf-ſame manner it ſtandeth with the Church alſo.*

How eaſy and plain might we make our defence? How clear and allowable even unto them, if we could but obtain of them to admit the ſame things conſonant unto equity in our mouths, which they require to be ſo taken from their own? If that which is truth, being uttered in maintenance of *Scotland* and *Geneva*, do not ceaſe to be truth, when the Church of *England* once alledgeth it; this great crime of Tyranny, wherewith we are charged, hath a plain and eaſy defence? Yea, but we do not at all ask the Peoples approbation, which they do, whereby they ſhew themſelves more indifferent and more free from taking away the Peoples right. Indeed, when their Lay-Elders have choſen whom they think good, the Peoples conſent thereunto is asked, and, if they give their approbation, the thing ſtandeth warranted for ſound and good. But if not, is the former choice overthrown? No, but the People is to yield to reaſon; and, if they which have made the choice do ſo like the Peoples reaſon as to reverſe their own deed at the hearing of it, then a new election to be made; otherwiſe the former to ſtand, notwithſtanding the Peoples negative and diſlike. What is this elſe but to deal with the People, as thoſe Nurſes do with Infants, whoſe Mouths they beſmear with the backſide of the Spoon, as though they had fed them, when they themſelves devour the food. They cry in the ears of the People, that all Men's conſent ſhould be had unto that which concerns all; they make the People believe we wrong them, and deprive them of their right in making Miniſters, whereas with us the People have commonly far more ſway and force than with them. For inaſmuch as there are but two main things obſerved in every Eccleſiaſtical Function, Power to exerciſe the duty it-ſelf, and ſome charge of People whereon to exerciſe the ſame; the former of theſe is received at the hands of the whole, viſible, Catholick Church: For it is not any one particular multitude that can give power, the force whereof may reach far and wide indefinitely, as the power of Order doth, which whoſo hath once received, there is no action which belongeth thereunto, but he may exerciſe effectually the ſame in any part of the World without iterated Ordination. They whom the Church hath from the beginning uſed as her Agents in conferring this power, are not either one or more of the Laity, and therefore it hath not been heard of, that ever any ſuch were allowed to ordain Miniſters: Only Perſons Eccleſiaſtical, and they, in place of Calling, Superiors both unto Deacons, and unto Presbyters; only ſuch Perſons Eccleſiaſtical have been authoriſed to ordain both, and to give them the power of Order, in the name of the whole Church. Such were the Apoſtles, ſuch was *Timothy*, ſuch was *Titus*, ſuch are Biſhops. Not that there is between theſe no difference, but that they all agree in Pre-eminence of Place above both Presbyters and Deacons, whom they otherwiſe might not ordain. Now whereas hereupon ſome do infer, that no Ordination can ſtand, but only ſuch as is made by Biſhops, which have had their Ordination likewiſe by other Biſhops before them, till we come to the very Apoſtles of Chriſt themſelves. In which reſpect it was demanded of *Beza* at *Poiſſie*, *By what Authority he could adminiſter the holy Sacraments, being not thereunto ordained by any other than* Calvin, *or by ſuch as to whom the power of Ordination did not belong, according to the ancient Orders and Cuſtoms of the Church; ſith* Calvin, *and they who joyned with him in that action, were no Biſhops*: And *Athanaſius* maintaineth the fact of *Macarius* a Presbyter, which overthrew the holy Table, whereat one *Iſchyras* would have miniſtred the bleſſed Sacrament, having not been conſecrated thereunto by laying on of ſome Biſhops hands, according to the Eccleſiaſtical Canons; as alſo *Epiphanius* inveigheth ſharply againſt divers for doing the like, when they had not Epiſcopal Ordination. To this we anſwer, that there may be ſometimes very juſt and ſufficient reaſon to allow Ordination made without a Biſhop. The whole Church viſible being the true original ſubject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than Biſhops alone to ordain: Howbeit, as the ordinary courſe is ordinarily in all things to be obſerved, ſo it may be in ſome caſes not unneceſſary that we decline from the ordinary ways. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two ways admitted unto Spiritual Functions in the Church. One is, when God himſelf doth of himſelf

Eccl. Diſcip. p. 41.

Neque enim fas erat aut licebat ut inferior ordinaret majorem. *Comment. q. Ambroſ. tribuuntur, in* 1 Tim. 3.

Ἐπισκοπῆς χειροθεσίαν.

ſelf raiſe up any, whoſe labour he uſeth without requiring that Men ſhould Authoriſe them: But then he doth ratifie their Calling by manifeſt ſigns and tokens himſelf from Heaven. And thus even ſuch as believed not our Saviour's teaching, did yet acknowledge him a lawful Teacher ſent from God: *Thou art a Teacher ſent from God, otherwiſe none could do thoſe things which thou doſt.* *Luther* did but reaſonably therefore, in declaring that the Senate of *Mulheuſe* ſhould do well to ask of *Muncer*, from whence he received power to teach? Who it was that had called him? And if his anſwer were, that God had given him his Charge, then to require at his hands ſome evident ſign thereof for Men's ſatisfaction; becauſe ſo God is wont, when he himſelf is the Author of any extraordinary Calling. Another extraordinary kind of Vocation is, when the exigence of neceſſity doth conſtrain to leave the uſual ways of the Church, which otherwiſe we would willingly keep: Where the Church muſt needs have ſome ordained, and neither hath, nor can have poſſibly a Biſhop to ordain; in caſe of ſuch neceſſity, the ordinary Inſtitution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give place. And therefore we are not, ſimply without exception, to urge a lineal deſcent of power from the Apoſtles by continued ſucceſſion of Biſhops in every effectual Ordination. Theſe caſes of inevitable neceſſity excepted, none may ordain but only Biſhops: By the impoſition of their hands it is, that the Church giveth power of Order, both unto Presbyters and Deacons. Now, when that power ſo received is once to have any certain Subject whereon it may work, and whereunto it is to be tyed, *here cometh in the Peoples conſent, and not before.* The power of Order I may lawfully receive, without asking leave of any multitude; but that power I cannot exerciſe upon any one certain People utterly againſt their wills: Neither is there in the Church of *England* any Man, by order of Law, poſſeſſed with Paſtoral charge over any Pariſh, but the People in effect do chuſe him thereunto. For, albeit they chuſe not by giving every Man perſonally his particular voice, yet can they not ſay, that they have their Paſtors violently obtruded upon them, in as much as their ancient and original intereſt therein hath been by orderly means derived into the Patron who chuſeth for them. And if any Man be deſirous to know how Patrons came to have ſuch intereſt, we are to conſider, that at the firſt erection of Churches it ſeemed but reaſonable in the eyes of the whole Chriſtian World, to paſs that right to them and their Succeſſors, on whoſe ſoyl, and at whoſe charge the ſame were founded. This all Men gladly and willingly did, both in honour of ſo great Piety, and for encouragement of many others unto the like, who peradventure elſe would have been as ſlow to erect Churches, or to endow them, as we are forward both to ſpoil them and to pull them down.

Its no true aſſertion therefore, in ſuch ſort as the pretended Reformers mean it, *That all Miniſters of God's Word ought to be made by conſent of many, that is to ſay, by the Peoples ſuffrages; that ancient Biſhops neither did nor might ordain otherwiſe; and that ours do herein uſurp a far greater power than was, or than lawfully could have been granted unto Biſhops which were of old.* Furthermore, as touching Spiritual Juriſdiction, our Biſhops, they ſay, do that which of all things is moſt intolerable, and which the ancient never did, *Our Biſhops excommunicate and releaſe alone, whereas the Cenſures of the Church neither ought, nor were wont to be adminiſtred otherwiſe, than by conſent of many.* Their meaning here when they ſpeak of many, is not as before it was: When they hold that Miniſters ſhould be made with conſent of many, they underſtand by *Many*, the Multitude, or Common People; but in requiring that many ſhould evermore join with the Biſhop in the adminiſtration of Church-cenſures, they mean by Many, a few Lay-Elders, choſen out of the reſt of the People to that purpoſe. This, they ſay, is ratified by ancient Councils, by ancient Biſhops this was practiſed. And the reaſon hereof, as *Beza* ſuppoſeth, was, *Becauſe if the power of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures did belong unto any one, there would this great inconvenience follow; Eccleſiaſtical Regiment ſhould be changed into meer Tyranny, or elſe into a Civil Royalty: Therefore no one, either Biſhop or Presbyter, ſhould or can alone exerciſe that Power, but with his Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory he ought to do it, as may appear by the old Diſcipline.*

Concil. Carthag.4.c. 23. Cypr. l.3. Ep. 10. &14. l.2. Ep. 8.

And is it poſſible, that one ſo grave and judicious ſhould think it in earneſt Tyranny for a Biſhop to excommunicate, whom Law and Order hath authoriſed ſo to do? or be perſwaded, that Eccleſiaſtical Regiment degenerateth into Civil Regality, when one is allowed to do that which hath been at any time the deed of more? Surely, far meaner-witted Men than the World accounteth Mr. *Beza*, do eaſily perceive, that Tyranny is Power violently exerciſed againſt Order, againſt Law; and that the difference of theſe two Regiments, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, conſiſteth in the matter about which the actions of each are converſant; and not in this, that Civil Royalty admitteth but one, Eccleſiaſtical Government requireth many Supreme Corectors. Which Allegation, were it true, would prove no more than only, that ſome certain number is neceſſary for the aſſiſtance of the Biſhop: But that a number of ſuch as they do require is neceſſary, how doth it prove? Wherefore albeit Biſhops ſhould now do the very ſame which the Ancients did, uſing the Colledge of Presbyters under them as their Aſſiſtants, when they adminiſter Church-cenſures, yet ſhould they ſtill ſwerve utterly from that which theſe Men ſo buſily labour for, becauſe the Agents whom they require to aſſiſt in thoſe Caſes, are a ſort of Lay-Elders, ſuch as no ancient Biſhop ever was aſſiſted with.

Shall theſe fruitleſs jars and janglings never ceaſe? Shall we never ſee end of them? How much happier were the World if thoſe eager Task-maſters, whoſe eyes are ſo curious and ſharp in diſcerning what ſhould be done by many, and what by few, were all changed into painful doers of that, which every good Chriſtian Man ought either only or chiefly to do, and to be found therein doing, when that great and glorious Judge of all Men's both deeds and words ſhall appear ? In the mean while , be it One that hath this charge, or be they Many that be his Aſſiſtants , let there be careful Proviſion that Juſtice may be adminiſtred , and in this ſhall our God be glorified more than by ſuch contentious Diſputes.

Concerning the Civil power and authority which our Biſhops have.

Jer. 29. 26.

XV. Of which Nature that alſo is, wherein Biſhops are, over and beſides all this, accuſed *to have much more exceſſive power than the ancient, in as much as unto their Eccleſiaſtical authority the Civil Magiſtrate, for the better repreſſing of ſuch as contemn Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, hath for divers ages annexed Civil. The crime of Biſhops herein is divided into theſe two ſeveral branches, the one that in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical they ſtrike with the ſword of Secular puniſhments ; the other, that Offices are granted them, by virtue whereof they meddle with Civil affairs.* Touching the one, it reacheth no farther than only unto reſtraint of liberty by impriſonment (which yet is not done but by the Laws of the Land, and by Virtue of Authority derived from the Prince.) A thing which being allowable in Prieſts amongſt the Jews, muſt needs have received ſome ſtrange alteration in nature ſince, if it be now ſo pernicious and venomous to be coupled with a Spiritual Vocation in any Man, which beareth Office in the Church of Chriſt. *Shemaiah* writing to the Colledge of Prieſts which were in *Jeruſalem,* and to *Zephaniah* the principal of them, told them they were appointed of *God, that they might be Officers in the Houſe of the Lord, for every Man which raved, and did make himſelf a Prophet,* to the end that they might by the force of this their authority *put ſuch in Priſon, and in the Stocks.* His malice is reproved, for that he provoketh them to ſhew their power againſt the innocent. But ſurely, when any Man juſtly puniſhable had been brought before them, it could be no unjuſt thing for them even in ſuch ſort then to have puniſhed. As for Offices, by virtue whereof Biſhops have to deal in Civil Affairs, we muſt conſider that Civil Affairs are of divers kinds ; and as they be not all fit for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to meddle with, ſo neither is it neceſſary, nor at this day haply convenient, that from medling with any ſuch thing at all they all ſhould without exception be ſecluded. I will therefore ſet down ſome few caſes, wherein it cannot but clearly appear unto reaſonable Men, that Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Functions may be lawfully united in one and the ſame Perſon.

1 Cor. 6.

Vide Barnab. Briſſon. antiq. Jur.l.40.c. 16.

Aug de oper. Monarch. c. 29.

First therefore, in caſe a Chriſtian Society be planted amongſt their profeſſed Enemies, or by toleration do live under ſome certain State whereinto they are not incorporated, whom ſhall we judge the meeteſt Men to have the hearing and determining of ſuch meer civil Controverſies as are every day wont to grow between Man and Man? Such being the ſtate of the Church of *Corinth,* the Apoſtle giveth them this direction, *Dare any of you, having buſineſs againſt another, be judged by the unjuſt, and not under Saints ? Do ye not know that the Saints ſhall judge the World ? If the World then ſhall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the ſmalleſt matters ? Know ye not that we ſhall judge the Angels ? How much more things that appertain to this life ? If then ye have judgment of things pertaining to this life, ſet up them which are leaſt eſteemed in the Church. I ſpeak it to your ſhame ; Is it ſo, that there is not a wiſe Man amongſt you ? no not one that can judge between his Brethren, but a Brother goeth to law with a Brother, and that under the Infidels ? Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, becauſe ye go to Law one with another ; Why rather ſuffer ye not wrong, why rather ſuſtain ye not harm ?* In which Speech there are theſe degrees ; Better to ſuffer and to put up Injuries, than to contend ; better to end contention by Arbitrement, than by Judgment ; better by Judgment before the wiſeſt of their own, than before the ſimpler ; better before the ſimpleſt of their own, than the wiſeſt of them without: So that if judgment of Secular affairs ſhould be committed unto wiſe Men, unto Men of chiefeſt Credit and Account amongſt them, when the Paſtors of their Souls are ſuch, Who more fit to be alſo their Judges for the ending of ſtrifes ? The wiſeſt in things divine, may be alſo in things human the moſt skilful. At leaſtwiſe they are by likelyhood commonly more able to know right from wrong than the common un-lettered ſort. And what St. *Auguſtin* did hereby gather, his own words do ſufficiently ſhow. *I call God to witneſs upon my Soul,* ſaith he, *that according to the Order which is kept in well ordered Monaſteries, I could wiſh to have every day my hours of labouring with my hands, my hours of reading and of praying, rather than to endure theſe moſt tumultuous perplexities of other Men's cauſes, which I am forced to bear while I travel in Secular buſineſſes, either by judging to diſcuſs them, or to cut them off by intreaty: Unto which toyles that Apoſtle, who himſelf ſuſtained them not, for any thing we read, hath notwithſtanding tyed us not of his own accord, but being thereunto directed by that Spirit which ſpeaks in him. His own Apoſtleſhip, which drew him to travel up and down, ſuffered him not to be any where ſettled for this purpoſe, wherefore the wiſe, faithful and holy Men which were ſeated here and there, and not them which travelled up and down to preach, he made Examiners of ſuch buſineſſes. Whereupon of him it is no where written, that he had leiſure to attend theſe things, from which we cannot excuſe our ſelves although we be ſimple ; becauſe even ſuch he requireth, if wiſe Men cannot be had, rather than that the affairs of Chriſtians ſhould be brought into publick judgment. Howbeit, not without comfort in our Lord are theſe travels undertaken by us, for the hopes ſake of eternal life, to the end that with patience we may reap fruit.* So far is Saint *Auguſtin* from thinking it unlawful for Paſtors in ſuch ſort to judge Civil Cauſes, that he plainly collecteth out of the Apoſtles words a neceſſity to undertake that duty ; yea himſelf he comforteth with the hope of a bleſſed reward, in lieu of travel that way ſuſtained.

Again, even where whole Chriſtian Kingdoms are, how troubleſome were it for U-
verſities, and other greater Collegiate Societies, erected to ſerve as Nurſeries unto the
hurch of Chriſt , if every thing which civilly doth concern them were to be carried
om their own peculiar Governours, becauſe for the moſt part they are (as fitteſt it is
ey ſhould be) Perſons of Eccleſiaſtical Calling ? It was by the wiſdom of our famous
redeceſſors foreſeen how unfit this would be, and hereupon provided by grant of ſpecial
harters, that it might be, as now it is in the Univerſities; where their Vice-Chancellors,
eing for the moſt part Profeſſors of Divinity, are nevertheleſs Civil Judges over them in
e moſt of their ordinary Cauſes.

And to go yet ſome degrees further, A thing impoſſible it is not, neither altogether
nuſual, for ſome who are of the Royal Blood to be conſecrated unto the Miniſtry of Jeſus
hriſt, and ſo to be Nurſes of God's Church, not only as the Prophet did fore-tell, but
lſo as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* was. Now in caſe the Crown ſhould by this mean deſcend
nto ſuch Perſons, perhaps when they are the very laſt, or perhaps the very beſt of their
ace, ſo that a greater benefit they are not able to beſtow upon a Kingdom, than by ac-
epting their right therein ; ſhall the ſanctity of their Order deprive them of that honour
hereunto they have right by blood ? Or ſhall it be a bar to ſhut out the publick good
at may grow by their Virtuous Regiment? If not, then muſt they caſt off the Office which
ey received by Divine Impoſition of Hands ; or, if they carry a more religious opinion
oncerning that heavenly Function, it followeth, that being inveſted as well with one as
e other, they remain God's lawfully anointed both ways. With Men of skill and mature
dgment there is of this ſo little doubt, that concerning ſuch as at this day are under the
rchbiſhops of *Ments*, *Colen*, and *Trevers*, being both Archbiſhops and Princes of the
mpire ; yea, ſuch as live within the Popes own Civil Territories, there is no cauſe why
y ſhould deny to yield them civil obedience in any thing which they command, not re-
ugnant to Chriſtian Piety ; yea, even that civilly, for ſuch as are under them, not to obey
em, were the part of ſeditious Perſons : Howbeit, for Perſons Eccleſiaſtical thus to ex-
rciſe Civil Dominion of their own, is more than when they only ſuſtain ſome Publick Of-
ce, or deal in ſome buſineſs Civil, being thereunto even by Supream Authority required.
s Nature doth not any thing in vain, ſo neither Grace: Wherefore, if it pleaſe God to
leſs ſome Principal Attendants on his own Sanctuary, and to endue them with extraordi-
ary parts of excellency , ſome in one kind , ſome in another , ſurely a great deroga-
on it were to the very honour of him who beſtowed ſo precious Graces, except they
whom he hath beſtowed them ſhould accordingly be imployed , that the fruit of
oſe Heavenly Gifts might extend it-ſelf unto the Body of the Common-wealth wherein
ey live ; which being of purpoſe inſtituted (for ſo all Common-wealths are) to the end,
at all might enjoy whatſoever good it pleaſeth the Almighty to endue each one with,
uſt needs ſuffer loſs, when it hath not the gain which eminent civil ability in Eccleſiaſti-
l Perſons is now and then found apt to afford. Shall we then diſcommend the People of
ilan for uſing *Ambroſe* their Biſhop as an Ambaſſadour about their Publick and Politick
ffairs ; the Jews for electing their Prieſts ſometimes to be Leaders in War ; *David* for
aking the High-Prieſt his Chiefeſt Counſellor of State ; Finally, all Chriſtian Kings and
inces which have appointed unto like ſervices, Biſhops, or other of the Clergy under them ?
o, they have done in this reſpect that which moſt ſincere and religious wiſdom alloweth.
either is it allowable only, when either a kind of neceſſity doth caſt Civil Offices upon
em, or when they are thereunto preferred in regard of ſome extraordinary fitneſs ; but
rther alſo, when there are even of right annexed unto ſome of their places, or of courſe
npoſed upon certain of their Perſons, Functions of Dignity and Account in the Common-
ealth ; albeit no other conſideration be had therein ſave this, that their credit and coun-
enance may by ſuch means be augmented. A thing, if ever to be reſpected, ſurely moſt
f all now, when God himſelf is for his own ſake generally no where honoured, Religion
lmoſt no where, no where religiouſly adored, the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments of
hriſt a very cauſe of diſgrace in the eyes both of high and low, where it hath not ſome-
hat beſides it-ſelf to be countenanced with. For unto this very paſs things are come, that
e glory of God is conſtrained even to ſtand upon borrowed credit, which yet were ſome-
hat the more tolerable, if there were not that diſſwade to lend it him. No practiſe ſo vile,
ut pretended Holineſs is made ſometimes a Cloak to hide it.

The French King *Philip Valois* in his time made an Ordinance, that all Prelates and Bi-
hops ſhould be clean excluded from Parliaments, where the Affairs of the Kingdom were
andled ; pretending that a King, with good Conſcience, cannot draw Paſtors, having
ure of Souls, from ſo weighty a buſineſs, to trouble their Heads with Conſultations of
tate. But irreligious intents are not able to hide themſelves, no not when Holineſs is made
heir Cloak. This is plain and ſimple Truth, that the counſels of wicked Men hate al-
ays the preſence of them, whoſe Virtue, though it ſhould not be able to prevail againſt
heir purpoſes, would notwithſtanding be unto their minds a ſecret corroſive ; and there-
ore, till either by one ſhift or other they can bring all things to their own hands alone,
hey are not ſecure. Ordinances holier and better there ſtand as yet in force by the
race of Almighty God , and the works of his Providence, among us. Let not Envy
o far prevail, as to make u account that a Blemiſh, which, if there be in us any ſpark of
ound Judgment or of religious Conſcience, we muſt of neceſſity acknowledge to be one

of the chiefest Ornaments unto this Land: By the ancient Laws whereof, the Clergy b ing held for the chief of those Three Estates, which together make up the entire Body o this Common-wealth, under one Supreme Head and Governor; it hath all this time ev born a sway proportionable in the weighty Affairs of the Land, wise and virtuous Kin condescending most willingly thereunto, even of reverence to the Most High; with t Flower of whose sanctified Inheritance, as it were with a kind of Divine Presence, unle their Chiefest Civil Assemblies were so far forth beautified as might be without any not ble impediment unto their Heavenly Functions, they could not satisfy themselves as havin shewed towards God an Affection most dutiful.

Thus, first, in defect of the Civil Magistrate; Secondly, for the ease and quietness Scholastical Societies; Thirdly, by way of Political necessity; Fourthly, in regard quality, care, and extraordinancy; Fifthly, For countenance unto the Ministry; An lastly, even of Devotion and Reverence towards God himself, there may be admitted a leastwise in some Particulars well and lawfully enough a conjunction of Civil and Ecclesia stical Power, except there be some such Law or Reason to the contrary as may prove it t be a thing simply in it-self naught.

Against it many things are objected, as first, *That the matters which are noted in the hol Scripture to have belonged unto the ordinary Office of any Minister of God's holy Word and Sa craments, are these which follow, with such like, and no other; namely, The watch of the San ctuary, the business of God, the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, Oversight of the Hous of God, Watching over his Flock, Prophesie, Prayer, Dispensations of the Mysteries of God Charge and Care of Men's Souls.* If a Man would shew what the Offices and Duties of a Chirurgion or Physician are; I suppose it were not his part, so much as to mention any thing belonging to the one or the other, in case either should be also a Soldier or a Merchant, or an House-keeper, or a Magistrate; Because the Functions of these are different from those of the former, albeit one and the same Man may haply be both. The Case is like, when the Scripture teacheth what Duties are required in an Ecclesiastical Minister; in describing of whose Office, to touch any other thing than such as properly and directly toucheth his Office that way, were impertinent.

Yea, *But in the Old Testament the two Powers Civil and Ecclesiastical were distinguished, not only in Nature, but also in Person: the one committed unto* Moses, *and the Magistrates joined with him; the other to* Aaron, *and his Sons.* Jehosaphat *in his Reformation doth not only distinguish Causes Ecclesiastical from Civil, and erecteth divers Courts for them, but appointeth also divers Judges.* With the Jews these two Powers were not so distinguished, but that sometimes they might and did concur in one and the same Person. Was not *Ely* both Priest and Judge? After their return from captivity, *Esdras* a Priest, and the same their Chief Governor even in Civil Affairs also? These Men which urge the necessity of making always a Personal distinction of the two Powers, as if by *Jehosaphat's* Example the same Person ought not to deal in both Causes, yet not so scrupulous to make Men of Civil Place and Calling, Presbyters and Ministers of Spiritual Jurisdiction in their own Spiritual Consistories.

If it be against the Jewish Precedents for us to give Civil Power unto such as have Ecclesiastical; is it not as much against the same for them to give Ecclesiastical Power unto such as have Civil? They will answer perhaps, that their Position is only against conjunction of Ecclesiastical Power of Order, and the Power of Civil Jurisdiction in one Person. But this Answer will not stand with their Proofs, which make no less against the Power of Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in one Person; for of these two Powers *Jehosaphat's* Example is: Besides, the contrary example of *Heli* and of *Ezra*, by us alledged, do plainly shew, that, amongst the Jews, even the power of Order Ecclesiastical, and Civil Jurisdiction, were sometimes lawfully united in one and the same Person. Pressed further we are with our Lord and Saviour's example, who *denyeth his Kingdom to be of this World, and therefore as not standing with his Calling refused to be made a King, to give sentence in a criminal Cause of Adultery, and in a Civil of dividing an Inheritance.*

The Jews, imagining that their Messiah should be a Potent Monarch upon Earth, no marvel, though when they did otherwise wonder at Christ's greatness, they sought forthwith to have him invested with that kind of Dignity, to the end he might presently begin to reign. Others of the Jews, which likewise had the same imagination of the Messiah, and did somewhat incline to think that peradventure this might be He, thought good to try whether he would take upon him that which he might do, being a King, such as they supposed their true Messiah should be. But Christ refused to be a King over them, because it was no part of the Office of their Messiah, as they did falsely conceive; and to intermeddle in those Acts of Civil Judgment he refused also, because he had no such Jurisdiction in that Common-wealth, being, in regard of his Civil Person, a Man of mean and low Calling. As for repugnancy between Ecclesiastical and Civil Power, or any inconvenience that these two Powers should be united, it doth not appear, that this was the cause of his resistance either to reign or else to judge.

2 Tim. 2. 4. What say we then to the blessed Apostles, who teach, *That Soldiers intangle not themselves with the businesses of this life, but leave them, to the end they may please him who hath chosen them to serve; and that so the good Soldiers of Christ ought to do.*

The Apostles which taught this, did never take upon them any Place or Office of Civil

Power. No; they gave over the Eccleſiaſtical care of the Poor, that they might wholly attend upon the Word and Prayer. St. *Paul* indeed doth exhort *Timothy* after this manner, *Suffer thou evil as a noble Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt: No Man warring is entangled with the affairs of Life, becauſe he muſt ſerve ſuch as have preſſed him unto Warfare.* The ſenſe and meaning whereof is plain, that Soldiers may not be nice and tender, that they muſt be able to endure hardneſs, that no Man betaking himſelf unto Wars continueth entangled with ſuch kind of Buſineſſes, as tend only unto the eaſe and quiet felicity of this Life; but if the ſervice of him who hath taken them under his Banner, require the hazard, yea, the loſs of their Lives, to pleaſe him; they muſt be content and willing with any difficulty, any peril, be it never ſo much againſt the natural deſire which they have to live in ſafety. And at this point the Clergy of God muſt always ſtand; thus it behoveth them to be affected as oft as their Lord and Captain leadeth them into the field, whatſoever conflicts, perils, or evils they are to endure. Which duty being not ſuch, but that therewith the Civil Dignities, which Eccleſiaſtical Perſons among us do enjoy, may well enough ſtand, the Exhortation of *Paul* to *Timothy* is but a ſlender Allegation againſt them. As well might we gather out of this place, that Men having Children or Wives are not fit to be Miniſters (which alſo hath been collected, and that by ſundry of the Ancients) and that it is requiſite the Clergy be utterly forbidden Marriage: For, as the burthen of Civil Regiment doth make them who bear it the leſs able to attend their Eccleſiaſtical Charge, even ſo Saint *Paul* doth ſay, that the Married are careful for the World, the unmarried freer to give themſelves wholly to the ſervice of God. Howbeit, both experience hath found it ſafer, that the Clergy ſhould bear the cares of honeſt Marriage, than be ſubject to the incoveniences which ſingle life, impoſed upon them, would draw after it: And as many as are of ſound judgment know it to be far better for this preſent age, that the detriment be borne, which haply may grow through the leſſening of ſome few Men's Spiritual Labours, than that the Clergy and Common-wealth ſhould lack the benefit, which both the one and the other may reap through their dealing in Civil Affairs. In which conſideration, that Men conſecrated unto the Spiritual Service of God be licenſed ſo far forth to meddle with the Secular Affairs of the World, as doth ſeem for ſome ſpecial good cauſe requiſite, and may be without any grievous prejudice unto the Church; ſurely, there is not in the Apoſtles words, being rightly underſtood, any let. That no Apoſtle did ever bear Office, may it not be a wonder, conſidering the great devotion of the Age wherein they lived, and the zeal of *Herod*, of *Nero* the great Commander of the known World, and of other Kings of the Earth, at that time to advance by all means Chriſtian Religion? Their deriving unto others that ſmaller charge of diſtributing of the Goods which were laid at their feet, and of making proviſion for the poor, which charge, being in part Civil, themſelves had before (as I ſuppoſe, lawfully) undertaken, and their following of that which was weightier, may ſerve as a marvellous-good example, for the dividing of one Man's Office into divers ſlips, and the ſubordinating of Inferiors to diſcharge ſome part of the ſame, when, by reaſon of multitude increaſing, that labour waxeth great and troubleſome, which before was eaſie and light; but very ſmall force it hath to infer a perpetual divorce between Eccleſiaſtical and Civil power in the ſame Perſons. The moſt that can be ſaid in this Caſe is, *That ſundry eminent Canons, bearing the name of Apoſtolical, and divers Councils likewiſe there are, which have forbidden the Clergy to bear any Secular Office; and have enjoyned them to attend altogether upon Reading, Preaching, and Prayer: Whereupon the moſt of the ancient Fathers have ſhewed great diſlike, that theſe two Powers ſhould be united in one Perſon.*

Convenit hujuſmodi eligi & ordinari Sacerdotes, quibus nec liberi ſunt nec nepotes. Etenim fieri vix poteſt, ut vacans hujus vitæ quotidianæ curis quas liberi creant parentibus maximè, omne ſtudium omnemque cogitationem circa divinam liturgiam & res Eccleſiaſticas conſumat. lib. 42. ſect. 1. C. de Epiſc. & Cler.

For a full and final Anſwer whereunto, I would firſt demand, whether commenſion and ſeparation of theſe two Powers be a matter of meer poſitive Law, or elſe a thing ſimply with or againſt the Law immutable of God and Nature? That which is ſimply againſt this latter Law, can at no time be allowable in any Perſon, more than Adultery, Blaſphemy, Sacriledge, and the like. But conjunction of Power Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, what Law is there which hath not at ſome time or other allowed as a thing convenient and meet? In the Law of God we have examples ſundry, whereby it doth moſt manifeſtly appear, how of him the ſame hath oftentime been approved. No Kingdom or Nation in the World, but hath been thereunto accuſtomed without inconvenience and hurt. In the prime of the World, Kings and Civil Rulers were Prieſts for the moſt part all. The (*a*) *Romans* note it as a thing beneficial in their own Common-wealth, and even to (*b*) them apparently forcible for the ſtrengthening of the Jews Regiment, under *Moſes* and *Samuel*. I deny not, but ſometime there may be, and hath been perhaps juſt cauſe to ordain otherwiſe. Wherefore we are not to urge thoſe things, which heretofore have been either ordered or done, as thereby to prejudice thoſe Orders, which, upon contrary occaſion and the exigence of the preſent time, by like authority have been eſtabliſhed. For, what is there which doth let, but that from

---

(*a*) Cum multa divinitus, Pontifices, à majoribus noſtris inventa atque inſtituta ſunt, tum nihil præclarius quam quod vos eoſdem & Religionibus Deorum immortalium, & ſummæ Reipub. præeſſe voluerunt. *Cic. pro domo ſua ad Pontif.* (*b*) Honor Sacerdotii firmamentum potentiæ aſſumebatur. *Tacit. hiſt. lib.* 5. He ſheweth the reaſon wherefore their Rulers were alſo Prieſts. The joyning of theſe two Powers, as now, ſo then likewiſe profitable for the Publick State, but in reſpect clean oppoſite and contrary. For, whereas then Divine things being more eſteemed, were uſed as helps for the countenance of Secular Power; the Caſe in theſe latter ages is turned upſide down, Earth hath now brought Heaven under foot, and in the courſe of the World, hath of the two the greater credit. Prieſthood was then a ſtrengthening to Kings, which now is forced to take ſtrength and credit from far meaner degrees of Civil Authority. Hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eoſdem Reges & Sacerdotes haberent, quorum Juſtitia religioni permixta incredibile quantum evaluere. *Juſt. hiſt. l.* 39. *Lib.* 41. *ſect.* 22. *C. de Epiſc.*

contrary occaſions contrary Laws may grow, and each be reaſoned and diſputed for by ſuch as are ſubject thereunto, during the time they are in force; and yet neither ſo oppoſite to other, but that both may laudably continue, as long as the ages which keep them do ſee no neceſſary cauſe which may draw them unto alteration? Wherefore in theſe things, Canons, Conſtitutions, and Laws, which have been at one time meet, do not prove that the Church ſhould always be bound to follow them. Eccleſiaſtical Perſons were by ancient Order forbidden to be Executors of any Man's Teſtament, or to undertake the Wardſhip of Children. Biſhops, by the Imperial Law, are forbidden to bequeath by Teſtament, or otherwiſe to alienate, any thing grown unto them after they were made Biſhops. Is there no remedy but that theſe, or the like Orders, muſt therefore every where ſtill be obſerved? The reaſon is not always evident, why former Orders have been repealed, and other eſtabliſhed in their room: Herein therefore we muſt remember the axiom uſed in the Civil Laws, *That the Prince is always preſumed to do that with reaſon, which is not againſt reaſon being done, although no reaſon of his deed be expreſt.* Which being in every reſpect as true of the Church, and her Divine Authority in making Laws, it ſhould be ſome bridle unto thoſe malepert and proud ſpirits, whoſe wits not conceiving the reaſon of Laws that are eſtabliſhed, they adore their own private fancy, as the ſupreme Law of all, and accordingly take upon them to judge that whereby they ſhould be judged. But why labour we thus in vain? For even to change that which now is, and to eſtabliſh inſtead thereof that which themſelves would acknowledge the very ſelf-ſame which hath been, to what purpoſe were it, ſith they proteſt, *That they utterly condemn as well that which hath been, as that which is; as well the ancient, as the preſent Superiority, Authority, and Power of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*?

T.C. l.1. p. 126.

The Arguments anſwered, whereby they would prove that the Law of God, and the Judgment of the beſt in all ages, condemneth the ruling Superiority of one Miniſter over another. *T.C.l.1.p.22.*

XVI. Now where they laſtly alledge, *That the Law of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the judgment of the beſt in all ages, condemn all ruling Superiority of Miniſters over Miniſters;* they are in this, as in the reſt, more bold to affirm, than able to prove the things which they bring for Support of their weak and feeble Cauſe. *The bearing of Dominion, or the exerciſing of Authority* (they ſay) *is that wherein the Civil Magiſtrate is ſevered from the Eccleſiaſtical Officer, according to the words of our Lord and Saviour,* Kings of Nations bear rule over them, but it ſhall not be ſo with you: *Therefore bearing of Dominion doth not agree to one Miniſter over another.* This place hath been, and ſtill is, although falſly, yet with far greater ſhew and likelihood of truth, brought forth by the Anabaptiſts, to prove that the Church of Chriſt ought to have no Civil Magiſtrates, but be ordered only by Chriſt. Wherefore they urge the oppoſition between Heathens, and them unto whom our Saviour ſpeaketh. For, ſith the Apoſtles were oppoſite to Heathens, not in that they were Apoſtles, but in that they were Chriſtians; the Anabaptiſts inference is, *That Chriſt doth here give a Law, to be for ever obſerved by all true Chriſtian Men, between whom and Heathens there muſt be always this difference, that whereas Heathens have their Kings and Princes to rule, Chriſtians ought not in this thing to be like unto them.* Wherein their conſtruction hath the more ſhew, becauſe that which Chriſt doth ſpeak to his Apoſtles, is not found always agreeable unto them as Apoſtles, or as Paſtors of Men's Souls, but oftentimes it toucheth them in generality, as they are Chriſtians; ſo that Chriſtianity being common unto them with all Believers, ſuch ſpeeches muſt be ſo taken, that they may be applied unto all, and not only unto them. They which conſent with us, in rejecting ſuch collections as the Anabaptiſt maketh with more probability, muſt give us leave to reject ſuch as themſelves have made with leſs: For a great deal leſs likely it is, that our Lord ſhould here eſtabliſh an everlaſting difference, not between his Church and Pagans, but between the Paſtors of his Church and Civil Governors. For if herein they muſt always differ, that the one may not bear rule, the other may; How did the Apoſtles themſelves obſerve this difference, the exerciſe of whoſe Authority, both in commanding and in controuling others, the Scripture hath made ſo manifeſt, that no gloſs can over-ſhadow it? Again, it being, as they would have it, our Saviour's purpoſe to withhold his Apoſtles, and in them all other Paſtors, from bearing rule, why ſhould Kingly Dominion be mentioned, which occaſions Men to gather, that not all Dominion and Rule, but this one only form was prohibited, and that Authority was permitted them, ſo it were not Regal? Furthermore, in caſe it had been his purpoſe to withhold Paſtors altogether from bearing Rule, why ſhould Kings of Nations be mentioned, as if they were not forbidden to exerciſe, no not Regal Dominion it-ſelf, but only ſuch Regal Dominion as Heathen Kings do exerciſe? The very truth is, our Lord and Saviour did aim at a far other mark than theſe Men ſeem to obſerve. The end of his ſpeech was to reform their particular miſ-perſwaſion to whom he ſpake: And their miſ-perſwaſion was, that which was alſo the common fancy of the Jews at that time, that their Lord being the Meſſias of the World ſhould reſtore unto *Iſrael* that Kingdom, whereof the *Romans* had as then bereaved them; they imagined that he ſhould not only deliver the State of *Iſrael*, but himſelf reign as King in the Throne of *David*, with all Secular Pomp and Dignity; that he ſhould ſubdue the reſt of the World, and make *Jeruſalem* the Seat of an Univerſal Monarchy. Seeing therefore they had forſaken all to follow him, being now in ſo mean condition, they did not think, but that together with him they alſo ſhould riſe in ſtate, that they ſhould be the firſt and the moſt advanced by him.

Of this conceit it came, that the Mother of the Sons of *Zebedee* ſued for her Childrens preferment; and of this conceit it grew, that the Apoſtles began to queſtion amongſt themſelves

ſelves which of them ſhould be greateſt. And, in controulment of this conceit it was, that our Lord ſo plainly told them, *that the thoughts of their hearts were vain.* The Kings of Nations have indeed their large and ample Dominions, they reign far and wide, and their Servants they advance unto honour in the World, they beſtow upon them large and ample Secular Preferments, in which reſpect they are alſo termed many of them Benefactors, becauſe of the liberal hand which they uſe in rewarding ſuch as have done them ſervice: But was it the meaning of the ancient Prophets of God, that the Meſſias the King of *Iſrael* ſhould be like unto theſe Kings, and his retinue grow in ſuch ſort as theirs? Wherefore ye are not to look for at my hands ſuch Preferment as Kings of Nations are wont to beſtow upon their Attendants, *With you not ſo.* Your Reward in Heaven ſhall be moſt ample, on Earth your Chiefeſt Honour muſt be to ſuffer Perſecution for Righteouſneſs ſake; Submiſſion, Humiliation and Meekneſs are things fitter for you to inure your Minds withal, than theſe aſpiring Cogitations; if any amongſt you be greater than other, let him ſhew himſelf greateſt in being lowlieſt; let him be above them in being under them, even as a Servant for their good. Theſe are Affections which you muſt put on; as for degrees of Preferment and Honour in this World, if ye expect any ſuch thing at my hands, ye deceive your ſelves, for in the World your Portion is rather the clear contrary. Wherefore they who alledge this Place againſt Epiſcopal Authority abuſe it, they many ways deprave and wreſt it, clear from the true underſtanding wherein our Saviour himſelf did utter it.

For firſt, whereas he by way of meer Negation had ſaid, *With you it ſhall not be ſo,* foretelling them only that it ſhould not ſo come to paſs, as they vainly ſurmiſed: Theſe Men take his words in a plain nature of a Prohibition, as if Chriſt had thereby forbidden all inequality of Eccleſiaſtical Power. Secondly, whereas he did but cut off their idle hope of Secular Advancements, all Standing Superiority amongſt Perſons Eccleſiaſtical theſe Men would raſe off with the edge of his ſpeech. Thirdly, whereas he in abating their hope even of Secular Advancements ſpake but only with relation unto himſelf, informing them that he would be no ſuch munificent Lord unto them in their Temporal Dignity and Honour, as they did erroneouſly ſuppoſe; ſo that any Apoſtle might afterwards have grown by means of others to be even Emperor of *Rome,* for any thing in thoſe words to the contrary; theſe Men removing quite and clean the hedge of all ſuch reſtraints, enlarge ſo far the bounds of his meaning, as if his very preciſe intent and purpoſe had been not to reform the error of his Apoſtles, conceived as touching him, and to teach what himſelf would not be towards them, but to preſcribe a ſpecial Law both to them and their Succeſſors for ever, a Law determining what they ſhould not be in relation of one to another, a Law forbidding that any ſuch Title ſhould be given to any Miniſter as might import or argue in him a Superiority over other Miniſters. Being thus defeated of that ſuccour which they thought their cauſe might have had out of the words of our Saviour Chriſt, they try their adventure in ſeeking what aid Man's teſtimony will yield them: Cyprian *objecteth it to* Florentinus *as a proud thing, that by believing evil report, and miſ-judging of* Cyprian, *he made himſelf Biſhop of a Biſhop, and Judge over him, whom God had for the time appointed to be Judge,* lib. 4. Ep. 9, *The endeavour of godly Men to ſtrike at theſe inſolent names may appear in the Council of* Carthage, *where it was decreed, that the Biſhop of the Chief See ſhould not be entituled the Exarch of Prieſts, or the higheſt Prieſt, or any other thing of like ſenſe, but only the Biſhop of the chiefeſt See; whereby are ſhut out the name of Archbiſhop, and all other ſuch haughty titles.* In theſe Allegations it fareth, as in broken reports ſnatched out of the Author's mouth, and broached before they be half either told on the one part, or on the other underſtood. The matter which *Cyprian* complaineth of in *Florentinus* was thus: *Novatus* miſliking the eaſineſs of *Cyprian* to admit Men into the fellowſhip of Believers, after they had fallen away from the bold and conſtant Confeſſion of Chriſtian Faith, took thereby occaſion to ſeparate himſelf from the Church; and being united with certain excommunicate perſons, they joined their wits together, and drew out againſt *Cyprian* their lawful Biſhop ſundry grievous accuſations; the crimes ſuch, as being true had made him uncapable of that Office whereof he was ſix years as then poſſeſſed; they went to *Rome,* and to other places, accuſing him every where as guilty of thoſe faults, of which themſelves had lewdly condemned him, pretending that twenty-five *African* Biſhops (a thing moſt falſe) had heard and examined his Cauſe in a Solemn Aſſembly, and that they all had given their Sentence againſt him, holding his Election by the Canons of the Church void. The ſame factious and ſeditious Perſons coming alſo unto *Florentinus,* who was at that time a Man impriſoned for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, but yet a favourer of the error of *Novatus,* their malicious accuſations he over-willingly hearkned unto, gave them credit, concurred with them, and unto *Cyprian* in fine wrote his Letters againſt *Cyprian*: Which Letters he juſtly taketh in marvellous evil part, and therefore ſeverely controuleth his ſo great preſumption, in making himſelf a Judge of a Judge, and, as it were, a Biſhop's Biſhop, to receive accuſations againſt him, as one that had been his Ordinary. *What height of pride is this,* ſaith *Cyprian, what arrogancy of ſpirit, what a puffing up of mind, to call Guides and Prieſts to be examined and ſifted before him? So that unleſs we ſhall be cleared in your Court, and abſolved by your ſentence, behold for theſe ſix years ſpace, neither ſhall the Brotherhood have had a Biſhop, nor the People a Guide, nor the Flock a Shepherd, nor the Church a Governor, nor Chriſt a Prelate, nor God a Prieſt.* This is the pride which *Cyprian* condemneth in *Florentinus,* and not the title or name of Archbiſhop; about

T.C. l.1.p.10.
Pag. 95.

Ὥστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἔξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα ἢ τοιουτότροπόν τί ποτε ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας. Can. 39.

about which matter there was not at that time ſo much as the dream of any controverſy at all between them. A ſilly collection it is, that becauſe *Cyprian* reproveth *Florentinus* for lightneſs of belief, and preſumptuous raſhneſs of judgment, therefore he held the title of Archbiſhop to be a vain and a proud name. Archbiſhops were chief amongſt Biſhops, yet Archbiſhops had not over Biſhops that full Authotity which every Biſhop had over his own particular Clergy: Biſhops were not ſubject unto their Archbiſhop as an Ordinary, by whom at all times they were to be judged, according to the manner of inferior Paſtors, within the compaſs of each Dioceſs. A Biſhop might ſuſpend, excommunicate, depoſe ſuch as were of his own Clergy, without any other Biſhops Aſſiſtants; not ſo an Archbiſhop the Biſhops that were in his own Province, above whom divers Prerogatives were given him, howbeit no ſuch Authority and Power, as alone to be judge over them: For as a Biſhop could not be ordained, ſo neither might he be judged by any one only Biſhop, albeit that Biſhop were his Metropolitan: Wherefore *Cyprian*, concerning the liberty and freedom which every Biſhop had, ſpake in the Council of *Carthage*, whereat fourſcore and ſeven Biſhops were preſent, ſaying, *It reſteth that every of us declare, what we think of this matter, neither judging nor ſevering from the right of Communion, any that ſhall think otherwiſe: For of us there is not any which maketh himſelf a Biſhop of Biſhops, or with Tyrannical fear conſtraineth his Collegues unto the neceſſity of obedience, inaſmuch as every Biſhop, according to the reach of his liberty and power, hath his own free judgment, and can have no more another his Judge, than himſelf be Judge to another.* Whereby it appeareth, that amongſt the *African* Biſhops none did uſe ſuch Authority over any, as the Biſhop of *Rome* did afterwards claim over all, forcing upon them opinions by main and abſolute Power. Wherefore unto the Biſhop of *Rome* the ſame *Cyprian* alſo writeth concerning his Opinion about Baptiſm: *Theſe things we preſent unto your Conſcience, moſt dear Brother, as well for common honours ſake, as of ſingle and ſincere love, truſting that as you are truly your ſelf Religious and Faithful, ſo thoſe things which agree with Religion and Faith, will be acceptable unto you: Howbeit we know, that what ſome have over-drunk in, they will not let go, neither eaſily change their mind, but with care of preſerving whole amongſt their Brethren the bond of peace and concord, retaining ſtill to themſelves certain their own Opinions wherewith they have been inured: Wherein we neither uſe force, nor preſcribe a Law unto any, knowing, that in the Government of the Church every Ruler hath his own voluntary free judgment, and of that which he doth ſhall render unto the Lord himſelf an account.* As for the Council of *Carthage*, doth not the very firſt Canon thereof eſtabliſh with moſt effectual terms, all things which were before agreed on in the Council of *Nice*? And, that the Council of *Nice* did ratifie the pre-eminence of Metropolitan Biſhops, who is ignorant? The name of an Archbiſhop importeth only, a Biſhop having chiefty of certain Prerogatives above his Brethren of the ſame Order. Which thing, ſince the Council of *Nice* doth allow, it cannot be that the other of *Carthage* ſhould condemn it, inaſmuch as this doth yield unto that a Chriſtian unreſtrained approbation.

Concil. Carthag. de hær. baptizandis.

Lib. 2. Ep. 1.

Ὥςε, τὰ ἐν τῇ Νικαέων συνόδῳ ὁρισθέντα, παντὶ τρόπῳ παραφυλαχθήσεται.

The thing provided for by the Synod of *Carthage*, can be no other therefore, than only that the chiefeſt Metropolitan, where many Archbiſhops were within any greater Province, ſhould not be termed by thoſe names, as to import the power of an ordinary Juriſdiction, belonging in ſuch degree and manner unto him over the reſt of the Biſhops and Archbiſhops, as did belong unto every Biſhop over other Paſtors under him. But much more abſurd it is to affirm, that both *Cyprian* and the Council of *Carthage* condemn even ſuch Superiority alſo of Biſhops themſelves over Paſtors their Inferiors, as the words of *Ignatius* imply in terming the Biſhop, *A Prince of Prieſts*. Biſhops to be termed Arch-Prieſts, in regard of their Superiority over Prieſts, is in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers a thing ſo uſual and familiar, as almoſt no one thing more. At the Council of *Nice*, ſaith *Theodoret*, three-hundred and eighteen Arch-Prieſts were preſent. Were it the meaning of the Council of *Carthage*, that the Title of Chief-Prieſt, and ſuch like, ought not in any ſort at all to be given unto any Chriſtian Biſhop, what excuſe would we make for ſo many Ancient, both Fathers, and Synods of Fathers, as have generally applyed the Title of Arch-Prieſt unto every Biſhop's Office? High time I think it is, to give over the obſtinate defence of this moſt miſerable, forſaken Cauſe; in the favour whereof, neither God, nor, amongſt ſo many wiſe and virtuous Men as Antiquity hath brought forth, any one can be found to have hitherto directly ſpoken. Irkſome confuſion muſt of neceſſity be the end, whereunto all ſuch vain and ungrounded confidence doth bring, as hath nothing to bear it out, but only an exceſſive meaſure of bold and peremptory words, holpen by the ſtart of a little time, before they came to be examined. In the Writings of the ancient Fathers there is not any thing with more ſerious aſſeveration inculcated, than that it is God which maketh Biſhops, that their Authority hath Divine allowance, that the Biſhop is the Prieſt of God, that he is Judge in Chriſt's ſtead, that, according to God's own Law, the whole Chriſtian Fraternity ſtandeth bound to obey him. Of this there was not in the Chriſtian World of old any doubt or controverſie made; it was a thing univerſally every where agreed upon. What ſhould move Men to judge that now ſo unlawful and naught, which then was ſo reverently eſteemed? Surely no other cauſe but this, Men were in thoſe times meek, lowly, tractable, willing to live in dutiful awe and ſubjection unto the Paſtors of their Souls: Now, we imagine our ſelves ſo able every Man to teach and direct all others, that none of us can brook it to have Superiors; and, for a maſk to hide our Pride, we pretend falſly the Law of Chriſt, as if we did ſeek the execution of his will, when in truth we labour for the meer ſatisfaction of our own againſt his.

T.C.l.1.p. 113.

Theod. Hiſt. Eccleſ.l.1.c.7. ἀρχιερεῖς. Hieronymus contra Lucifer. Salutem Eccleſiæ pendere dicit à ſummi Sacerdotis dignitate, id eſt, Epiſcopi. Idem eſt in Hieronymo ſummus Sacerdos quod ἄκρος ἱερεὺς in Carthaginenſi Concilio. Vide C. omnes 38 diſt. Item C. Pontifices 12. q. 3. Item C. De his, De conſeq. diſt. 5.

XVII. The chiefeſt cauſe of diſdain and murmur againſt Biſhops in the Church of *England*, is, that evil-affected eye wherewith the World looked upon them, ſince the time that irreligious Prophaneneſs beholding the due and juſt advancements of God's Clergy, hath under pretence of enmity unto Ambition and Pride, proceeded ſo far, that the contumely of old offered unto *Aaron* in the like quarrel, may ſeem very moderate and quiet dealing, if we compare it with the fury of our own times. The ground and original of both their proceedings, one and the ſame; in Declaration of their Grievances they differ not; the Complaints as well of the one as the other are, *Wherefore lift ye up your ſelves thus far above the Congregation of the Lord? It is too much which you take upon you, too much Power, and too much Honour.* Wherefore, as we have ſhewed, that there is not in their Power any thing unjuſt or unlawful, ſo it reſteth that in their Honour alſo the like be done. The labour we take unto this purpoſe is by ſo much the harder, in that we are forced to wreſtle with the ſtream of obſtinate Affection, mightily carried by a wilful prejudice, the Dominion whereof is ſo powerful over them in whom it reigneth, that it giveth them no leave, no not ſo much as patiently to hearken unto any ſpeech which doth not profeſs to feed them in this their bitter humour. Notwithſtanding, for as much as I am perſwaded, that againſt God they will not ſtrive, if they perceive once that in truth it is he againſt whom they open their mouths, my hope is their own confeſſion will be at the length, *Behold we have done exceeding fooliſhly, it was the Lord, and we knew it not, Him in his Miniſters we have deſpiſed, we have in their honour impugned his.* But the alteration of Men's hearts muſt be His good and gracious work, whoſe moſt omnipotent power framed them. Wherefore to come to our preſent purpoſe, Honour is no where due, ſaving only unto ſuch as have in them that whereby they are found, or at the leaſt preſumed, voluntarily beneficial unto them of whom they are honoured. Whereſoever nature ſeeth the countenance of a Man, it ſtill preſumeth that there is in him a mind willing to do good, if need require, inaſmuch as by nature ſo it ſhould be; for which cauſe Men unto Men do honour, even for very Humanity ſake. And unto whom we deny all honour, we ſeem plainly to take from them all opinion of Human Dignity, to make no account or reckoning of them, to think them ſo utterly without virtue, as if no good thing in the world could be looked for at their hands. Seeing therefore it ſeemeth hard, that we ſhould ſo hardly think of any Man, the Precept of St. *Peter* is, *Honour all Men.* Which duty of every Man towards all, doth vary according to the ſeveral degrees whereby they are more and leſs beneficial, whom we do honour. *Honour thy Phyſician,* ſaith the Wiſeman. The reaſon why, becauſe for neceſſities ſake, God created him. Again, *Thou ſhalt riſe up before the hoary head, and honour the perſon of the Aged.* The reaſon why, becauſe the younger ſort have great benefit by their gravity, experience and wiſdon, for which cauſe, theſe things the Wiſe-man termeth the Crown or Diadem of the Aged. Honour is due to Parents: The reaſon why, becauſe we have our beginning from them; *Obey the Father that hath begotten thee, the Mother that bare thee deſpiſe thou not.* Honour due unto Kings and Governors: The reaſon why, becauſe God hath ſet them *for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* Thus we ſee by every of theſe particulars, that there is always ſome kind of virtue beneficial, wherein they excel, who receive honour; and that degrees of Honour are diſtinguiſhed, according to the value of thoſe effects which the ſame beneficial virtue doth produce.

The ſecond main thing wherein the ſtate of Biſhops ſuffereth obloquy is their Honour.

Numb. 16. 3.

1 Pet. 2. 17.

Ecclus. 38. 1.

Levit. 19. 32.

Ecclus. 25. 6.

Prov. 23. 22.

1 Pet. 2. 14.

Nor is honour only an inward eſtimation, whereby they are reverenced, and well thought of in the minds of Men; but Honour, whereof we now ſpeak, is defined to be an External ſign, by which we give a ſenſible teſtification, that we acknowledge the beneficial virtue of others. *Sarah* honoured her Husband *Abraham*; this appeareth by the Title ſhe gave him. The Brethren of *Joſeph* did him honour in the Land of *Egypt*; their lowly and humble geſture ſheweth it. Parents will hardly perſwade themſelves that this intentional Honour, which reacheth no farther than to the Inward conception only, is the Honour which their Children owe them.

Pſal. 72. 15.

Touching that Honour which, myſtically agreeing unto Chriſt, was yielded literally and really unto *Solomon*; the words of the Pſalmiſt concerning it are, *Unto him they ſhall give of the Gold of Sheba, they ſhall pray for him continually, and daily bleſs him.* Weigh theſe things in themſelves, Titles, Geſtures, Preſents, other the like external ſigns wherein Honour doth conſiſt, and they are matters of no great moment. Howbeit, take them away, let them ceaſe to be required, and they are not things of ſmall importance, which that ſurceaſe were likely to draw after it. Let the Lord Mayor of *London*, or any other unto whoſe Office Honour belongeth, be deprived but of that Title which in it-ſelf is a matter of nothing; and ſuppoſe we that it would be a ſmall maim unto the credit, force, and countenance of his Office? It hath not without the ſingular wiſdom of God been provided, that the ordinary outward tokens of Honour ſhould for the moſt part be in themſelves things of mean account; for to the end they might eaſily follow as faithful teſtimonies of that beneficial virtue whereunto they are due, it behoved them to be of ſuch nature, that to himſelf no Man might over-eagerly challenge them, without bluſhing; nor any Man where they are due withhold them, but with manifeſt appearance of too great malice or pride. Now, foraſmuch as according to the Ancient Orders and Cuſtoms of this Land, as of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*, and of all Chriſtian Kingdoms through the World, the next in degree of Honour unto the Chief Soveraign, are, the Chief Prelates of God's Church; what the reaſon hereof may be, it reſteth next to be enquired.

What good doth publickly grow from the Prelacy.

XVIII. Other reaſon there is not any, wherefore ſuch Honour hath been judged due, ſaving only that publick good which the Prelates of God's Clergy are Authors of: For I would know which of theſe things it is whereof we make any queſtion, either that the favour of God is the chiefeſt Pillar to bear up Kingdoms and States; or, that true Religion publickly exerciſed, is the principal mean to retain the favour of God; or, that the Prelates of the Church are they, without whom the exerciſe of true Religion cannot well and long continue. If theſe three be granted, then cannot the publick benefit of Prelacy be diſſembled. And of the firſt or ſecond of theſe, I look nor for any profeſt denial: The World at this will bluſh, not to grant at the leaſtwiſe in word as much as (*a*) Heathens themſelves have of old with moſt earneſt aſſeveration acknowledged, concerning the force of Divine Grace in upholding Kingdoms. Again, though his mercy doth ſo far ſtrive with Mens ingratitude, that all kind of Publick iniquities deſerving his indignation, their ſafety is, through his gracious Providence, many times nevertheleſs continued, to the end that amendment might, if it were poſſible, avert their Envy: ſo that as well Common-wealths, as particular Perſons, both may and do endure much longer, when they are careful, as they ſhould be, to uſe the moſt effectual means of procuring his favour, on whom their continuance principally dependeth: Yet this point no Man will ſtand to argue, no Man will, openly arm himſelf to enter into ſet Diſputation againſt the Emperors *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian*, for making unto their Laws concerning Religion, this Preface, (*b*) *Decere arbitramur noſtrum Imperium, ſubditos noſtros de Religione commonefacere. Ita enim & pleniorem acquiri Dei ac Salvatoris noſtri Ieſu Chriſti benignitatem poſſibile eſſe exiſtimamus, ſi quando & nos pro viribus ipſi placere ſtuduerimus, & noſtros ſubditos ad eam rem inſtituerimus*: Or againſt the Emperor *Juſtinian*, for that he alſo maketh the like Profeſſion, (*c*) *Per Sanctiſſimas Eccleſias & noſtrum Imperium ſuſtineri, & communes res clementiſſimi Dei gratia muniri, credimus.* And in another place, (*d*) *Certiſſimè credimus, quia Sacerdotum puritas & decus, & ad Dominum Deum ac Salvatorem noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum fervor, & ab ipſis miſſæ perpetuæ preces, multum favorem noſtræ Reipublicæ & incrementum præbent.*

(*a*) Quis eſt tam vecors, qui aut cum ſuſpexerit in cœlum Deos eſſe non ſentiat, & ea quæ tanta mente fiunt ut vix quiſquam arte ulla ordinem rerum ac viciſſitudinem perſequi poſſit, caſu fieri putet; aut, cum Deos eſſe intellexerit, non intelligat eorum numine hoc tantum Imperium eſſe natum & auctum & retentum? *Cic. Orat. de haruſ. reſp.*

(*b*) *Tit.* 1. *l.* 3. *C. de ſumma trinit.*

(*c*) L. 3. *C de Epiſc. & Cler.*

(*d*) L. 34. *C. de Epiſc. audiend.*

Wherefore only the laſt point is that which Men will boldly require us to prove; for no Man feareth now to make it a queſtion, *Whether the Prelacy of the Church be any thing available or no, to effect the good and long continuance of true Religion?* Amongſt the principal Bleſſings wherewith God enriched *Iſrael*, the Prophet in the *Pſalm* acknowledgeth, eſpecially this for one, *Thou didſt lead thy People like Sheep by the hands of* Moſes *and* Aaron. That which Sheep are, if Paſtors be wanting; the ſame are the People of God, if ſo be they want Governors: And that which the principal Civil Governors are, in compariſon of Regents under them; the ſame are the Prelates of the Church, being compared with the reſt of God's Clergy.

Pſal. 77. 20.

Wherefore inaſmuch as amongſt the Jews, the benefit of Civil Government grew principally from *Moſes*, he being their Principal Civil Governor; even ſo the benefit of Spiritual Regiment grew from *Aaron* principally, he being in the other kind of their principal Rector, although even herein ſubject to the Soveraign Dominion of *Moſes*. For which cauſe theſe two alone are named as the Heads and Well-ſprings of all. As for the good which others did in ſervice either of the Common-wealth, or of the Sanctuary, the chiefeſt glory thereof did belong to the chiefeſt Governors of the one ſort, and of the other, whoſe vigilant care and overſight kept them in their due Order. Biſhops are now as High-Prieſts were then, in regard of power over other Prieſts, and in reſpect of ſubjection unto High-Prieſts: What Prieſts were then, the ſame now Presbyters are, by way of their place under Biſhops: The ones Authority therefore being ſo profitable, how ſhould the others be thought unneceſſary. Is there any Man profeſſing Chriſtian Religion, which holdeth it not as a Maxim, that the Church of Jeſus Chriſt did reap a ſingular benefit by Apoſtolical Regiment, not only for other reſpects, but even in regard of that Prelacy, whereby they had and exerciſed Power of Juriſdiction over lower Guides of the Church? Prelates are herein the Apoſtles Succeſſors, as hath been proved.

Qui Sacerdotes in veteri teſtamento vocabantur, hi ſunt qui nunc Preſbyteri appellantur: & qui tunc Princeps Sacerdotum, nunc Epiſcopus vocatur. *Raba. Maur.* de Inſtit. Cler. l. 3. c. 6.

Thus we ſee that Prelacy muſt needs be acknowledged exceedingly beneficial in the Church: And yet for more perſpicuity's ſake, it ſhall not be pains ſuperfluouſly taken, if the manner how be alſo declared at large. For this one thing, not underſtood by the vulgar ſort, cauſeth all contempt to be offered unto higher Powers, not only Eccleſiaſtical, but Civil: whom when proud Men have diſgraced, and are therefore reproved by ſuch as carry ſome dutiful affection of mind, the uſual Apologies which they make for themſelves, are theſe: *What more virtue in theſe Great ones, than in others? We ſee no ſuch eminent good which they do above other Men.* We grant indeed, that the good which Higher Governors do, is not ſo immediate and near unto every of us, as many times the meaner labours of others under them, and this doth make it to be leſs eſteemed.

But we muſt note, that it is in this Caſe, as in a Ship; he that ſitteth at the Stern is quiet, he moveth not, he ſeemeth in a manner to do little or nothing, in compariſon of them that ſweat about other toil, yet that which he doth is in value and force more than all the labours of the reſidue laid together. The influence of the Heavens above worketh infinitely more to our good, and yet appeareth not half ſo ſenſible as the force doth of things below. We conſider not what it is which we reap by the Authority of our Chiefeſt Spiritual Governors, nor are likely to enter into any conſideration thereof, till we want them, and that is the cauſe why they are at our hands ſo unthankfully rewarded. Authority is a conſtraining Power;

which Power were needleſs, if we were all ſuch as we ſhould be willing to do the things we ought to do without conſtraint. But, becauſe generally we are otherwiſe, therefore we all reap ſingular benefit by that Authority which permitteth no Men, though they would, to ſlack their duty. It doth not ſuffice that the Lord of an Houſhold appoint Labourers what they ſhould do, unleſs he ſet over them ſome chief Workman to ſee they do it. Conſtitutions and Canons made for the ordering of Church Affairs, are dead Taſk-maſters. The due execution of Laws Spiritual dependeth moſt upon the vigilant care of the Chiefeſt Spiritual Governors, whoſe charge is to ſee that ſuch Laws be kept by the Clergy and People under them: With thoſe Duties which the Law of God, and the Eccleſiaſtical Canons require in the Clergy, Lay-Governors, are neither for the moſt part ſo well acquainted, nor ſo deeply and nearly touched. Requiſite therefore it is, that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons have Authority in ſuch things. Which kind of Authority maketh them that have it Prelates. If then it be a thing confeſt, as by all good Men it needs muſt be, to have Prayers read in all Churches, to have the Sacraments of God adminiſtred, to have the Myſteries of Salvation painfully taught, to have God every where devoutly worſhipped, and all this perpetually, and with quietneſs, bringeth unto the whole Church, and unto every Member thereof, ineſtimable good; how can that Authority, which hath been proved the Ordinance of God for preſervation of theſe duties in the Church, how can it chooſe but deſerve to be held a thing publickly moſt beneficial? It were to be wiſhed, and is to be laboured for, as much as can be, that they who are ſet in ſuch Rooms, may be furniſhed with honourable Qualities and Graces, every way fit for their calling: But, be they otherwiſe, howſoever ſo long as they are in Authority, all Men reap ſome good by them, albeit not ſo much good, as if they were abler Men. There is not any amongſt us all, but is a great deal more apt to exact another Man's duty, than the beſt of us is to diſcharge exactly his own; and therefore Prelates, although neglecting many ways their duty unto God and Men, do notwithſtanding by their Authority great good, in that they keep others at the leaſtwiſe in ſome awe under them.

It is our duty therefore in this conſideration, to honour them that rule as Prelates; which Office if they diſcharge well, the Apoſtles own verdict is, that the honour they have they be worthy of, yea, though it were double: 1 Tim. 5. 17. And if their Government be otherwiſe, the judgment of ſage Men hath ever been this, that albeit the dealings of Governors be culpable, yet honourable they muſt be, in reſpect of that Authority by which they govern. Great caution muſt be uſed, that we neither be emboldned to follow them in evil, whom for Authorities ſake we honour; nor induced in Authority to diſhonour them, whom as examples we may not follow. In a word, not to diſlike ſin, though it ſhould be in the higheſt, were unrighteous meekneſs; and proud righteouſneſs it is to contemn or diſhonour Highneſs, though it ſhould be in the ſinfulleſt Men that live. But ſo hard it is to obtain at our hands, eſpecially as now things ſtand, the yielding of Honour to whom Honour in this caſe belongeth, Rom. 13. 7. that by a brief Declaration only, what the duties of Men are towards the principal Guides and Paſtors of their Souls, we cannot greatly hope to prevail, partly for the malice of their open Adverſaries, and partly for the cunning of ſuch as in a ſacrilegious intent work their diſhonour under covert, by more myſtical and ſecret means. Wherefore requiſite, and in a manner neceſſary it is, that by particular inſtances we make it even palpably manifeſt, what ſingular benefit and uſe publick the nature of Prelates is apt to yield.

Firſt, no Man doubteth but that unto the happy condition of Common-wealths, it is a principal help and furtherance, when in the eye of Foreign States, their eſtimation and credit is great. In which reſpect, the Lord himſelf commending his own Laws unto his People, mentioneth this as a thing not meanly to be accounted of, that their careful obedience yieldeth thereunto, ſhould purchaſe them a great good opinion abroad, and make them every where famous for wiſdom. Deut. 4. 9. Fame and reputation groweth eſpecially by the virtue, not of common ordinary perſons, but of them which are in each eſtate moſt eminent, by occaſion of their higher Place and Calling. The mean Man's actions, be they good or evil, they reach not far, they are not greatly enquired into, except perhaps by ſuch as dwell at the next door; whereas Men of more ample dignity, are as Cities on the tops of Hills, their lives are viewed afar off; Mat. 5. 13. ſo that the more there are which obſerve aloof what they do, the greater glory by their well-doing they purchaſe, both unto God whom they ſerve, and to the State wherein they live. Wherefore if the Clergy be a beautifying unto the body of this Common-wealth in the eyes of Foreign beholders; and if in the Clergy, the Prelacy be moſt expoſed unto the World's eye, what publick benefit doth grow from that Order, in regard of reputation thereby gotten to the Land from abroad, we may ſoon conjecture. Amongſt the Jews (their Kings excepted,) who ſo renowned throughout the World, as their High-Prieſt? who ſo much, or ſo often ſpoken of as their Prelates?

2. Which Order is not for the preſent only the moſt in ſight, but for that very cauſe alſo the moſt commended unto Poſterity: For if we ſearch thoſe Records wherein there hath deſcended from age to age, whatſoever notice and intelligence we have of thoſe things which were before us, is there any thing almoſt elſe, ſurely not any thing ſo much kept in memory, as the ſucceſſions, doings, ſufferings, and affairs of Prelates. So that either there is not any publick uſe of that light which the Church doth receive from Antiquity; or if this be abſurd to think, then muſt we neceſſarily acknowledge our ſelves beholden more unto Prelates,

lates, than unto others their Inferiors, for that good of direction which Eccleſiaſtical actions recorded do always bring.

3. But to call home our cogitations, and more inwardly to weigh with our ſelves, what principal commodity that Order yieldeth, or at leaſtwiſe is of its own diſpoſition and nature apt to yield; Kings and Princes, partly for information of their own conſciences, partly for inſtruction what they have to do in a number of moſt weighty affairs, intangled with the cauſe of Religion, having, as all Men know, ſo uſual occaſion of often conſultations and conferences with their Clergy; ſuppoſe we, that no publick detriment would follow, upon the want of honourable Perſonages Eccleſiaſtical to be uſed in thoſe Caſes? It will be haply ſaid, *That the higheſt might learn to ſtoop, and not to diſdain the advice of ſome circumſpect, wiſe, and virtuous Miniſter of God, albeit the Miniſtery were not by ſuch degrees diſtinguiſhed.* What Princes in that caſe might or ſhould do, it is not material. Such difference being preſuppoſed therefore, as we have proved already to have been the Ordinance of God, there is no judicious Man will ever make any queſtion or doubt, but that fit and direct it is, for the higheſt and chiefeſt Order in God's Clergy, to be imployed before others, about ſo near and neceſſary Offices as the ſacred eſtate of the greateſt on earth doth require. For this cauſe *Joſhua* had *Eliazer*; *David*, *Abiathar*; *Conſtantine*, *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*; other Emperors and Kings their Prelates, by whom in private (for with Princes this is the moſt effectual way of doing good) to be admoniſhed, counſelled, comforted, and, if need were, reproved.

Whenſoever Soveraign Rulers are willing to admit theſe ſo neceſſary private conferences for their Spiritual and ghoſtly good, inaſmuch as they do for the time while they take advice, grant a kind of Superiority unto them of whom they receive it, albeit haply they can be contented, even ſo far to bend to the graveſt and chiefeſt Perſons in the Order of God's Clergy, yet this of the very beſt being rarely and hardly obtained, now that there are whoſe greater and higher Callings do ſomewhat more proportion them unto that ample conceit and ſpirit, wherewith the mind of ſo powerable Perſons are poſſeſſed; what ſhould we look for in caſe God himſelf not authoriſing any by miraculous means, as of old he did his Prophets, the equal meaneſs of all did leave, in reſpect of Calling, no more place of decency for one, than for another to be admitted? Let unexperienced wits imagin what pleaſeth them, in having to deal with ſo great Perſonages, theſe Perſonal differences are ſo neceſſary, that there muſt be regard had of them.

4. Kingdoms being principally (next unto God's Almightineſs, and the Soveraignty of the higheſt under God) upheld by wiſdom, and by valour, as by the chiefeſt human means to cauſe continuance in ſafety with honour (for the labours of them who attend the ſervice of God, we reckon as means divine, to procure our protection from Heaven;) from hence it riſeth, that Men excelling in either of theſe, or deſcending from ſuch, as for excellency either way have been enobled, or poſſeſſing howſoever the rooms of ſuch as ſhould be in Politick wiſdom, or in Martial proweſs eminent, are had in ſingular recommendation. Notwithſtanding, becauſe they are by the ſtate of Nobility great, but not thereby made inclinable to good things; ſuch they oftentimes prove even under the beſt Princes, as under *David* certain of the Jewiſh Nobility were. In Polity and Council the World had not *Achitophel*'s equal, nor Hell his equal in deadly malice. *Joab* the General of the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, valiant, induſtrious, fortunate in War; but withal head-ſtrong, cruel, treacherous, void of Piety towards God; in a word, ſo conditioned, that eaſie it is not to define, whether it were for *David* harder to miſs the benefit of his War-like hability, or to bear the enormity of his other Crimes. As well for the cheriſhing of thoſe virtues therefore, wherein if Nobility do chance to flouriſh, they are both an ornament and a ſtay to the Common-wealth wherein they live; as alſo for the bridling of thoſe diſorders, which if they looſly run into, they are by reaſon of their greatneſs dangerous; what help could there ever have been invented more Divine, than the ſorting of the Clergy into ſuch Degrees, that the chiefeſt of the Prelacy being matched in a kind of equal yoke, as it were, with the higher, the next with the lower degree of Nobility, the reverend Authority of the one, might be to the other as a courteous bridle, a mean to keep them lovingly in awe that are exorbitant, and to correct ſuch exceſſes in them, as whereunto their Courage, State, and Dignity maketh them over-prone? O that there were for encouragement of Prelates herein, that inclination of all Chriſtian Kings and Princes towards them, which ſometime a famous King of this Land either had, or pretended to have, for the countenancing of a principal Prelate under him, in the Actions of Spiritual Authority.

Petr. Bleſenſ. Ep. 5.

Let my Lord Archbiſhop know, (ſaith he) *that if a Biſhop, or Earl, or any other great Perſon, yea, if my own choſen Son, ſhall preſume to withſtand, or to hinder his will and diſpoſition, whereby he may be withheld from performing the work of the Embaſſage committed unto him; ſuch a one ſhall find, that of his contempt I will ſhew my ſelf no leſs a Perſecutor and Revenger, than if Treaſon were committed againſt mine own very Crown and Dignity.* Sith therefore by the Fathers and firſt Founders of this Common-wealth, it hath, upon great experience and fore-caſt, been judged moſt for the good of all ſorts, that as the whole Body Politick wherein we live, ſhould be for ſtrengths ſake a three-fold Cable, conſiſting of the King as a Supream Head over all, of Peers and Nobles under him, and of the People under them; ſo likewiſe, that in this conjunction of States, the ſecond wreath of that Cable ſhould, for important reſpects, conſiſt, as well of Lords Spiritual as Temporal: Nobility and Prelacy being by this mean twined together, how can it poſſibly be avoided, but that the tearing away of the one, muſt needs exceedingly weaken the other, and by conſequent impair greatly the good of all?

5. The force of which detriment there it no doubt, but that the common ſort of Men would feel to their helpleſs woe, how goodly a thing ſoever they now ſurmiſe it to be, that themſelves and their godly Teachers did all alone, without controulment of their Prelate: For if the manifold jeopardies whereto a people deſtitute of Paſtors is ſubject, be unavoidable without Government, and if the benefit of Government, whether it be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, do grow principally from them who are principal therein, as hath been proved out of the Prophet, who albeit the people of *Iſrael* had ſundry inferior Governors, aſcribeth not unto them the publick benefit of Government, but maketh mention of *Moſes* and *Aaron* only, the Chief Prince, and Chief Prelate, becauſe they were the well-ſpring of all the good which others under them did; may we not boldly conclude, that to take from the people their Prelate, is to leave them in effect without Guides, at leaſtwiſe, without thoſe Guides which are the ſtrongeſt hands that God doth direct them by? *Thou didſt lead thy people like ſheep,* ſaith the Prophet, *by the hands of* Moſes *and* Aaron. Pſal. 77. 20.

If now there ariſe any matter of Grievance between the Paſtor and the People that are under him, they have their Ordinary, a Judge indifferent to determin their Cauſes, and to end their ſtrife. But in caſe there were no ſuch appointed to ſit, and to hear both, what would then be the end of their quarrels? They will anſwer perhaps, *That for ſuch purpoſes, their Synods ſhall ſerve.* Which is, as if in the Common-wealth, the higher Magiſtrates being removed, every Townſhip ſhould be a State, altogether free and independent; and the Controverſies which they cannot end ſpeedily within themſelves, to the contentment of both Parties, ſhould be all determined by Solemn Parliaments. Merciful God! where is the light of Wit and Judgment, which this age doth ſo much vaunt of, and glory in, when unto theſe ſuch odd imaginaions, ſo great, not only aſſent, but alſo applauſe, is yielded?

6. As for thoſe in the Clergy, whoſe Place and Calling is lower; were it not that their eyes are blinded, leſt they ſhould ſee the thing, that, of all others, is for their good moſt effectual, ſomewhat they might conſider the benefit which they enjoy by having ſuch in Authority over them, as are of the ſelf-ſame Profeſſion, Society, and Body with them; ſuch as have trodden the ſame ſteps before; ſuch as know by their own experience, the manifold intolerable contempts and indignities which faithful Paſtors, intermingled with the multitude, are conſtrained every day to ſuffer in the exerciſe of their Spiritual Charge and Function, unleſs their Superiors, taking their Cauſes even to heart, be, by a kind of ſympathy, drawn to relieve and aid them in their virtuous proceedings, no leſs effectually, than loving Parents their dear Children.

Thus therefore Prelacy being unto all ſorts ſo beneficial, ought accordingly to receive honour at the hands of all: But we have juſt cauſe exceedingly to fear, that thoſe miſerable times of confuſion are drawing on, wherein *the people ſhall be oppreſſed one of another,* inaſmuch as already that which prepareth the way thereunto is come to paſs, *Children preſume againſt the Ancient, and the Vile againſt the Honourable*: Prelacy, the temperature of exceſſes in all Eſtates, the glew and ſoder of the Publick-wealth, the ligament which tieth and connecteth the limbs of this Body Politick each to other, hath inſtead of deſerved Honour, all extremity of Diſgrace; the Fooliſh every where plead, that unto the wiſe in heart they owe neither ſervice, ſubjection, nor honour. Iſa. 3. 5.

XIX. Now that we have laid open the cauſes for which Honour is due unto Prelates, the next thing we are to conſider is, what kinds of Honour be due. The good Government either of the Church, or the Common-wealth, dependeth ſcarcely on any one external thing, ſo much as on the Publick Marks and Tokens, whereby the eſtimation that Governors are in, is made manifeſt to the eyes of Men. True it is, that Governors are to be eſteemed according to the excellency of their virtues; the more virtuous they are, the more they ought to be honoured, if reſpect be had unto that which every Man ſhould voluntarily perform unto his Superiors. But the queſtion is now, of that Honour which Publick Order doth appoint unto Church-Governors, in that they are Governors; the end whereof is, to give open ſenſible teſtimony, that the Place which they hold is judged publickly in ſuch degree beneficial, as the marks of their excellency, the Honours appointed to be done unto them, do import. Wherefore this honour we are to do them, without preſuming our ſelves to examine how worthy they are; and withdrawing it, if by us they be thought unworthy. It is a note of that publick judgment which is given of them; and therefore not tolerable that Men in private, ſhould, by refuſal to do them ſuch honour, reverſe as much as in them lieth the Publick Judgment. If it deſerve ſo grievous puniſhment, when any particular Perſon adventureth to deface thoſe marks whereby is ſignified what value ſome ſmall piece of Coin is publickly eſteemed at; is it ſufferable that Honours, the Character of that eſtimation which publickly is had of Publick Eſtates and Callings in the Church, or Common-wealth, ſhould at every Man's pleaſure be cancelled? Let us not think that without moſt neceſſary cauſe, the ſame hath been thought expedient. The firſt Authors thereof were wiſe and judicious Men; they knew it a thing altogether impoſſible, for each particular in the multitude to judge what benefit doth grow unto them from their Prelates, and thereupon uniformly to yield them convenient honour. Wherefore

What kinds of Honor be due unto Biſhops.

fore that all ſorts might be kept in obedience and awe, doing that unto their Superiors of every degree, not which every Man's ſpecial fancy ſhould think meet, but which being before-hand agreed upon as meet, by publick Sentence and Deciſion, might afterwards ſtand as a rule for each in particular to follow; they found that nothing was more neceſſary, than to allot unto all degrees their certain honour, as marks of publick judgment, concerning the dignity of their Places; which mark, when the multitude ſhould behold, they might be thereby given to know, that of ſuch or ſuch eſtimation their Governors are, and in token thereof, do carry thoſe notes of excellency. Hence it groweth, that the different notes and ſigns of Honour, do leave a correſpondent impreſſion in the minds of common Beholders. Let the people be asked; Who are the chiefeſt in any kind of Calling? who moſt to be liſtned unto? who of greateſt account and reputation? and ſee if the very diſcourſe of their minds, lead them not unto thoſe ſenſible marks, according to the difference whereof they give their ſutable judgment, eſteeming them the worthieſt perſons who carry the principal note, and publick mark of Worthineſs. If therefore they ſee in other eſtates a number of tokens ſenſible, whereby teſtimony is given what account there is publickly made of them, but no ſuch thing in the Clergy; what will they hereby, or what can they elſe conclude, but that where they behold this, ſurely in that Common-wealth, Religion, and they that are converſant about it, are not eſteemed greatly beneficial? Whereupon in time, the open contempt of God and Godlineſs muſt needs enſue: *Qui bona fide Deos colit, amat & Sacerdotes*, ſaith *Papinius*. In vain doth that Kingdom or Common-wealth pretend zeal to the honour of God, which doth not provide that his Clergy alſo may have honour. Now if all that are imployed in the ſervice of God, ſhould have one kind of honour, what more confuſed, abſurd, and unſeemly? Wherefore in the honour which hath been allotted unto God's Clergy, we are to obſerve, how not only the kinds thereof, but alſo in every particular kind, the degrees do differ. The honour which the Clergy of God hath hitherto enjoyed, conſiſteth eſpecially in the pre-eminence of Title, Place, Ornament, Attendance, Priviledge, Endowment. In every of which it hath been evermore judged meet, that there ſhould be no ſmall odds between Prelates, and the inferior Clergy.

Præf. l. 5. Silv.

Honour in Title, Place, Ornaments, Attendency and Priviledge.

XX. Concerning Title, albeit even as under the Law, all they whom God had ſevered to offer him Sacrifice, were generally termed Prieſts; ſo likewiſe the name of Paſtor or Presbyter, be now common unto all that ſerve him in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: Yet both then and now, the higher Orders as well of the one ſort as of the other, have by one and the ſame congruity of reaſon, their different titles of honour, wherewith we find them in the phraſe of ordinary ſpeech exalted above others. Thus the heads of the twenty four Companies of Prieſts, are in Scripture termed Arch-Prieſts; *Aaron* and the Succeſſors of *Aaron* being above thoſe Arch-Prieſts; themſelves are in that reſpect further intituled, High and Great. After what ſort Antiquity hath uſed to ſtile Chriſtian Biſhops, and to yield them in that kind Honour more than were meet for inferior Paſtors; I may the better omit to declare, both becauſe others have ſufficiently done it already, and, in ſo ſlight a thing, it were but a loſs of time to beſtow further travel. The allegation of Chriſt's Prerogative to be named an Arch-Paſtor ſimply, in regard of his abſolute Excellency over all, is no impediment, but that the like Title in an unlike ſignification, may be granted unto others beſides him, to note a more limited Superiority, whereof Men are capable enough, without derogation from his Glory, than which nothing is more Soveraign. To quarrel at ſyllables, and to take ſo poor exceptions at the firſt four letters in the name of an Archbiſhop, as if they were manifeſtly ſtollen goods, whereof reſtitution ought to be made to the Civil Magiſtrate, toucheth no more the Prelates that now are, than it doth the very bleſſed Apoſtle, who giveth unto himſelf the Title of an Arch-builder.

ἀρχιερεῖς.

As for our Saviour's words, alledged againſt the ſtile of *Lordſhip* and *Grace*, we have before ſufficiently opened how far they are drawn from their natural meaning, to boulſter up a Cauſe which they nothing at all coneern. Biſhop *Theodoret* entituleth moſt honourable. Emperors writing unto Biſhops, have not diſdained to give them their appellations of Honour, *Your Holineſs, your Bleſſedneſs, your Amplitude, your Highneſs*, and the like: Such as purpoſely have done otherwiſe, are noted of inſolent ſingularity and pride.

Lib. 5. c. 8. Hiſt. Eccleſ. L. 7. C. de ſumma Trinit. L. 33. C. de Epiſc. & Cler. L. 16. C. de Sacroſ. Eccleſ. Matt. 23. 6, 7. They love to have the chief Seats in the Aſſemblies, and to be called of Men Rabbi. Ecclus. 45. 7.

Honour done by giving pre-eminence of Place unto one ſort before another, is for decency, order, and quietneſs-ſake ſo needful, that both Imperial Laws and Canons Eccleſiaſtical, have made their ſpecial proviſions for it. Our Saviour's invective againſt the vain affectation of Superiority, whether in Title, or in Place, may not hinder theſe ſeemly differences uſual in giving and taking honour, either according to the one, or the other.

Some thing there is even in the Ornaments of Honour alſo: Otherwiſe idle it had been for the Wiſe-man ſpeaking of *Aaron*, to ſtand ſo much upon the circumſtance of his Prieſtly attire, and to urge it as an argument of ſuch dignity and greatneſs in him; *An everlaſting Covenant God made with* Aaron, *and gave him the Prieſthood among the people, and made him bleſſed through his comely Ornament, and cloathed him with the garment of Honour.* The Robes of a Judge do not add to his virtue; the chiefeſt Ornaments of Kings is Juſtice; holineſs and purity of Converſation doth much more adorn a Biſhop, than his peculiar form of Cloathing. Notwithſtanding, both Judges, through the garments of Judicial Authority;

Ecclus. 45. 7.

Authority; and through the Ornaments of Soveraignty, Princes; yea, Biſhops through the very attire of Biſhops, are made bleſſed, that is to ſay, marked and manifeſted they are to be ſuch, as God hath poured his bleſſing upon, by advancing them above others, and placing them where they may do him principal good ſervice. Thus to be called is to be bleſſed, and therefore to be honoured with the ſigns of ſuch a Calling, muſt needs be in part a bleſſing alſo; for of good things, even the ſigns are good.

Of Honour, another part is Attendancy; and therefore in the viſions of the glory of God, Angels are ſpoken of as his Attendants. In ſetting out the honour of that myſtical Queen, the Prophet mentioneth the Virgin-Ladies which waited on her. Amongſt the tokens of *Solomon*'s honourable condition, his Servants and Waiters, the ſacred Hiſtory omitteth not. This doth prove Attendants a part of Honour: But this as yet doth not ſhew with what Attendancy Prelates are to be honoured. Of the High-Prieſts retinue amongſt the Jews, ſomewhat the Goſpel it-ſelf doth intimate: And, albeit our Saviour came to miniſter, and not, as the Jews did imagine their Meſſias ſhould, to be miniſtred unto in this World, yet attended on he was by his bleſſed Apoſtles, who followed him not only as Scholars, but even as Servants about him. After that he had ſent them, as himſelf was ſent of God, in the midſt of that hatred and extreme contempt which they ſuſtained at the World's hands; by Saints and Believers this part of honour was moſt plentifully done unto them. Attendants they had provided in all places where they went; which Cuſtom of the Church was ſtill continued in Biſhops, their Succeſſors, as by *Ignatius* it is plain to be ſeen. And from hence no doubt, thoſe Acolyths took their beginning, of whom ſo frequent mention is made; the Biſhops Attendants, his Followers they were: in regard of which ſervice, the name of Acolyths ſeemeth plainly to have been given. The cuſtom for Biſhops to be attended upon by many, is, as *Juſtinian* doth ſhew, ancient: The affairs of Regiment, wherein Prelates are imployed, make it neceſſary that they always have many about them, whom they may command, although no ſuch thing did by way of honour belong unto them.

Novel. 6.

Some Mens judgment is, that if Clerks, Students, and Religious Perſons were more common Serving-Men and Lay-Retainers fewer than they are in Biſhops Palaces, the uſe, and the honour thereof would be much more ſutable than now: But theſe things, concerning the number and quality of Perſons fit to attend on Prelates, either for neceſſity, or for honours ſake, are rather in particular diſcretion to be ordered, than to be argued of by diſputes. As for the vain imagination of ſome, who teach the original hereof to have been a prepoſterous imagination of *Maximinus* the Emperor, who being addicted unto Idolatry, choſe of the choiceſt Magiſtrates to be Prieſts; and, to the end they might be in great eſtimation, gave unto each of them a train of Followers: And that Chriſtan Emperors thinking the ſame would promote Chriſtianity, which promoted Superſtition, endeavoured to make their Biſhops encounter and match with thoſe Idolatrous Prieſts; ſuch frivolous conceits having no other ground than conceit, we weigh not ſo much as to frame any anſwer unto them: our declaration of the true original of ancient attendancy on Biſhops being ſufficient. Now, if that which the light of ſound reaſon doth teach to befit, have, upon like inducements reaſonable, allowable and good, approved it-ſelf in ſuch wiſe as to be accepted, nor only of us, but of Pagans and Infidels alſo; doth conformity with them that are evil in that which is good, make that thing which is good, evil? We have not herein followed the Heathens, nor the Heathens us, but both we and they one and the ſelf-ſame Divine rule, the light of a true and ſound underſtanding, which ſheweth what honour is fit for Prelates, and what attendancy convenient to be a part of their honour.

T. C. l. 3. p. 126. out of Juſ. l. 8. c. 15.

Touching Priviledges granted for Honours ſake, partly in general unto the Clergy, and partly unto Prelates the Chiefeſt Perſons Eccleſiaſtical in particular: of ſuch quality and number they are, that to make but rehearſal of them, we ſcarce think it ſafe, leſt the very entrails of ſome of our godly Brethren, as they term themſelves, ſhould thereat haply burſt in ſunder.

L. 12. C. de ſacr. Eccleſ. l. 5. C. de ſacr. Eccleſ. l. 2. C. de Epiſc. & Cler. l. 10. C. de Epiſc. & Cler.

XXI. And yet, of all theſe things rehearſed, it may be there never would have grown any queſtion, had Biſhops been honoured only thus far forth. But the honouring of the Clergy with wealth, this is in the eyes of them which pretend to ſeek nothing but meer Reformation of Abuſes, a ſin that can never be remitted.

Honour by endowment with Lands and Livings.

How ſoon, O how ſoon, might the Church be perfect, even without any ſpot or wrinkle, if Publick Authority would at the length ſay Amen unto the holy and devout requeſts of thoſe godly Brethren, who as yet with out-ſtretched necks, groan in the pangs of their zeal to ſee the Houſes of Biſhops rifled, and their ſo long deſired Livings gloriouſly divided amongſt the Righteous. But there is an impediment, a let, which ſomewhat hindreth thoſe good Mens Prayers from taking effect: They, in whoſe hands the Soveraignty of Power and Dominion over this Church doth reſt, are perſwaded there is a God; for undoubtedly either the name of Godhead is but a feigned thing; or, if in Heaven there be a God, the Sacrilegious intention of Church-Robbers, which lurketh under this plauſible name of Reformation, is in his ſight a thouſand times more hateful than the plain profeſſed malice of thoſe very Miſcreants, who threw their Vomit in the open face of our bleſſed Saviour.

They are not words of perſwaſion by which true Men can hold their own, when they are over-beſet with Thieves: And therefore to ſpeak in this Cauſe at all were but labour loſt,

Pſal. 50. 18.

loſt, ſaving only in reſpect of them, who being as yet unjoined unto this Conſpiracy, may be haply ſomewhat ſtayed, when they ſhall know betimes, what it is to ſee Thieves, and to run on with them, as the Prophet in the *Pſalm* ſpeaketh, *When thou ſaweſt a Thief, then thou conſentedſt with him, and haſt been Partaker with Adulterers.*

For the better information therefore of Men which carry true, honeſt, and indifferent minds, theſe things we will endeavour to make moſt clearly manifeſt.

Firſt, That in Goods and Livings of the Church, none hath propriety but God himſelf.

Secondly, That the honour which the Clergy therein hath, is to be, as it were God's Receivers; the honour of Prelates, to be his chief and principal Receivers.

Thirdly, That from him they have right, not only to receive, but alſo to uſe ſuch Goods, the lower ſort in ſmaller, and the higher in larger meaſure.

Fourthly, That in caſe they be thought, yea, or found to abuſe the ſame, yet may not ſuch honour be therefore lawfully taken from them, and be given away unto Perſons of other Calling.

That of Eccleſiaſtical Goods, and conſequently of the Lands and Livings which Biſhops enjoy, the propriety belongeth unto God alone.

(*a*) Hoſ. 2. 5.
(*b*) Pſa. 50. 10.
(*c*) Job 1. 21.
Mal. 3. 10.

XXII. Poſſeſſions, Lands, and Livings Spiritual, the wealth of the Clergy, the Goods of the Church are in ſuch ſort the Lord's own, that Man can challenge no propriety in them. His they are, and not ours, all things are his, in that from him they have their being, (*a*) *My Corn, and my Wine, and mine Oyl,* ſaith the Lord. All things his, in that he hath abſolute power to diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure. (*b*) *Mine,* ſaith he, *are the Sheep and Oxen of a thouſand hills?* All things his, in that when we have them, we may ſay with (*c*) *Job, God hath given,* and when we are deprived of them, *The Lord,* whoſe they are, hath likewiſe *taken them away* again. But theſe ſacred Poſſeſſions are his by another tenure: His, becauſe thoſe Men who firſt received them from him, have unto him returned them again, by way of Religious Gift, or Oblation: And in this reſpect it is, that the Lord doth term thoſe Houſes wherein ſuch Gifts and Oblations were laid, *His Treaſuries.*

Prov. 3. 9.

Seneca.

The ground whereupon Men have reſigned their own intereſt in things Temporal, and given over the ſame unto God, is that Precept which *Solomon* borroweth from the Law of Nature, *Honour the Lord out of thy Subſtance, and of the chiefeſt of all thy Revenue: ſo ſhall thy Barns be filled with Plenty, and with new Wine, the fat of thy Preſs ſhall overflow:* For although it be by one moſt fitly ſpoken againſt thoſe ſuperſtitious Perſons, who only are ſcrupulous in external Rites; *Wilt thou win the favour of God? Be virtuous. They beſt worſhip him, that are his Followers.* It is not the bowing of your Knees, but of your Hearts; it is not the number of your Oblations, but the integrity of your Lives; not your Incenſe, but your Obedience, which God is delighted to be honoured by: Nevertheleſs, we muſt beware, leſt ſimply underſtanding this, which comparatively is meant; that is to ſay, whereas the meaning is, that God doth chiefly reſpect the inward diſpoſition of the Heart, we muſt take heed we do not hereupon ſo worſhip him in Spirit, that outwardly we take all Worſhip, Reverence, and Honour from him.

Mal. 1. 8.

Our God will be glorified both of us himſelf, and for us by others: To others, becauſe our Hearts are known, and yet our example is required for their good; therefore it is not ſufficient to carry Religion in our Hearts, as Fire is carried in Flint-ſtones, but we are outwardly, viſibly, apparently, to ſerve and honour the living God; yea, to employ that way, as not only for our Souls, but our Bodies; ſo not only our Bodies, but our Goods, yea, the choice, the flower, the chiefeſt of all thy Revenue, ſaith *Solomon*: If thou haſt any thing in all thy Poſſeſſions of more value and price than other, to what uſe ſhouldeſt thou convert it, rather than to this? *Samuel* was dear unto *Hannah* his Mother: The Child that *Hannah* did ſo much eſteem, ſhe could not but greatly wiſh to advance; and her Religious conceit was, that the honouring of God with it, was the advancing of it unto honour. The chiefeſt of the Off-ſpring of Men, are, the Males which be firſt-born, and, for this cauſe, in the ancient World they all were by right of their birth Prieſts of the Moſt High. By theſe and the like Precedents, it plainly enough appeareth, that in what Heart ſoever doth dwell unfeigned Religion, in the ſame there reſteth alſo a willingneſs to beſtow upon God that ſooneſt, which is moſt dear. Amongſt us the Law is, that ſith Gold is the chiefeſt of Mettals, if it be any where found in the bowels of the Earth, it belongeth in right of honour, as all Men know, to the King: Whence hath this Cuſtom grown, but only from a natural perſwaſion, whereby Men judge it decent, for the higheſt Perſons always to be honoured with the choiceſt things? *If ye offer unto God the blind,* ſaith the Prophet *Malachi, it is not evil; if the lame and ſick, it is good enough. Preſent it unto thy Prince, and ſee if he will content himſelf, or accept thy Perſon, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* When *Abel* preſented God with an Offering, it was the fatteſt of all the Lambs in his whole Flock; he honoured God not only out of his ſubſtance, but out of the very Chiefeſt therein, whereby we may ſomewhat judge, how religiouſly they ſtand affected towards God, who grudge that any thing worth the having ſhould be his. Long it were to reckon up particularly, what God was owner of under the Law: For of this ſort was all which they ſpent in Legal Sacrifices; of this ſort, their uſual Oblations and Offerings; of this ſort, Tyths and Firſt-fruits; of this ſort, that which by extraordinary occaſions they vowed unto God; of this ſort, all that they gave to the building of the Tabernacle; of this ſort, all that which was gathered amongſt them for the erecting of the Temple, and the (*d*) adorning of it erected; of this ſort, whatſoever their Corban con-

---

(*d*) Becauſe (ſaith *David*) I have a delight in the Houſe of my God, therefore I have given thereunto of my own both Gold and Silver to adorn it with. 2 Chron. 2. 5.

tained, wherein that bleſſed Widows Deodate was laid up. Now either this kind of Honour was prefiguratively altogether Ceremonial, and then our Saviour accepteth it not; or, if we find that to him alſo it hath been done, and that with divine approbation given for encouragement of the World, to ſhew, by ſuch kind of ſervice, their dutiful hearts towards Chriſt, there will be no place left for Men to make any queſtion at all, whether herein they do well or no.

Wherefore to deſcend from the Synagogue unto the Church of Chriſt, albeit Sacrifices, wherewith ſometimes God was highly honoured, be not accepted as heretofore at the hands of Men: Yet, foraſmuch as (a) *Honour God with thy Riches* is an Edict of the inſeparable Law of Nature, ſo far forth as Men are therein required by ſuch kind of homage to teſtifie their thankful minds, this Sacrifice God doth accept ſtill. Wherefore, as it was ſaid of Chriſt, *That all Kings ſhould worſhip him, and all Nations do him ſervice*; ſo this very kind of worſhip or ſervice was likewiſe mentioned, leſt we ſhould think that our Lord and Saviour would allow of no ſuch thing. *The Kings of Tarſhiſh, and of the Iſles ſhall bring Preſents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba ſhall bring Gifts.* And, as it maketh not a little to the praiſe of thoſe Sages mentioned in the Goſpel, that the firſt amongſt Men which did ſolemnly honour our Saviour on Earth were they; ſo it ſoundeth no leſs to the dignity of this particular kind, that the reſt by it were prevented; *They fell down and worſhipped him, and opened their Treaſures, and preſented unto him Gifts, Gold, Incenſe, and Mirrh.*

(a) Pſ. 50. 13, 14.
Phil. 4. 18.
Pſal. 72. 11.
Matth. 2. 11

Of all thoſe things which were done to the honour of Chriſt in his life-time, there is not one whereof he ſpake in ſuch ſort, as when *Mary*, to teſtifie the largeneſs of her affection, ſeemed to waſte away a Gift upon him, the price of which Gift might, as they thought who ſaw it, much better have been ſpent in works of Mercy towards the Poor, *Verily, I ſay unto you, whereſoever this Goſpel ſhall be preached throughout all the World, there ſhall alſo this that ſhe hath done be ſpoken of, for memorial of her.* Of ſervice to God, the beſt works are they which continue longeſt: And, for permanency, what like Donation, whereby things are unto him for ever dedicated? That the ancient Lands and Livings of the Church were all in ſuch ſort given into the hands of God by the juſt Lords and Owners of them, that unto him they paſſed over their whole intereſt and right therein, the form of ſundry the ſaid Donations as yet extant, moſt plainly ſheweth. And where time hath left no ſuch evidence as now remaining to be ſeen, yet the ſame intention is preſumed in all Donors; unleſs the contrary be apparent. But to the end it may yet more plainly appear unto all Men under what Title the ſeveral kinds of Eccleſiaſtical Poſſeſſions are held, *Our Lord himſelf* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *had Coffers to keep thoſe things which the Faithful* OFFERED *unto him. Then was the form of the Church-treaſury firſt inſtituted, to the end, that withal we might underſtand that in forbidding to be careful for to morrow, his purpoſe was not to bar his Saints from keeping money, but to withdraw them from doing God ſervice for Wealth's ſake, and from forſaking Righteouſneſs through fear of loſing their Wealth.*

Matth. 26. 13.
John 15. 16.
Aug. cap. 15. de menda.

The firſt Gifts conſecrated unto Chriſt after his departure out of the World were ſums of money, in proceſs of time other Moveables were added, and at length Goods unmoveable, Churches and Oratories hallowed to the honour of his glorious Name, Houſes and Lands for perpetuity conveyed unto him, Inheritance given to remain his as long as the World ſhould endure. *The Apoſtles* (ſaith *Melchiades*) *they foreſaw that God would have his Church amongſt the Gentiles, and for that cauſe in Judea they took no Lands, but price of Lands ſold.* This he conjectureth to have been the cauſe why the Apoſtles did that which the Hiſtory reporteth of them.

C. 12. q. 1. cap. 15. & 16.

The truth is, that ſo the ſtate of thoſe times did require, as well other where, as in *Judea*: Wherefore when afterwards it did appear much more commodious for the Church, to dedicate ſuch Inheritances; then, the value and price of them being ſold, the former Cuſtom was changed for this, as for the better. The Devotion of *Conſtantine* herein, all the World, even till this very day, admireth: They that lived in the prime of the Chriſtian World, thought no Teſtament Chriſtianly made, nor any thing therein well bequeathed, unleſs ſomething were thereby added unto Chriſt's Patrimony: Touching which Men, what judgment the World doth now give, I know not; perhaps we deem them to have been therein but blind and ſuperſtitious Perſons. Nay, we in theſe cogitations are blind; they contrariwiſe did with *Solomon* plainly know and perſwade themſelves, that thus to diminiſh their wealth, was not to diminiſh, but to augment it; according to that which God doth promiſe to his own People, by the Prophet *Malachi*, and which they by their own particular experience found true: If *Wickliff* therefore were of that opinion which his Adverſaries aſcribe unto him (whether truly, or of purpoſe to make him odious, I cannot tell, for in his Writings I do not find it) namely, *That* Conſtantine, *and others following his ſteps did evil, as having no ſufficient ground whereby they might gather, that ſuch Donations are acceptable to Jeſus Chriſt*, it was in *Wickliff* a palpable error. I will uſe but one only Argument to ſtand in the ſtead of many: *Jacob* taking his Journy into *Haran*, made in this ſort his ſolemn vow, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this Journy which I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Cloaths to put on, ſo that I come again to my Fathers houſe in ſafety; then ſhall the Lord be my God, and this Stone which I have ſet up a Pillar ſhall be the Houſe of* God, *and of all that thou ſhalt give me, will give the Tenth unto thee.* May a Chriſtian Man deſire as great things as *Jacob* did at the hands of God? may he deſire them in as earneſt manner? may he promiſe as great thank-

Prov. 10. 3.
Mal. 3. 10.
2 Chron. 31. 10.
Th. Wald. tom. 1. lib. 4. c. 39.
Gen. 28. 20.

fulneſs in acknowledging the goodneſs of God? may he vow any certain kind of publick acknowledgment before hand; or, though he vow it not, perform it after, in ſuch for that Men may ſee he is perſwaded how the Lord hath been his God? Are theſe particula kinds of teſtifying thankfulneſs to God, the erecting of Oratories, the dedicating of Land and Goods to maintain them, forbidden any where? Let any mortal Man living ſhew bu one reaſon, wherefore in this point to follow *Jacob*'s example, ſhould not be a thing both acceptable unto God, and in the eyes of the World for ever moſt highly commendable Concerning Goods of this nature, Goods whereof when we ſpeak, we term them τὰ τῷ Θε ἀφιερωθέντα, The Goods that are conſecrated unto God; and, as *Tertullian* ſpeaketh, *Depoſi ta pietatis*, things which Piety and Devotion hath laid up, as it were in the boſom of God Touching ſuch Goods, the Law Civil following meer Light of Nature, defineth them to b no Man s, becauſe no mortal Man, or Community of Men, hath right of propriety in them

That Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are Receivers of God's Rents; and that the honour of Prelates is, to be thereof his chief Receivers; not without liberty from him granted, of converting the ſame unto their own uſe, even in large man- ner.

XXIII. Perſons Eccleſiaſtical are God's Stewards, not only for that he hath ſet them o ver his Family, as the Miniſters of ghoſtly food; but even for this very cauſe alſo, that they are to receive and diſpoſe his Temporal Revenues, the gifts, and oblations which Men bring him. Of the Jews it is plain, that their Tyths they offered unto the Lord, and thoſe (*a*) offer ings the Lord beſtowed upon the Levites. When the Levites gave the Tenth of thei Tyths, this their Gift the Law doth term the Lord's Heave-offering, and (*b*) appoint that th High-Prieſt ſhould receive the ſame. (*c*) Of ſpoils taken in War, that part which they were accuſtomed to ſeparate unto God, they brought it before the Prieſt of the Lord, by whom it was laid up in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, for a memorial of their thankfulneſ towards God, and his goodneſs towards them, in fighting for them againſt their enemies (*d*) As therefore the Apoſtle magnifieth the honour of *Melchiſedec*, in that he being an High Prieſt, did receive at the hands of *Abraham* the Tyths which *Abraham* did honour God with: ſo it argueth in the Apoſtles themſelves great honour, that at their feet the price of thoſe Poſſeſſions was laid, which Men thought good to beſtow on Chriſt. (*e*) St. *Paul* com mending the Churches which were in *Macedonia*, for their exceeding liberality this way ſaith of them, that he himſelf would bear record, they had declared their forward minds according to their power, yea, beyond their power, and had ſo much exceeded his expe ctation of them; *that they ſeemed as it were even to give away themſelves firſt to the Lord* ſaith the Apoſtle, *and then by the will of God unto us*: To him, as the owner of ſuch gifts to us, as his appointed receivers and diſpenſers. The gift of the Church of *Antioch*, be ſtowed unto the uſe of diſtreſſed Brethren which were in *Judea*, *Paul* and *Barnabas* did de liver unto the Presbyters of *Jeruſalem*; and the head of thoſe Presbyters was *J.mes*, h therefore the Chiefeſt diſpoſer thereof.

(*a*) Numb. 18. 24.
(*b*) Num. 18. 28.
(*c*) Numb. 31.
(*d*) Heb. 7. 3.
(*e*) Acts 4. 34.
2 Cor. 8. 5.
Acts 11. 30.
Acts 21. 18, & 12. 17.

Amongſt thoſe Canons which are entituled Apoſtolical, one is this, *We appoint, that th Biſhop have care of thoſe things which belong to the Church*; the meaning is, of Church Goods, as the Reaſon following ſheweth: *For if the precious Souls of Men muſt be commi ted unto him of truſt, much more it behoveth the charge of money to be given him, that by hi Authority the Presbyters and Deacons may adminiſter all things to them that ſtand in need.* S that he which hath done them the honour to be, as it were, his Treaſurers, hath left them alſo authority and power to uſe theſe his Treaſures, both otherwiſe, and for the main tenance even of their own Eſtate; the lower ſort of the Clergy, according unto a meane the higher, after a larger proportion. The uſe of Spiritual goods and poſſeſſions, hath been a matter much diſputed of; grievous complaints there are uſually made againſt the evil and unlawful uſage of them, but with no certain determination hitherto, on what things and Perſons; with what proportion and meaſure they being beſtowed, do retain thei lawful uſe. Some Men condemn it as idle, ſuperfluous, and altogether vain, that any part of the Treaſure of God ſhould be ſpent upon coſtly Ornaments, appertaining unto his Service: who being beſt worſhipped, when he is ſerved in Spirit and Truth, hath not for want of pomp and magnificence, rejected at any time thoſe who with faithful hearts have adored him. Whereupon the Hereticks, termed *Henriciani* and *Petrobuſiani*, threw down Temples and Houſes of Prayer, erected with marvellous great charge, as being in that reſpect not fit for Chriſt by us to be honoured in. We deny not, but that they who ſometime wandred as Pilgrims on earth, and had no Temples, but made Caves and Dens to pray in, did God ſuch honour as was moſt acceptable in his ſight; God did not reject them fo their poverty and nakedneſs ſake: Their Sacraments were not abhorred for want of Veſſels of Gold.

Can. 41. & Concil. Antioch. c. 25.
Ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν, ὥστε διοικεῖν εἰς πάντας δεομένους μετὰ πάσης εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ.
John 4. 24.
Heb. 11. 38.

Howbeit, let them who thus delight to plead, anſwer me, when *Moſes* firſt, and afterwards *David*, exhorted the people of *Iſrael* unto matter of charge about the ſervice of God; ſuppoſe we it had been allowable in them to have thus pleaded, *Our Fathers in Egypt ſerved God devoutly, God was with them in all their afflictions, he heard their Prayers, pitied their Caſe, and delivered them from the tyranny of their Oppreſſors; what Houſe, Tabernacle, or Temple had they?* Such Argumentations are childiſh and fond; God doth not refuſe to be honoured at all, where there lacketh wealth; but where abundance and ſtore is, he there requireth the Flower thereof, being beſtowed on him, to be employed even unto the Ornament of his Service: In *Egypt* the ſtate of his People was ſervitude, and therefore

fore his Service was accordingly. In the deſart they had no ſooner ought of their own, but a Tabernacle is required; and in the Land of *Canaan*, a Temple. In the eyes of *David* it ſeemed a thing not fit, a thing not decent, that himſelf ſhould be more richly ſeated than God.

But concerning the uſe of Eccleſiaſtical Goods beſtowed this way, there is not ſo much contention amongſt us, as what meaſure of allowance is fit for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to be maintained with. A better rule in this caſe to judge things by, we cannot poſſibly have, than the Wiſdom of God himſelf; by conſidering what he thought meet for each degree of the Clergy to enjoy in time of the Law; what for Levites, what for Prieſts, and what for High-Prieſts, ſomewhat we ſhall be the more able to diſcern rightly, what may be fit, convenient, and right for the Chriſtian Clergy likewiſe. Prieſts for their maintenance had thoſe firſt-fruits of (*a*) Cattel, (*b*) Corn, Wine, Oyl, and (*c*) other Commodities of the Earrh, which the Jews were accuſtomed yearly to preſent God with. They had (*d*) the price which was appointed for Men to pay in lieu of the firſt-born of their Children, and the price of the firſt-born alſo amongſt Cattel, which were unclean: They had the vowed (*e*) Gifts of the People, or (*f*) the prices, if they were redeemable by the Donors after vow, as ſome things were: They had the free, and unvowed Oblations of Men: They had the remainder of things ſacrificed: With Tythes, the Levites were maintained; and with the tythe of their Tythes, the High-Prieſt.

(*a*) Num. 18. 15.
(*b*) Num 12.
(*c*) Num. 13.
(*d*) Verſ. 15.
(*e*) Verſ. 8.
(*f*) Lev. 27. 11. Verſ. 14.
Numb. 18. 8.
Verſ. 8, 9, 21, 28.

In a word, if the quality of that which God did aſſign to his Clergy be conſidered, and their manner of receiving it, without labour, expence, or charge, it will appear, that the Tribe of *Levi* being but the twelfth part of *Iſrael*, had in effect as good as four twelfth parts of all ſuch Goods as the holy Land did yield: So that their Worldly Eſtate was four times as good as any other Tribes in *Iſrael* beſides. But the High-Prieſt's condition, how ample? to whom belonged the Tenth of all the Tythe of this Land, eſpecially the Law providing alſo, that as the people did bring the beſt of all things unto the Prieſts and Levites, ſo the Levite ſhould deliver the choice and flower of all their Commodities to the High-Prieſt, and ſo his Tenth-part by that mean be made the very beſt part amongſt ten: by which proportion, if the Levites were ordinarily in all not above thirty thouſand Men (whereas when *David* numbred them, he found almoſt thirty eight thouſand above the age of thirty years) the High-Prieſt after this very reckoning, had as much as three or four thouſand others of the Clergy to live upon. Over and beſides all this, leſt the Prieſts of *Egypt* holding Lands, ſhould ſeem in that reſpect better provided for, than the Prieſts of the true God, it pleaſed him further to appoint unto them forty and eight whole Cities, with Territories of Land adjoyning, to hold as their own free Inheritance for ever. For to the end they might have all kind of encouragement, not only to do what they ought, but to take pleaſure in that they did: albeit they were expreſly forbidden to have any part of the Land of *Canaan* laid out whole to themſelves, by themſelves, in ſuch ſort as the reſt of the Tribes had, foraſmuch as the will of God was, rather that they ſhould throughout all Tribes be diſperſed, for the eaſier acceſs of the People unto knowledge: Yet were they not barred altogether to hold Land, nor yet otherwiſe the worſe provided for, in reſpect of that former reſtraint; for God by way of ſpecial preeminence, undertook to feed them at his own Table, and out of his own proper Treaſury to maintain them, that want and penury they might never feel, except God himſelf did firſt receive injury. A thing moſt worthy our conſideration, is the wiſdom of God herein; for the Common ſort being prone unto envy and murmur, little conſidereth of what neceſſity, uſe and importance, the ſacred duties of the Clergy are, and for that Cauſe hardly yieldeth them any ſuch honour, without repining and grudging thereat; they cannot brook it, that when they have laboured, and come to reap, there ſhould ſo great a portion go out of the fruit of their Labours, and be yielded up unto ſuch as ſweat not for it. But when the Lord doth challenge this as his own due, and require it to be done by way of homage unto him, whoſe meer liberality and goodneſs had raiſed them from a poor and ſervile eſtate, to place them where they had all thoſe ample and rich poſſeſſions, they muſt be worſe than Brute beaſts, if they would ſtorm at any thing which He did receive at their hands. And for him to beſtow his own on his own Servants (which liberty is not denied unto the meaneſt of Men) what Man liveth that can think it other than moſt reaſonable? Wherefore no cauſe there was, why that which the Clergy had, ſhould in any Man's eye ſeem too much, unleſs God himſelf were thought to be of an over-having diſpoſition.

1 Chron. 23.
Gen. 47. 22.
Num. 35. 7.
Joſh. 14. 4.
Deut. 18. 8.
Lev. 25, 33, 34.

This is the mark whereat all thoſe ſpeeches drive, *Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his Brethren, the* Lord *is his inheritance*; again, *To the Tribe of* Levi, *he gave no inheritance, the Sacrifices of the* Lord *God of Iſrael an Inheritance of* Levi; again, *The Tythes of the which they ſhall offer as an offering unto the* Lord. *I have given the* Levites *for an inheritance*, and again, *All the heave-offerings of the holy things which the children of Iſrael ſhall offer unto the* Lord, *I have given thee, and thy ſons, and thy daughters with thee, to be a duty for ever; it is a perpetual Covenant of ſalt before the* Lord. Now that, if ſuch proviſion be poſſible to be made, the Chriſtian Clergy ought not herein to be inferior unto the Jewiſh, what ſounder proof than the Apoſtles own kind of Argument? *Do ye not know, that they which miniſter about the holy things, eat of the things of the Temple? and they which partake of the Altar are partakers with the Altar? So, (even SO,) hath the* Lord *ordained, that they which preach the Goſpel ſhould live of the Goſpel.* Upon which words I thus conclude, that if the People of God

Deut. 10. 9.
Joſh. 13. 14.
Numb. 18.24.
Verſe 19.
1 Cor. 9. 13

God do abound, and abounding can ſo far forth find in their hearts to ſhew themſelves towards Chriſt their Saviour, thankful as to honour him with their riches (which no Law of God or Nature forbiddeth) no leſs than the ancient Jewiſh people did honour God; the plain Ordinance of Chriſt appointed as large, and as ample proportion out of his own treaſure unto them that ſerve him in the Goſpel, as ever the Prieſts of the Law did enjoy? What further proof can we deſire? It is the bleſſed Apoſtles teſtimony, That *even ſo the Lord hath ordained.* Yea, I know not whether it be ſound to interpret the Apoſtle otherwiſe than that, whereas he judgeth the Presbyters *which rule well in the Church of Chriſt to be worthy of double honour,* he means double unto that which the Prieſts of the Law received; *For if that Miniſtry which was of the Letter were ſo glorious, how ſhall not the Miniſtry of the Spirit be more glorious?* If the Teachers of the Law of *Moſes,* which God delivered written with Letters in Tables of Stone, were thought worthy of ſo great honour, how ſhall not the Teachers of the Goſpel of Chriſt be in his ſight moſt worthy, the Holy Ghoſt being ſent from Heaven to ingrave the Goſpel on their Hearts, who firſt taught it, and whoſe Succeſſors they that teach it at this day are? So that according to the Ordinance of God himſelf, their Eſtate for worldly maintenance ought to be no worſe than is granted unto other ſorts of Men, each according to that degree they were placed in. Neither are we ſo to judge of their worldly condition, as if they were Servants of Men, and at Men's hands did receive thoſe earthly benefits by way of ſtipend in lieu of pains whereunto they are hired; nay that which is paid unto them is homage and tribute due unto the Lord Chriſt. His Servants they are, and from him they receive ſuch goods by way of ſtipend. Not ſo from Men: For at the hands of Men, he himſelf being honoured with ſuch things, hath appointed his Servants therewith according to their ſeveral degrees and places to be maintained. And for their greater encouragement who are his Labourers he hath to their comfort aſſured them for ever, that they are, in his eſtimation, *worthy the hire* which he alloweth them; and therefore if Men ſhould withdraw from him the ſtore, which thoſe his Servants that labour in his Work are maintained with, yet he in his Word ſhall be found everlaſtingly true, their labour in the Lord ſhall not be forgotten; the hire he accounteth them worthy of, they ſhall ſurely have either one way or other anſwered.

1 Tim. 5. 17. 2 Cor. 3. 8. Vide 22. q. 77. art. 1.

1 Tim. 5. 18.

Acts 4. 35.

In the prime of the Chriſtian world, that which was brought and laid down at the Apoſtles feet, they diſpoſed of by diſtribution, according to the exigence of each Man's need. Neither can we think, that they, who, out of Chriſt's treaſury made proviſion for all others, were careleſs to furniſh the Clergy with all things fit and convenient for their Eſtate: And as themſelves were chiefeſt in place of Authority, and Calling, ſo no Man doubteth, but that proportionably they had power to uſe the ſame for their own decent maintenance. The Apoſtles, with the reſt of the Clergy in *Jeruſalem* lived at that time according to the manner of a Fellowſhip, or Collegiate Society, maintaining themſelves and the poor of the Church with a common purſe, the reſt of the faithful keeping that purſe continually ſtored. And in that ſenſe it is, that the Sacred Hiſtory ſaith, *All which believed were in one place, and had all things common.* In the Hiſtories of the Church, and in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers for ſome hundreds of years after, we find no other way for the maintenance of the Clergy but only this, the Treaſury of Jeſus Chriſt furniſhed through Mens Devotion, beſtowing ſometimes Goods, ſometimes Lands that way, and out of his Treaſury the charge of the ſervice of God was defrayed, the Biſhop and the Clergy under him maintained, the poor in their neceſſity miniſtred unto. For which purpoſe, every Biſhop had ſome one of the Presbyters under him to be (*a*) Treaſurer of the Church, to receive, keep, and deliver all; which Office in Churches Cathedral remaineth even till this day, albeit the uſe thereof be not altogether ſo large now as heretofore. The diſpoſition of theſe goods was by the appointment of the Biſhop. Wherefore (*b*) *Proſper* ſpeaking of the Biſhops care herein, ſaith, *It was neceſſary for one to be troubled therewith, to the end that the reſt under him might be freer to attend quietly their Spiritual buſineſſes.* And leſt any Man ſhould imagine, that Biſhops by this means were hindred themſelves from attending the ſervice of God, *Even herein,* ſaith he, *they do God ſervice; for if thoſe things which are beſtowed on the Church be God's; he doth the work of God, who, not of a covetous mind, but with purpoſe of moſt faithful adminiſtration, taketh care of things conſecrated unto God.* And foraſmuch as the Presbyters of every Church could not all live with the Biſhop, partly for that their number was great, and partly becauſe the People being once divided into Pariſhes, ſuch Presbyters as had ſeverally charge of them were by that mean more conveniently to live in the midſt each of his own particular flock, therefore a competent number being fed at the ſame (*c*) Table with the Biſhop, the reſt had their whole allowance apart, which ſeveral allowances were called *Sportulæ,* and they who received them, *Sportulantes fratres.* Touching the Biſhop, as his Place and Eſtate was higher, ſo likewiſe the proportion of his Charges about himſelf, being for that cauſe in all equity and reaſon greater; yet, foraſmuch as his ſtint herein was no other than it pleaſed himſelf to ſet, the reſt (as the manner of Inferiors is to think that they which

are

Acts 2. 44.

(*a*) Diſp. Proſp. de vita contemp. l. 2. c. 12. Oecon. l. 14. C. de Sacr. Eccleſ. & Novel. 7. in Princip.

(*b*) Proſp. de vita Contempl. l. 2. c. 16.

(*c*) *Cypr. l. 4. Ep* 5. Presbyterii honorem deſignaſſe nos illis jam ſciatis ut & ſportulis eiſdem cum Presbyteris honorentur, & diviſiones menſuratas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur, ſenſuri nobiſcum provectis & corroboratis annis ſuis. Which words of *Cyprian* do ſhew, that every Presbyter had his ſtanding allowance out of the Church Treaſury; that beſides the ſame allowance called *Sportula,* ſome alſo had their portion in that dividend which was the remainder of every months expence; thirdly that out of the Presbyters under him, the Biſhop as then had a certain number of the graveſt, who lived and commoned always with him.

are over them always have too much) grudged many times at the meaſure of the Biſhops private expence, perhaps not without cauſe: Howſoever, by this occaſion, there grew amongſt them great heart-burning, quarrel and ſtrife: where the Biſhops were found culpable, as eating too much beyond their tether, and drawing more to their own private maintenance than the proportion of Chriſt's Patrimony being not greatly abundant could bear, ſundry Conſtitutions hereupon were made to moderate the ſame, according to the Churches condition in thoſe times. Some before they were made Biſhops, having been owners of ample Poſſeſſions, ſold them, and gave them away to the Poor: Thus did *Paulinus*, *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, and ſundry others. Hereupon, they, who entring into the ſame Spiritual and high Function, held their Secular Poſſeſſions ſtill, were hardly thought of: And even when the Caſe was fully reſolved, that ſo to do was not unlawful, yet it grew a queſtion, *Whether they lawfully might then take any thing out of the Publick Treaſury of Chriſt?* a queſtion, *Whether Biſhops, holding by Civil Title ſufficient to live of their own, were bound in Conſcience to leave the Goods of the Church altogether to the uſe of others?* Of contentions about theſe matters there was no end, neither appeared there any poſſible way for quietneſs, otherwiſe than by making partition of Church-Revenues, according to the ſeveral ends and uſes for which they did ſerve, that ſo the Biſhops part might be certain. Such partition being made, the Biſhop enjoyed his portion ſeveral to himſelf; the reſt of the Clergy likewiſe theirs; a third part was ſevered to the furniſhing and upholding of the Church; a fourth to the erection and maintenance of Houſes wherein the Poor might have relief. After which ſeparation made, Lands and Livings began every day to be dedicated unto each uſe ſeverally, by means whereof every of them became in ſhort time much greater han they had been for worldly maintenance, the fervent devotion of Men being glad hat this new opportunity was given, of ſhewing zeal to the Houſe of God in more certain rder.

Prosp. de vita contempl. l. 2. c. 9. Pont. Diacon. in vita Cypr.

By theſe things it plainly appeareth, what proportion of maintenance hath been ever hought reaſonable for a Biſhop; ſith in that very partition agreed on, to bring him unto his certain ſtint, as much is allowed unto him alone, as unto all the Clergy under him, amely, a fourth part of the whole yearly Rents and Revenues of the Church. Nor is it ikely, that, before thoſe Temporalities, which now are ſuch eye-ſores, were added unto he honour of Biſhops, their ſtate was ſo mean, as ſome imagine: For if we had no other vidence than the covetous and ambitious humour of Hereticks, whoſe impotent deſires of ſpiring thereunto, and extreme diſcontentment as oft as they were defeated, even this doth hew, that the ſtate of Biſhops was not a few degrees advanced above the reſt. Wherefore f grand Apoſtates which were in the very prime of the Primitive Church, thus *Lactan*-*ius* above thirteen hundred years ſithence, teſtified, *Men of a ſlippery faith they were, who eigning that they knew and worſhipped God, but ſeeking only that they might grow in* EALTH *and* HONOUR, *affected the Place of the* HIGHEST PRIESTHOOD; *hereunto, when their Betters were choſen before them, they thought it better to leave the hurch, and to draw their Favourers with them, than to endure thoſe Men their Governors, hom themſelves deſired to govern.* Now, whereas againſt the preſent eſtate of Biſhops, nd the greatneſs of their port, and the largeneſs of their expences at this day, there is ot any thing more commonly objected than thoſe ancient Canons, whereby they are reſtrained unto a far more ſparing life, their Houſes, their Retinue, their Diet limited within a far more narrow compaſs than is now kept; we muſt know, that thoſe Laws and Orders were made, when Biſhops lived of the ſame purſe, which ſerved as well for a number of others, as them, and yet all at their diſpoſing: So that convenient it was to provide hat there might be a moderate ſtint appointed to meaſure their expences by, leſt others hould be injured by their waſtfulneſs. Contrariwiſe, there is now no cauſe wherefore any ſuch Law ſhould be urged, when Biſhops live only of that which hath been peculiarly llotted unto them: They having therefore Temporalities and other Revenues to beſtow or their own private uſe, according to that which their ſtate requireth, and no other having with them any ſuch common intereſt therein, their own diſcretion is to be their Law or this matter; neither are they to be preſſed with the rigour of ſuch ancient Canons as were framed for other times, much leſs ſo odiouſly to be upbraided with unconformity unto the Pattern of our Lord and Saviour's eſtate, in ſuch circumſtances as himſelf did never mind to require, that the reſt of the World ſhould of neceſſity be like him. Thus againſt the wealth of the Clergy, they alledge how meanly Chriſt himſelf was provided or; againſt Biſhops Palaces, his want of a hole to hide his Head in; againſt the ſervice lone unto them, that he came to miniſter, not to be miniſtred unto in the World. Which hings, as they are not unfit to controul covetous, proud, or ambitious deſires of the Miniſters of Chriſt, and even of all Chriſtians whatſoever they be; and to teach Men contentment of mind, how mean ſoever their eſtate is, conſidering that they are but Servants to him, whoſe condition was far more abaſed than theirs is, or can be; ſo to prove ſuch difference n State between us and him unlawful, they are of no force or ſtrength at all. If one convented before their Conſiſtories, when he ſtandeth to make this Anſwer, ſhould break out into Invectives againſt their Authority, and tell them that Chriſt when he was on Earth did not ſit to judge, but ſtand to be judged; would they hereupon think it requiſite to diſſolve their Elderſhip; and to permit no Tribunals, no Judges at all, for fear of ſwerving from our Saviour's example? if thoſe Men, who have nothing in their mouths more uſual

Lact. de vera ſap. l. 5. c. 30.

1 Cor. 11. 1.
Phil. 3. 16.

than the poverty of Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles, alledge not this as *Julian* ſometime did, *Beati pauperes*, unto Chriſtians, when his meaning was to ſpoil them of that they had; our hope is then, that as they ſeriouſly and ſincerely wiſh, that our Saviour Chriſt in this point may be followed, and to that end only propoſe his bleſſed example; ſo, at our hands again they will be content to hear with like willingneſs, the holy Apoſtle's Exhortation, made unto them of the Laity alſo, *Be ye followers of us, even as we are of Chriſt; let us be your example, even as the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is ours, that we may all proceed by one and the ſame rule.*

That for their unworthineſs to deprive both them and their Succeſſors of ſuch Goods, and to convey the ſame unto Men of Secular Calling, were extreme ſacrilegious injuſtice.

Pſal. 7. 8.

Epiph. contra hæreſ. l. 3. 10. 1. hær. 70.

XXIV. But beware we of following Chriſt, as Thieves follow True-Men, to take their Goods by violence from them. Be it, that Biſhops were all unworthy, not only of Livings, but even of Life, yet what hath our Lord Jeſus Chriſt deſerved, for which Men ſhould judge him worthy to have the things that are his given away from him, unto others that have no right unto him? For at this mark it is, that the head Lay-Reformers do all aim. Muſt theſe unworthy Prelates give place; What then? Shall Better ſucceed in their rooms? Is this deſired, to the end that others may enjoy their Honours, which ſhall do Chriſt more faithful ſervice than they have done? Biſhops are the worſt Men living upon Earth; therefore let their ſanctified Poſſeſſions be divided: Amongſt whom? O bleſſed Reformation! O happy Men, that put to their helping-hands for the furtherance of ſo good and glorious a Work! Wherefore, albeit the whole World at this day do already perceive, and Poſterity be like hereafter a great deal more plainly to diſcern; not that the Clergy of God is thus heaved at, becauſe they are wicked, but that means are uſed to put it into the heads of the ſimple multitude, that they are ſuch indeed; to the end that thoſe who thirſt for the ſpoil of Spiritual Poſſeſſions, may, till ſuch time as they have their purpoſe, be thought to covet nothing but only the juſt extinguiſhment of un-reformable Perſons; ſo that in regard of ſuch Men's intentions, practiſes, and machinations againſt them, the part that ſuffereth theſe things, may moſt fitly pray with *David*, *Judge thou me, O Lord, according to my Righteouſneſs, and according unto mine Innocency: O let the malice of the wicked come to an end, and be thou the guide of the juſt.* Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as it doth not ſtand with Chriſtian humility otherwiſe to think, than that this violent outrage of Men, is a rod in the ireful hands of the Lord our God, the ſmart whereof we deſerve to feel: Let it not ſeem grievous in the eyes of my reverend L L. the Biſhops, if to their good conſideration I offer a view of thoſe ſores which are in the kind of their heavenly function, moſt apt to breed, and which being not in time cured, may procure at the length that which God of his infinite mercy avert. Of Biſhops in his time St. *Jerom* complaineth, that they took it in great diſdain to have any fault, great or ſmall found with them. *Epiphanius* likewiſe before *Jerom*, noteth their impatiency this way, to have been the very cauſe of a Schiſm in the Church of Chriſt; at what time one *Audius*, a Man of great integrity of life, full of faith and zeal towards God, beholding thoſe things which were corruptly done in the Church, told the B B. and Presbyters their faults in ſuch ſort as thoſe Men are wont, who love the truth from their hearts, and walk in the paths of a moſt exact life. Whether it were covetouſneſs, or ſenſuality in their lives; abſurdity or error in their teaching; any breach of the Laws and Canons of the Church wherein he eſpied them faulty, certain and ſure they were to be thereof moſt plainly told. Which thing, they whoſe dealings were juſtly culpable, could not bear; but, inſtead of amending their faults, bent their hatred againſt him who ſought their amendment, till at length they drove him by extremity of infeſtation, through wearineſs of ſtriving againſt their injuries, to leave both them, and with them the Church. Amongſt the manifold accuſations, either generally intended againſt the Biſhops of this our Church, or laid particularly to the charge of any of them, I cannot find that hitherto their ſpitefulleſt adverſaries have been able to ſay juſtly, that any Man for telling them their perſonal faults in good and Chriſtian ſort, hath ſuſtained in that reſpect much perſecution. Wherefore, notwithſtanding mine own inferior eſtate and calling in God's Church, the conſideration whereof aſſureth me, that in this kind the ſweeteſt Sacrifice which I can offer unto Chriſt, is meek Obedience, Reverence and Awe unto the Prelates which he hath placed in ſeats of higher Authority over me, emboldned I am, ſo far as may conveniently ſtand with that duty of humble ſubjection, meekly to crave, my good L L. your favourable pardon, if it ſhall ſeem a fault thus far to preſume; or, if otherwiſe your wonted courteous acceptation.

Æneid. l. 12.

—— *Sinite hæc haud mollia fatu*
Sublatis aperire dolis.

In government, be it of what kind ſoever, but eſpecially if it be ſuch kind of Government as Prelates have over the Church, there is not one thing publickly more hurtful than that an hard opinion ſhould be conceived of Governors at the firſt: And a good opinion how ſhould the world ever conceive of them for their after-proceedings in Regiment, whoſe firſt acceſs and entrance thereunto, giveth juſt occaſion to think them corrupt Men, which fear not that God, in whoſe name they are to rule; wherefore a ſcandalous thing it is to the Church of God, and to the actors themſelves dangerous, to have aſpired unto rooms of Prelacy by wicked means. We are not at this day troubled much with that tumultuous kind of ambition wherewith the elections of (*a*) *Damaſus* in St. *Jerom*'s age, and of (*b*) *Maximus* in *Gregory*'s time, and of others, were long ſithence ſtained. Our greateſt fear is rather the evil which (*c*) *Leo* and *Anthemius* did by Imperial conſtitution, endeavour as much as in them lay to prevent. He which granteth, or he which receiveth the office and dignity of a Biſhop, otherwiſe then beſeemeth a thing Divine and moſt holy; he which beſtoweth and he which obtaineth it after any other ſort then were honeſt and lawful to uſe, if our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were preſent himſelf on earth to beſtow it even with his own hands, ſinneth a ſin by ſo much more grievous then the ſin of *Balſhazar*, by how much Offices and Functions heavenly are more precious then the meaneſt ornaments or implements which thereunto appertain. If it be, as the Apoſtle ſaith, that the Holy Ghoſt doth make Biſhops, and that the whole action of making them is God's own deed, Men being therein but his Agents; what ſpark of the fear of God can there poſſibly remain in their hearts, who repreſenting the perſon of God in naming worthy Men to Eccleſiaſtical charge, do ſell that which in his name they are to beſtow, or who ſtanding as it were at the Throne of the Living God do bargain for that which at his hands they are to receive? Wo worth ſuch impious and irreligious prophanations. The Church of Chriſt hath been hereby made, not a den of thieves, but in a manner the very dwelling place of foul ſpirits; for undoubtedly, ſuch a number of them have been in all ages who thus have climed into the ſeat of Epiſcopal Regiment.

(*a*) Ammian. Marcel. l. 37.

(*b*) Vide in vita Greg. Naz.

(*c*) Nemo gradum ſacerdoti pretii venalitate mercetur; quantum quiſque mereatur non quantum dare ſufficiat, æſtimetur. Profecto enim, quis locus tutus & quæ cauſa eſſe poterit excuſata, ſi veneranda Dei templa pecuniis expugnentur? Quem murum integritatis aut vallum providebimus ſi auri ſacra fames in penetralia veneranda proſerpat? quid denique cautum eſſe poterit aut ſecurum, ſi ſanctitas incorrupta corrumpatur? Ceſſet altaribus imminere profanus ardor avaritiæ, & à ſacris adytis repellatur piaculare flagitium. Itaque caſtus & humilis noſtris temporibus eligatur Epiſcopus, ut quocunque locorum pervenirit, omnia vitæ propriæ integritate purificet. Nec pretio ſed precibus ordinetur. Antiſtes l. 31. C. de Epiſc. & Cler.

2. Men may by orderly means be inveſted with ſpiritual Authority, and yet do harm by reaſon of ignorance how to uſe it to the good of the Church. *It is*, ſaith *Chryſoſtom*, πολλὺ μὲν ἀξίωμα το; δύσκολον δὲ ἐπισκοπεῖν; *a thing highly to be accounted of, but a hard thing to be that which a Biſhop ſhould be.* Yea a hard and a toilſom thing it is, for a Biſhop to know the things that belong unto a Biſhop. A right good Man may be a very unfit Magiſtrate. And for diſcharge of a Biſhop's Office, to be well minded is not enough, no not to be well learned alſo. Skill to inſtruct is a thing neceſſary, skill to govern much more neceſſary in a Biſhop. It is not ſafe for the Church of Chriſt, when Biſhops learn what belongeth unto Government, as Empericks learn Phyſick by killing of the ſick. Biſhops were wont to be Men of great learning in the Laws both Civil and of the Church; and while they were ſo, the wiſeſt Men in the land for Counſel and Government were Biſhops.

3. Know we never ſo well what belongeth unto a charge of ſo great moment, yet can we not therein proceed but with hazard of publick detriment, if we rely on our ſelves alone, and uſe not the benefit of conference with others. A ſingular mean to unity and concord amongſt themſelves, a marvellous help unto uniformity in their dealings, no ſmall addition of weight and credit unto that which they do, a ſtrong bridle unto ſuch as watch for occaſions to ſtir againſt them; finally, a very great ſtay unto all that are under their Government, it could not chuſe but be ſoon found, if Biſhops did often and ſeriouſly uſe the help of mutual conſultation. Theſe three rehearſed are things only preparatory unto the courſe of Epiſcopal proceedings. But the hurt is more manifeſtly ſeen which doth grow to the Church of God by faults inherent in their ſeveral actions, as when they careleſly Ordain, when they Inſtitute Negligently, when corruptly they beſtow Church-Livings, Benefices, Prebends, and rooms eſpecially of Juriſdiction, when they viſit for gain-ſake, rather then with ſerious intent to do good, when their Courts erected for the maintenance of good Order are diſordered; when they regard not the Clergy under them; when neither Clergy nor Laity are kept in that awe for which this authority ſhould ſerve; when any thing appeareth in them rather than a fatherly affection towards the flock of Chriſt; when they have no reſpect to poſterity; and finally, when they neglect the true and requiſite means whereby their authority ſhould be upheld. Surely the hurt which groweth out of theſe defects muſt needs be exceeding great. In a Miniſter, ignorance and diſability to teach is a maim, nor is it held a thing allowable to ordain ſuch, were it not for the avoiding of a greater evil which the Church muſt needs ſuſtain, if in ſo great ſcarcity of able Men, and unſufficiency of moſt Pariſhes throughout the Land to maintain them, both publick Prayer and the Adminiſtration of Sacraments ſhould rather want, then any Man thereunto be admitted lacking dexterity and skill to perform that which otherwiſe was moſt requiſite. Wherefore the neceſſity of ordaining ſuch, is no excuſe for the raſh and careleſs ordaining of every one that hath but a friend to beſtow ſome two or three words of ordinary commendation in his behalf. By reaſon whereof the Church groweth burthened with ſilly creatures more than need, whoſe noted baſeneſs and inſufficiency bringeth their very Order it-ſelf into contempt.

It may be that the fear of a *Quare Impedit* doth cauſe Inſtitutions to paſs more eaſily than otherwiſe they would. And to ſpeak plainly the very truth, it may be that Writs of *Quare non impedit*, were for theſe times moſt neceſſary in the others place: Yet where Law will not ſuffer Men to follow their own judgment, to ſhew their judgment they are not hindred. And I doubt not but that even conſcienceleſs and wicked Patrons, of which ſort the ſwarms are too great in the Church of *England*, are the more imboldened to preſent unto Biſhops any refuſe, by finding ſo eaſie acceptation thereof. Somewhat they might redreſs this ſore, notwithſtanding ſo ſtrong impediments, if it did plainly appear that they took it indeed to heart, and were not in a manner contented with it.

Shall we look for care in admitting whom others preſent, if that which ſome of your ſelves confer be at any time corruptly beſtowed? A foul and an ugly kind of deformity it hath, if a Man do but think what it is for a Biſhop to draw commodity and gain from thoſe things whereof he is left a free beſtower, and that in truſt, without any other obligation than his ſacred Order only, and that religious Integrity which hath been preſumed on in him. Simoniacal corruption I may not for honours ſake ſuſpect to be amongſt Men of ſo great place. So often they do not, I truſt, offend by ſale; as by unadviſed gift of ſuch preferments, Can.Apoſt.75. wherein that ancient Canon ſhould ſpecially be remembred, which forbiddeth a Biſhop to be led by human affection, in beſtowing the things of God. A fault no where ſo hurtful as in beſtowing places of juriſdiction, and in furniſhing Cathedral Churches, the Prebendaries and other Dignities whereof are the very true ſucceſſors of thoſe ancient Presbyters which were at the firſt as Counſellers unto Biſhops. A foul abuſe it is, that any one Man ſhould be loaded as ſome are with Livings in this kind, yea ſome even of them who condemn utterly the granting of any two Benefices unto the ſame Man, whereas the other is in truth a matter of far greater ſequel as experience would ſoon ſhew, if Churches Cathedral being furniſhed with the reſidence of a competent number of virtuous, grave, wiſe and learned Divines, the reſt of the Prebends of every ſuch Church were given within the Dioceſs unto Men of worthieſt deſert, for their better encouragement unto induſtry and travel; unleſs it ſeem alſo convenient to extend the benefit of them unto the learned in Univerſities, and Men of ſpecial imployment otherwiſe in the affairs of the Church of God. But howſoever, ſurely with the publick good of the Church it will hardly ſtand, that in any one perſon ſuch favours be more multiplied than Law permitteth in thoſe Livings which are with Cure.

Touching Biſhops Viſitations, the firſt inſtitution of them was profitable, to the end that the ſtate and condition of Churches being known, there might be for evils growing convenient remedies provided in due time. The obſervation of Church Laws, the correction of faults in the ſervice of God and manners of Men, theſe are things that Viſitors ſhould ſeek. When theſe things are inquired of formally, and but for cuſtom ſake, fees and penſions being the only thing which is ſought, and little elſe done by Viſitations; we are not to marvel if the baſeneſs of the end doth make the action it-ſelf loathſom. The good which Biſhops may do not only by theſe Viſitations belonging ordinarily to their Office, but alſo in reſpect of that power which the Founders of Colleges have given them of ſpecial truſt, charging even fearfully their conſciences therewith: The good I ſay which they might do by this their authority, both within their own Dioceſs, and in the well-ſprings themſelves, the Univerſities, is plainly ſuch as cannot chuſe but add weight to their heavy accounts in that dreadful Day if they do it not.

In their Courts where nothing but ſingular Integrity and Juſtice ſhould prevail, if palpable and groſs corruptions be found, by reaſon of Offices ſo often granted unto Men who ſeek nothing but their own gain, and make no account what diſgrace doth grow by their unjuſt dealings unto them under whom they deal, the evil hereof ſhall work more than they which procure it do perhaps imagine.

At the hands of a Biſhop the firſt thing looked for is a care of the Clergy under him, a care that in doing good they may have whatſoever comforts and encouragements his countenance, authority, and place may yield. Otherwiſe what heart ſhall they have to proceed in their painful courſe, all ſorts of Men beſides being ſo ready to malign, deſpiſe, and every way oppreſs them? Let them find nothing but diſdain in Biſhops; in the enemies of preſent Government, if that way they liſt to betake themſelves, all kind of favourable and friendly help; unto which part think we it likely that Men having wit, courage, and ſtomach will incline?

As great a fault is the want of ſeverity when need requireth, as of kindneſs and courteſie in Biſhops. But touching this, what with ill uſage of their power amongſt the meaner, and what with diſuſage amongſt the higher ſort, they are in the eyes of both ſorts as Bees have loſt their ſting. It is a long time ſithence any great one hath felt, or almoſt any one much feared the edge of that Eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, which ſometime held Lords and Dukes in a more religious awe than now the meaneſt are able to be kept.

A Biſhop, in whom there did plainly appear the marks and tokens of a fatherly affection towards them are under his charge, what good might he do ten thouſand ways more than any Man knows how to ſet down? But the ſouls of Men are not loved; that which Chriſt ſhed his blood for, is not eſteemed precious. This is the very root, the fountain of all negligence in Church-Government.

Moſt wretched are the terms of Men's eſtate when once they are at a point of wretchleſneſs ſo extream, that they bend not their wits any further than only to ſhift out the preſent time, never regarding what ſhall become of their Succeſſors after them. Had our Predeceſſors ſo looſely caſt off from them all care and reſpect to poſterity, a Church Chriſtian there had not been, about the Regiment whereof we ſhould need at this day to ſtrive. It was the barbarous affection of *Nero*, that the ruin of his own Imperial Seat he could have been well enough contented to ſee, in caſe he might alſo have ſeen it accompanied with the fall of the whole World: An affection not more intolerable than theirs, who care not to overthrow all Poſterity, ſo they may purchaſe a few days of ignominious ſafety unto themſelves, and their preſent eſtates; if it may be termed a ſafety which tendeth ſo faſt unto their very overthrow, that are the Purchaſers of it in ſo vile and baſe manner.

Men whom it ſtandeth upon to uphold a reverend eſtimation of themſelves in the minds of others, without which the very beſt things they do are hardly able to eſcape diſgrace, muſt before it be over-late remember how much eaſier it is to retain credit once gotten, than to recover it being loſt. The executors of Biſhops are ſued if their Manſion-houſe be ſuffered to go to decay: But whom ſhall their Succeſſors ſue for the dilapidations which they make of that Credit, the unrepaired diminutions whereof will in time bring to paſs, that they which would moſt do good in that calling, ſhall not be able, by reaſon of prejudice generally ſetled in the minds of all ſorts againſt them. By what means their eſtimation hath hitherto decayed, it is no hard thing to diſcern. *Herod* and *Archelaus* are noted to have ſought out purpoſely the dulleſt and moſt ignoble that could be found amongſt the people, preferring ſuch to the High-Prieſt's Office, thereby to abate the great opinion which the multitude had of that Order, and to procure a more expedite courſe for their own wicked Counſels, whereunto they ſaw the High-Prieſts were no ſmall impediment, as long as the common ſort did much depend upon them. It may be there hath been partly ſome ſhew and juſt ſuſpicion of like practice in ſome, in procuring the undeſervd preferments of ſome unworthy perſons, the very cauſe of whoſe advancement hath been principally their unworthineſs to be advanced. But neither could this be done altogether without the inexcuſable fault of ſome preferred before, and ſo oft we cannot imagine it to have been done, that either only or chiefly from thence this decay of their eſtimation may be thought to grow. Somewhat it is that the malice of their cunning Adverſaries, but much more which themſelves have effected againſt themſelves. A Biſhops eſtimation doth grow from the excellency of Virtues ſutable unto his place. Unto the place of a Biſhop thoſe high Divine Virtues are judged ſutable, which Virtues being not eaſily found in other ſorts of great Men, do make him appear ſo much the greater in whom they are found.

Egiſip. l. 2. c. 12.

Devotion, and the feeling ſenſe of Religion are not uſual in the nobleſt, wiſeſt, and chiefeſt Perſonages of State, by reaſon their wits are ſo much imployed another way, and their minds ſo ſeldom converſant in heavenly things. If therefore wherein themſelves are defective, they ſee that Biſhops do bleſſedly excel, it frameth ſecretly their hearts to a ſtooping kind of diſpoſition, clean oppoſite to contempt: The very countenance of *Moſes* was glorious after that God had conferred with him. And where Biſhops are, the powers and faculties of whoſe Souls God hath poſſeſt, thoſe very actions, the kind whereof is common unto them with other Men, have notwithſtanding in them a more high and heavenly form, which draweth correſpondent eſtimation unto it, by virtue of that celeſtial impreſſion which deep meditation of holy things, and as it were converſation with God doth leave in their minds. So that Biſhops which will be eſteemed of as they ought, muſt frame themſelves to that very pattern from whence thoſe *Aſian* Biſhops unto whom St. *John* writeth were denominated, even ſo far forth as this our frailty will permit; ſhine they muſt as Angels of God in the midſt of perverſe Men. They are not to look that the World ſhould always carry the affection of *Conſtantine*, to bury that which might derogate from them, and to cover their imbecilities. More than high time it is, that they bethink themſelves of the Apoſtles admonition; *Attende tibi, Have a vigilant eye to thy ſelf.* They err is they do not perſwade themſelves that whereſoever they walk or ſit, be it in their Churches or in their Conſiſtories, abroad or at home, at their Tables or in their Cloſets, they are in the midſt of ſnares laid for them: Wherefore as they are with the Prophet every one of them to make it their hourly prayer unto God, *Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteouſneſs, becauſe of enemies*; ſo it is not ſafe for them, no not for a moment, to ſlacken their induſtry in ſeeking every way that eſtimation which may further their labours unto the Churches good. Abſurdity, though but in words, muſt needs be this way a maim, where nothing but wiſdom, gravity, and judgment is looked for. That which the Son of *Syrach* hath concerning the Writings of the old Sages, *Wiſe ſentences are found in them*; ſhould be the proper mark and character of Biſhops ſpeeches; whoſe lips, as doors, are not to be opened, but for egreſs of inſtruction and ſound knowledge. If baſe ſervility and dejection of mind be ever eſpied in them, how ſhould Men eſteem them as worthy the rooms of the great Ambaſſadors of God? A wretched deſire to gain by bad and unſeemly means, ſtandeth not with a mean Man's credit, much leſs with that reputation which Fathers of the Church ſhould be in. But if beſides all this, there be alſo coldneſs in works of Piety and Charity, utter contempt even of Learning it-ſelf, no care to further it by any ſuch helps as they eaſily might and ought to afford, no not as much as that due reſpect unto their very Families about them, which all Men that are of account do order as near as they can in ſuch ſort, that no grievous offenſive deformity be therein noted; if there ſtill continue in that moſt Reverend Order, ſuch as by ſo many Engines, work day and night to pull down the whole frame of their own eſtimation amongſt Men; ſome of the reſt ſecretly alſo permitting others their induſtrious oppoſites, every day more and more to ſeduce the multitude, how ſhould the Church of God hope for great good at their hands?

What we have ſpoken concerning theſe things, let not malicious accuſers think themſelves therewith juſtified? no more than *Shimei* was by his Soveraigns moſt humble and meek acknowledgment even of that very crime which ſo impudent a Caitiff's tongue upbraided him withal; the one in the virulent rancor of a cankred affection, took that delight for the preſent, which in the end did turn to his own more tormenting woe; the other in the contrite patience even of deſerved malediction, had yet this comfort, *It may be*

2 Sam.16.12.

the Lord will look on mine affliction, and do me good for his curſing this day. As for us over whom Chriſt hath placed them to be the chiefeſt Guides and Paſtors of our ſouls, our common fault is, that we look for much more in our Governors than a tolerable ſufficiency can yield, and bear much leſs, than Humanity and Reaſon do require we ſhould. Too much perfection over-rigorouſly exacted in them, cannot but breed in us perpetual diſcontentment, and on both parts cauſe all things to be unpleaſant. It is exceedingly worth the noting, which *Plato* hath about the means whereby Men fall into an utter diſlike of all Men Plat. in Phæd. with whom they converſe: *This ſowreneſs of mind which maketh every Man's dealings unſavoury in our taſte, entereth by an unskilful over-weening, which at the firſt we have of one, and ſo of another, in whom we afterwards find our ſelves to have been deceived, they declaring themſelves in the end to be frail Men, whom we judged demi-gods: When we have oftentimes been thus beguiled, and that far beſides expectation, we grow at the length to this plain concluſion, that there is nothing at all ſound in any Man. Which bitter conceit is unſeemly, and plain to have riſen from lack of mature judgment in human affairs; which if ſo be we did handle with art, we would not enter into dealings with Men, otherwiſe than being before-hand grounded in this perſwaſion, that the number of perſons notably good or bad, is but very ſmall; that the moſt part of good have ſome evil, and of evil Men, ſome good in them.* So true our experience doth find thoſe Aphoriſms of *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, ᾽Αδυνατὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ᾽ενθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, To purge goodneſs quite and clean from all mixture of evil here, is a thing M. Triſ. in pimandro. dial. 6. impoſſible. Again, Τὸ μὴ λίαν καλὸν ᾽ενθάδε τὸ ἀγαθόν ᾽εστι, When in this World we term a thing good, we cannot by exact conſtruction have any other true meaning, than that the ſaid thing ſo termed, is not noted to be a thing exceeding evil. And again, Μονον ὦ ᾽Ασκλήπιε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ᾽εν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ δὲ ἔργον οὐδαμοῦ, Amongſt Men, O *Eſclapius*, the name of that which is good we find, but no where the very true thing it-ſelf. When we cenſure the deeds and dealings of our Superiors, to bring with us a fore-conceit thus qualified, ſhall be as well on our part as theirs, a thing available unto quietneſs: But howſoever the caſe doth ſtand with Men's either good or bad quality, the verdict which our Lord and Saviour hath given, ſhould continue for ever ſure. *Quæ Dei ſunt, Deo*, let Men bear the burthen of their own Mal. 3. 8. iniquity, as for thoſe things which are Gods, let not God be deprived of them. For if Acts 5. 2. only to withhold that which ſhould be given, be no better than to rob God? If to withdraw any mite of that which is but in purpoſe only bequeathed, though as yet undelivered into the ſacred treaſure of God, be a Sin for which *Ananias* and *Sapphyra* felt ſo heavily the dreadful hand of Divine revenge; quite and clean to take that away which we never gave, and that after God hath for ſo many ages therewith been poſſeſſed, and that without any other ſhew of cauſe, ſaving only that it ſeemeth in their eyes who ſeek it, to be too much for them which have it in their hands, can we term it or think it leſs than moſt im-Gen. 47. 22. pious injuſtice, moſt hainous ſacriledge? Such was the Religious affection of *Joſeph*, that it ſuffered him not to take that advantage, no not againſt the very Idolatrous Prieſts of *Egypt*, which he took for the purchaſing of other Men's Lands to the King; but he conſidered, that albeit their Idolatry deſerved hatred, yet for the honours ſake due unto Prieſthood, better it was the King himſelf ſhould yield them relief in publick extremity, than permit that the ſame neceſſity ſhould conſtrain alſo them to do as the reſt of the people did. But it may be Men have now found out, that God hath propoſed the Chriſtian Clergy, as a prey for all Men freely to ſeize upon; that God hath left them as the fiſhes of the Sea, which every Man that liſteth to gather into his net may; or that there is no God in Heaven to pity them, and to regard the injuries which Man doth lay upon them: Yet the publick good of this Church and Common-wealth doth, I hope, weigh ſomewhat in the hearts of all honeſtly diſpoſed Men. Unto the publick good no one thing is more directly available than that ſuch as are in place, whether it be of Civil, or of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, be ſo much the more largely furniſhed even with external helps and ornaments of this life, how much the more highly they are in power and calling advanced above others. For nature is not contented with bare ſufficiency unto the ſuſtenance of Man, but doth evermore covet a decency proportionable unto the place which Man hath in the Body or Society of others: For according unto the greatneſs of Men's Calling, the meaſure of all their actions doth grow in every Man's ſecret expectation, ſo that great Men do always know, that great things are at their hands expected. In a Biſhop great liberality, great hoſpitality, actions in every kind great or looked for: And for actions which muſt be great, mean inſtruments will not ſerve. Men are but Men, what room ſoever amongſt Men they hold: If therefore the meaſure of their Worldy habilities be beneath that proportion which their calling doth make to be looked for at their hands, a ſtronger inducement it is than perhaps Men are aware of, unto evil and corrupt dealings, for ſupply of that defect. For which cauſe, we muſt needs think it a thing neceſſary unto the common good of the Church, that great Juriſdiction being granted unto Biſhops over others, a ſtate of wealth proportionable ſhould likewiſe be provided for them: where wealth is had in ſo great admiration, as generally in this golden age it is, that without it Angelical perfections are not able to deliver from extreme contempt, ſurely to make Biſhops poorer than they are, were to make them of leſs account and eſtimation than they ſhould be. Wherefore if detriment and diſhonour do grow to Religion, to God, to his Church, when the publick account which is made of the chief of the Clergy decayeth, how ſhould it be, but in this reſpect, for the good of Religion, of God, of his Church, that the wealth of Biſhops be carefully

fully preſerved from further diminution? The travels and croſſes wherewith Prelacy is never unaccompanied, they which feel them know how heavy, and how great they are. Unleſs ſuch difficulties therefore, annexed unto that eſtate, be tempered by co-annexing thereunto things eſteemed of in this World, how ſhould we hope that the minds of Men, ſhuning naturally the burthens of each function, will be drawn to undertake the burthen of Epiſcopal care and labour in the Church of Chriſt? Wherefore if long we deſire to enjoy the peace, quietneſs, order and ſtability of Religion, which Prelacy (as hath been declared) cauſeth, then muſt we neceſſarily, even in favour of the publick good, uphold thoſe things, the hope whereof being taken away, it is not the meer goodneſs of the charge, and the Divine acceptation thereof, that will be able to invite many thereunto. What ſhall become of that Common-wealth or Church in the end, which hath not the eye of Learning to beautify, guide, and direct it? At the length, what ſhall become of that Learning, which hath not wherewith any more to encourage her induſtrious followers? And finally, what ſhall become of that courage to follow Learning, which hath already ſo much failed through the only diminution of her chiefeſt rewards, Biſhopricks? Surely, whereſoever this wicked intendment of overthrowing Cathedral Churches, or of taking away thoſe Livings, Lands, and Poſſeſſions, which Biſhops hitherto have enjoyed, ſhall once prevail, the hand-maids attending thereupon will be Paganiſm, and extreme Barbarity. In the Law of *Moſes*, how careful proviſion is made that goods of this kind might remain to the Church for ever: *Ye ſhall not make common the holy* Numb.18.32. *things of the children of Iſrael, leſt ye dye, ſaith the Lord.* Touching the fields annexed unto Levitical Cities, the Law was plain, they might not be ſold; and the reaſon of the Law, this, *for it was their poſſeſſion for ever.* He which was Lord and owner of Lev. 25. it, his will and pleaſure was, that from the Levites it ſhould never paſs, to be enjoyed by any other. The Lord's own portion, without his own Commiſſion and Grant, how ſhould any Man juſtly hold? They which hold it by his appointment, had it plainly with this condition, *They ſhall not ſell of it, neither change it, nor alienate the firſt-* Eſek. 41. 8. *fruits of the Land; for it is holy unto the Lord.* It falleth ſometimes out, as the Prophet *Habakkuk* noteth, that the very *prey of Savage Beaſts becometh dreadful unto themſelves.* Habak. 2. 17. It did ſo in *Judas*, *Achan*, *Nebuchadnezzar*; their evil purchaſed goods were their ſnare, and their prey their own terror: A thing no where ſo likely to follow, as in thoſe goods and poſſeſſions, which being laid where they ſhould not reſt, have by the Lord's own Mal. 3. 9. teſtimony, his moſt bitter curſe; their undividable companion. Theſe perſwaſions we uſe for other Men's cauſe, not for theirs with whom God and Religion are parts of the abrogated Law of Ceremonies. Wherefore not to continue longer in the cure of a Sore deſperate, there was a time when the Clergy had almoſt as little as theſe good people wiſh. But the Kings of this Realm and others, whom God had bleſt, conſidered devoutly with themſelves, as *David* in like caſe ſometimes had done, *Is it meet that we at the hands of God ſhould enjoy all kinds of abundance, and God's Clergy ſuffer want?* They conſidered that of *Solomon*, *Honour God with thy ſubſtance, and the chiefeſt of all thy revenue, ſo ſhall* Prov. 3. 9. *thy barns be filled with corn, and thy veſſels ſhall run over with new wine.* They conſidered how the care which *Jehoſhaphat* had in providing that the Levites might have en- 2 Chron. 9. couragement to do the work of the Lord chearfully, was left of God as a fit pattern to be chap. 19. followed in the Church for ever. They conſidered what promiſe our Lord and Saviour hath made unto them, at whoſe hands his Prophets ſhould receive but the leaſt part of the meaneſt kind of friendlineſs, thought it were but a draught of water: Which promiſe ſeemeth not to be taken as if Chriſt had made them of any higher courteſie uncapable, and had promiſed reward not unto ſuch as give them but that, but unto ſuch as leave them but that. They conſidered how earneſt the Apoſtle is, that if the Miniſters of the Law were ſo amply provided for, leſs care then ought not to be had of them, who under the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, poſſeſt correſpondent rooms in the Church. They conſidered how needful it is, that they who provoke all others unto works of Mercy and Charity, ſhould eſpecially have wherewith to be examples of ſuch things, and by ſuch means to win them, with whom other means, without thoſe, do commonly take very ſmall effect.

In theſe and the like conſiderations, the Church Revenues were in ancient times augmented, our Lord thereby performing manifeſtly the promiſe made to his ſervants, that they which did *leave either Father, or Mother, or Lands, or Goods for his ſake. ſhould receive even in this World an hundred fold.* For ſome hundreds of years together, they which joined themſelves to the Church, were fain to relinquiſh all worldly emoluments, and to endure the hardneſs of an afflicted eſtate. Afterward the Lord gave reſt to his Church, Kings and Princes became as Fathers thereunto, the hearts of all Men inclined towards it, and by his providence there grew unto it every day earthly poſſeſſions in more and more abundance, till the greatneſs thereof bred envy, which no diminutions are able to ſatisfie: For, as thoſe ancient Nurſing Fathers thought they did never beſtow enough; even ſo in the eye of this preſent age, as long as any thing remaineth, it, ſeemeth to be too much. Our Fathers we imitate *in perverſum*, as *Tertullian* ſpeaketh; like them we are, by being in equal degree the contrary unto that which they were. Unto thoſe earthly bleſſings which God as then did with ſo great abundance pour down upon the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, we may in regard of moſt near reſemblance, apply the ſelfſame words which the Prophet hath, *God bleſſed them exceedingly; and, by this very mean,* Pſ.105.24,25.

turned the hearts of their own Brethren to hate them, and to deal politickly with his ſervants. Computations are made, and there are huge ſums ſet down for Princes, to ſee how much they may amplifie and enlarge their own treaſure; how many publick burthens they may eaſe; what preſent means they have to reward their ſervants about them, if they pleaſe but to grant their aſſent, and to accept of the ſpoil of Biſhops, by whom Church-goods are but abuſed unto pomp and vanity. Thus albeit they deal with one, whoſe princely virtue giveth them ſmall hope to prevail in impious and ſacrilegious motions; yet ſhame they not to move her Royal Majeſty even with a ſuit not much unlike unto that wherewith the Jewiſh High-Prieſt tried *Judas,* whom they ſollicited unto Treaſon againſt his Maſter, and propoſed unto him a number of ſilver-pence in lieu of ſo virtuous and honeſt a ſervice. But her Sacred Majeſty diſpoſed to be always like her ſelf, Her heart ſo far eſtranged from willingneſs to gain by pillage of that eſtate, the only awe whereof under God ſhe hath been unto this preſent hour as of all other parts of this noble Common-wealth whereof ſhe hath vowed her ſelf a Protector till the end of her days on Earth, which if nature could permit, we wiſh, as good cauſe we have, endleſs: This her gracious inclination is more than a ſeven times ſealed warrant, upon the ſame aſſurance whereof touching time and action, ſo diſhonourable as this, we are on her part moſt ſecure, not doubting but that unto all poſterity, it ſhall for ever appear, that from the firſt to the very laſt of her Soveraign proceedings, there hath not been one authoriſed deed, other than conſonant with that *Symmachus* ſaith, *Fiſcus bonorum Principum, non Sacerdotum damnis ſed hoſtium ſpoliis augeatur*; conſonant with that Imperial Law, *Ea quæ ad beatiſſimæ Eccleſiæ jura pertinent, tanquam ipſam ſacroſanctam & religioſam Eccleſiam intacta convenit venerabiliter cuſtodiri; ut ſicut ipſa religionis & fidei mater perpetua eſt, ita ejus patrimonium jugiter ſervetur illæſum.* As for the caſe of publick burthens, let any Politician living make it appear, that by confiſcation of Biſhops Livings, and their utter diſſolution at once, the Common-wealth ſhall ever have half that relief and eaſe which it receiveth by their continuance as now they are, and it ſhall give us ſome cauſe to think, that albeit we ſee they are impiouſly and irreligiouſly minded, yet we may eſteem them at leaſt to be tolerable Common-wealths-Men. But the caſe is too clear and manifeſt, the World doth but too plainly ſee it, that no one Order of Subjects whatſoever within this Land doth bear the ſeventh part of that proportion which the Clergy beareth in the burthens of the Common-wealth; No revenue of the Crown like unto it, either for certainty or for greatneſs. Let the good which this way hath grown to the Common-wealth by the diſſolution of Religious Houſes, teach Men what eaſe unto publick burthens there is like to grow, by the overthrow of the Clergy. My meaning is not hereby to make the ſtate of Biſhopricks, and of thoſe diſſolved Companies alike, the one no leſs unlawful to be removed than the other. For thoſe Religious perſons were Men which followed only a ſpecial kind of Contemplative life in the Common-wealth, they were properly no portion of God's Clergy (only ſuch amongſt them excepted, as were alſo Prieſts) their goods (that excepted, which they unjuſtly held through the Popes uſurped power of appropriating Eccleſiaſtical Livings unto them) may in part ſeem to be of the nature of Civil poſſeſſions, held by other kinds of Corporations, ſuch as the City of *London* hath divers. Wherefore, as their inſtitution was human, and their end for the moſt part ſuperſtitious, they had not therein meerly that holy and divine intereſt which belongeth unto Biſhops, who being imployed by Chriſt in the principal ſervice of his Church, are receivers and diſpoſers of his Patrimony, as hath been ſhewed, which whoſoever ſhall with-hold or with-draw at any time from them, he undoubtedly robbeth God himſelf. If they abuſe the goods of the Church unto pomp and vanity, ſuch faults we do not excuſe in them: Only we wiſh it to be conſidered whether ſuch faults be verily in them, or elſe but objected againſt them by ſuch as gape after ſpoil, and therefore are no competent Judges what is moderate and what exceſſive in them, whom under this pretence they would ſpoil. But the accuſation may be juſt. In plenty and fulneſs it may be we are of God more forgetful than were requiſite. Notwithſtanding Men ſhould remember how not to the Clergy alone it was ſaid by *Moſes* in *Deuteronomy*, *Ne cum manducaveris & biberis & domos optimas ædificaveris*: If the remedy preſcribed for this diſeaſe be good, let it impartially be applied. *Intereſt Reip. ut re ſuâ* QUISQUE *bene utatur.* Let all ſtates be put to their moderate penſions, let their livings and lands be taken away from them whoſoever they be, in whom ſuch ample poſſeſſions are found to have been matters of grievous abuſe: Were this juſt? Would Noble Families think this reaſonable? The Title which Biſhops have to their Livings is as good as the title of any ſort of Men unto whatſoever we account to be moſt juſtly held by them; yea, in this one thing, the claim of B B. hath pre-eminence above all ſecular Titles of right, in that God's own intereſt is the tenure whereby they hold, even as alſo it was to the Prieſts of the Law an aſſurance of their Spiritual Goods and Poſſeſſions, whereupon though they many times abuſed greatly the Goods of the Church, yet was not God's patrimony therefore taken away from them, and made ſaleable unto other Tribes. To rob God, to ranſack the Church, to overthrow the whole Order of Chriſtan Biſhops, and to turn them out of Land and Living, out of Houſe and Home, what Man of common honeſtly can think it for any manner of abuſe to be a remedy lawful or juſt? We muſt confeſs that God is righteous in taking away that which Men abuſe: But doth that excuſe the violence of Thieves

Lib. 10. Ep. 54

DDD. Valent. Theodoſ. & Archad.

L. 14. C. de ſacroſ. Eccleſ.

and Robbers? Complain we will not, with S. *Jerom,* (*a*) *that the hands of Men are ſo ſtraightly tied, and their liberal minds ſo much bridled and held back from doing good by augmentation of the Church-Patrimony.* For we confeſs that herein mediocrity may be and hath been ſometime exceeded. There did want heretofore a *Moſes* to temper Men's liberality, to ſay unto them who enriched the Church, *Sufficit,* Stay your hands leſt fervour of zeal do cauſe you to empty your ſelves too far. It may be the largeneſs of Men's hearts being then more moderate, had been after more durable; and one ſtate by too much over-growing the reſt, had not given occaſion unto the reſt to undermine it. That evil is now ſufficiently cured: The Church Treaſury, if then it were over-full, hath ſince been reaſonable well emptied. That which *Moſes* ſpake unto givers, we muſt now inculcate unto takers away from the Church, let there be ſome ſtay, ſome ſtint in ſpoiling. (*b*) If *Grape-gatherers came unto them,* ſaith the Prophet, *would they not leave ſome remnant behind*? But it hath fared with the wealth of the Church as with a Tower which being built at the firſt with the higheſt, overthroweh it-ſelf after by its own greatneſs; neither doth the ruin thereof ceaſe, with the only fall of that, which hath exceeded mediocrity, but one part beareth down another, till the whole be laid proſtrate. For although the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical, both others and even Biſhops themſelves, be now fallen to ſo low an ebb, as all the World at this day doth ſee; yet becauſe there remaineth ſtill ſomewhat which unſatiable minds can thirſt for, therefore we ſeem not to have been hitherto ſufficiently wronged. Touching that which hath been taken from the Church in Appropriations known to amount to the value of one hundred twenty ſix thouſand pounds yearly, we reſt contentedly and quietly without it, till it ſhall pleaſe God to touch the hearts of Men, of their own voluntary accord to reſtore it to Him again; judging thereof no otherwiſe than ſome others did of thoſe goods which were by *Sylla* taken away from the Citizens of *Rome,* that albeit they were in truth *malè capta,* unconſcionably taken away from the right owners at the firſt, nevertheleſs ſeeing that ſuch as were after poſſeſſed of them held them not without ſome title, which Law did after a ſort make good, *repetitio eorum proculdubio labefactabat compoſitam civitatem*; what hath been taken away as dedicated unto uſes ſuperſtitious, and conſequently not given unto God, or at the leaſtwiſe not ſo rightly given, we repine not thereat. That which hath gone by means ſecret and indirect, through corrupt compoſitions or compacts we cannot help. What the hardneſs of Men's hearts doth make them loath to have exacted, though being due by Law even thereof the want we do alſo bear. Out of that which after all theſe Deductions cometh clearly unto our hands, I hope it will not be ſaid that towards the publick charge, we diſburſe nothing. And doth the reſidue ſeem yet exceſſive? The ways whereby temporal Men provide for themſelves and their Families, are fore-cloſed unto us. All that we have to ſuſtain our miſerable life with, is but a remnant of God's own treaſure, ſo far already diminiſhed and clipt. that if there were any ſenſe of common humanity left in this hard-hearted World, the impoveriſhed eſtate of the Clergy of God, would at the length even of very commiſeration be ſpared, The mean Gentleman that hath but an hundred pound Land to live on, would not be haſty to change his Worldly eſtate and condition with many of theſe ſo over-abounding Prelates; a common Artiſan or Tradeſman of the City, with ordinary Paſtors of the Church. It is our hard and heavy lot that no other ſort of Men being grudged at how little benefit ſoever the Publick Wealth reap by them, no ſtate complained of for holding that which hath grown unto them by lawful means; only the Governors of our Souls, they that ſtudy day and night ſo to guide us, that both in this World we may have comfort, and in the World to come endleſs felicity and joy, (for even ſuch is the very ſcope of all their endeavours, this they wiſh, for this they labour, how hardly ſoever we uſe to conſtrue of their intents,) hard, that only they ſhould be thus continually lifted at for poſſeſſing but that whereunto they have by Law both of God and Man moſt juſt Title. If there ſhould be no other remedy but that the violence of Men, in the end muſt needs bereave them of all ſuccour, further than the inclinations of others ſhall vouchſafe to caſt upon them, as it were by way of Alms for their relief but from hour to hour; better they are not than their Fathers, who have been contented with as hard a portion at the World's hands: Let the light of the Sun and Moon, the common benefit of Heaven and Earth be taken away from B B. if the Queſtion were, whether God ſhould loſe his glory, and the ſafety of his Church be hazarded, or they relinquiſh the right and intereſt which they have in the things of this World. But ſith the Queſtion in truth is, whether *Levi* ſhall be deprived of the portion of God or no, to the end that *Simeon* or *Ruben* may devour it as their ſpoil, the comfort of the one in ſuſtaining the injuries which the other would offer, muſt be that Prayer powred out by *Moſes* the Prince of Prophets, in moſt tender affection to *Levi, Bleſs, O Lord, his ſubſtance, accept thou the work of his hands; ſmite through the loins of them that riſe up againſt him, and of them which hate him, that they riſe no more.*

(*a*) Pudet dicere, ſacerdotes idolorum aurigæ; mimi & ſcorta hæreditates capiunt, ſolis clericis & menachis, id lege prohibetur, & prohibetur non à perſecutoribus ſed Principibus Chriſtianis. Nec de lege conqueror, ſed doleo quod meruerimus hanc legem. Ad Nepot. 7.

(*b*) Obad. verſ. 5.

Flor. lib. 3. c. 13.

Deut. 33. 10. 11.

OF THE
LAWS
OF
Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

BOOK VIII.

Containing their Seventh Aſſertion, That to no Civil Prince or Governor, there may be given ſuch Power of Eccleſiaſtical Dominion, as by the Laws of this Land belongeth unto the Supreme Regent thereof.

WE come now to the laſt thing whereof there is Controverſy moved, namely, *The Power of Supreme Juriſdiction*, which for diſtinction ſake we call, *The Power of Eccleſiaſtical Dominion.* It was not thought fit in the *Jews Common-wealth*, that the exerciſe of *Supremacy Eccleſiaſtical* ſhould be denied unto him, to whom the exerciſe of *Chiefty Civil* did appertain; and therefore their Kings were inveſted with both. This Power they gave unto *Simon*, when they conſented that he ſhould be their Prince, not only to ſet Men over their Works, and Country, and Weapons, but alſo to provide for the Holy things; and that he ſhould be obey'd of every Man, and that the Writings of the Country ſhould be made in his Name, and that it ſhould not be lawful for any of the People, or Prieſts, to withſtand his words, or to call any Congregation in the Country without him. And if haply it be ſurmiſed, that thus much was given to *Simon*, as being both Prince and High-Prieſt; which otherwiſe (being their *Civil Governor*) he could not lawfully have enjoyed; We muſt note, that all this is no more than the ancient Kings of that People had, being Kings, and not Prieſts. By this Power, *David*, *Aſa*, *Jehoſhaphat*, *Joſias*, and the reſt, made thoſe Laws and Orders which Sacred Hiſtory ſpeaketh of, concerning matters of meer Religion, the affairs of the Temple, and ſervice of God. Finally, had it not been by the virtue of this power, how ſhould it poſſibly have come to paſs, that the piety or impiety of the Kings did always accordingly change the publick face of Religion, which things the Prophets by themſelves never did, nor at any time could hinder from being done: Had the Prieſts alone been poſſeſt of all power in ſpiritual affairs, how ſhould any thing concerning matter of Religion have been made but only by them; in them it had been, and not in the King, to change the face of Religion at any time; the altering of Religion, the making of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, with other the like actions belonging unto the power of Dominion, are ſtill termed *the deeds of the King*; to ſhew, that in him was placed the ſupremacy of power in this kind over all, and that unto their Prieſts the ſame was never committed, ſaving only at ſuch times as the Prieſts were alſo Kings and Princes over them. According to the pattern of which example, the like power in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical is by the Laws of this Realm annexed unto the Crown; and there are which do imagine, that Kings being meer Lay-Perſons, do by this means exceed the lawful bounds of their callings; which thing to the end that they may perſwade, they firſt make a neceſſary ſeparation perpetual and perſonal between *the Church* and *the Common-wealth.* Secondly, they ſo tie all kind of *Power Eccleſiaſtical* unto the Church, as if it were in every degree their only right, who are by proper ſpiritual functions termed Church-Governors, and might not unto Chriſtian Princes in any wiſe appertain.

Maccab. 14.

appertain. To lurk under ſhifting ambiguities, and equivocations of words in matter of principal weight, is childiſh. A Church and a Common-wealth, we grant, are things in nature one diſtinguiſhed from the other: A Common-wealth is one way, and a Church another way defined. In their opinions the Church and Common-wealth are Corporations, not diſtinguiſhed only in nature and definition, but in ſubſtance perpetually ſevered: So that they which are of the one, can neither appoint, nor execute, in whole nor in part, the duties which belong to them which are of the other, without open breach of the Law of God which hath divided them; and doth require, that ſo being divided, they ſhould diſtinctly or ſeverally work, as depending both upon God, and not hanging one upon the others approbation. For that which either hath to do, we ſay that the care of Religion being common to all Societies Politick, ſuch Societies as do embrace the true Religion have the name of the Church given unto every one of them for diſtinction from the reſt; ſo that every Body Politick hath ſome Religion, but the Church that Religion which is only true. Truth of Religion is the proper difference whereby a Church is diſtinguiſhed from other Politick Societies of Men; we here mean true Religion in groſs, and not according to every particular: for they which in ſome particular points of Religion do ſever from the truth, may nevertheleſs truly (if we compare them to Men of an heatheniſh Religion) be ſaid to hold and profeſs that Religion which is true. For which cauſe there being of old ſo many Politick Societies eſtabliſhed through the world, only the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*, which had the truth of Religion, was in that reſpect the Church of God: And the Church of Jeſus Chriſt is every ſuch Politick Society of Men, as doth in Religion hold that truth which is proper to Chriſtianity. As a Politick Society it doth maintain Religion, as a Church, that Religion which God hath revealed by Jeſus Chriſt: With us therefore the name of a Church importeth only a Society of Men, firſt united into ſome publick form of Regiment, and ſecondly diſtinguiſhed from other Societies by the exerciſe of Religion. With them on the other ſide, the name of the Church in this preſent queſtion, importeth not only a multitude of Men ſo united, and ſo diſtinguiſhed, but alſo further, the ſame divided neceſſarily and perpetually from the body of the Common-wealth: So that even in ſuch a Politick Society as conſiſteth of none but Chriſtians, yet the Church and Common-wealth are too Corporations, independently ſubſiſting by it-ſelf.

We hold that ſeeing there is not any Man of the Church of *England* but the ſame Man is alſo a member of the Common-wealth; nor any member of the Common-wealth, which is not alſo of the Church of *England*. Therefore as in a figure Triangle, the baſe doth differ from the ſides thereof, and yet one and the ſelf-ſame line is both a baſe and alſo a ſide; a ſide ſimply, a baſe if it chance to be the bottom and under-ly the reſt. So albeit, properties and actions of one do cauſe the name of a Common-wealth; qualities and functions of another ſort, the name of the Church to be given to a multitude; yet one and the ſelf-ſame multitude may in ſuch ſort be both. Nay, it is ſo with us, that no perſon appertaining to the one, can be denied alſo to be of the other: Contrariwiſe, unleſs they againſt us ſhould hold that the Church and the Common-wealth are two, both diſtinct and ſeparate Societies; of which two, one comprehendeth always perſons not belonging to the other, (that which they do) they could not conclude out of the difference between the Church and the Common-wealth, namely that the Biſhops may not meddle with the affairs of the Common-wealth, becauſe they are Governors of another Corporation, which is the Church; nor Kings, with making Laws for the Church, becauſe they have Government not of this Corporation, but of another divided from it; the Common-wealth and the walls of ſeparation between theſe two, muſt for ever be upheld: They hold the neceſſity of perſonal ſeparation which clean excludeth the power of one Man's dealing with both; we of natural, but that one and the ſame perſon may in both bear principal ſway.

The cauſes of common received Errors in this Point ſeem to have been eſpecially two: One, that they who embrace true Religion, living in ſuch Common-wealths as are oppoſite thereunto; and in other publick affairs, retaining civil Communion with ſuch as are conſtrained for the exerciſe of their Religion, to have a ſeveral Communion with thoſe who are of the ſame Religion with them. This was the ſtate of the Jewiſh Church both in *Egypt* and *Babylon*, the ſtate of Chriſtian Churches a long time after Chriſt. And in this caſe, becauſe the proper affairs and actions of the Church, as it is the Church, hath no dependance on the Laws, or upon the Government of the civil State; an opinion hath thereby grown, that even ſo it ſhould be always: This was it which deceived *Allen* in the writing of his Apology: *The Apoſtles* (ſaith he) *did govern the Church in* Rome, *when* Nero *bare rule, even as at this day in all the Churches dominions: The Church hath a ſpiritual Regiment without dependance, and ſo ought ſhe to have amongſt Heathens, or with Chriſtians.* Another occaſion of which miſconceit is, that things appertaining to Religion are both diſtinguiſhed from other affairs, and have always had in the Church ſpiritual perſons choſen to be exerciſed about them. By which diſtinction of Spiritual affairs, and perſons therein employed from Temporal, the Error of perſonal ſeparation always neceſſary between the Church and Common-wealth hath ſtrengthened it-ſelf. For of every Politick Society, that being true which *Ariſtotle* ſaith, namely, *That the ſcope thereof is not ſimply to live, nor the duty ſo much to provide for the life, as for the means of living well*: And that

Ariſt. pol. l. 3. cap. 16.
Maccab. 7.

even as the ſoul is the worthier part of Man, ſo human Societies are much more to care for that which tendeth properly to the ſouls eſtate, than for ſuch temporal things which the life hath need of. Other proof there needeth none to ſhew, that as by all Men the Kingdom of God is to be ſought firſt, for ſo in all Common-wealths things ſpiritual ought above temporal to be ſought for; and of things ſpiritual, the chiefeſt is Religion. For this cauſe, perſons and things imployed peculiarly about the affairs of Religion, are by an excellency termed Spiritual. The Heathens themſelves had their ſpiritual Laws, and Cauſes, and Affairs, always ſevered from their temporal; neither did this make two Independent eſtates among them. God by revealing true Religion doth make them that receive it his Church. Unto the *Jews* he ſo revealed the truth of Religion, that he gave them in ſpecial Conſiderations, Laws, not only for the adminiſtration of things ſpiritual, but alſo temporal. The Lord himſelf appointing both the one and the other in that Common-wealth, did not thereby diſtract it into ſeveral independent Communities, but inſtitute ſeveral Functions of one and the ſelf-ſame Community: Some Reaſons therefore muſt there be alledged why it ſhould be otherwiſe in the Church of Chriſt.

Ariſt. pol. l. 3. cap. 20. Liv. lib. 1.

Three kinds of their proofs are taken from the difference of affairs and offices.

I ſhall not need to ſpend any great ſtore of words in anſwering that which is brought out of the Holy Scripture to ſhew that Secular and Eccleſiaſtical affairs and offices are diſtinguiſhed; neither that which hath been borrowed from antiquity, uſing by phraſe of ſpeech to oppoſe the Common-wealth to the Church of Chriſt; neither yet their Reaſons which are wont to be brought forth as witneſſes, that the Church and Common-wealth were always diſtinct: For whether a Church or Common-wealth do differ, is not the queſtion we ſtrive for; but our controverſy is concerning the kind of diſtinction, whereby they are ſevered the one from the other; whether as under heathen Kings the Church did deal with her own affairs within her ſelf, without depending at all upon any in Civil authority; and the Common-wealth in hers, altogether without the privity of the Church: So it ought to continue ſtill even in ſuch Common-wealths as have now publickly embraced the truth of Chriſtian Religion; whether they ought evermore to be two Societies in ſuch ſort, ſeveral and diſtinct: I ask therefore what Society was that in *Rome*, whereunto the Apoſtle did give the name of the Church of *Rome* in his time? If they anſwer (as needs they muſt) that the Church of *Rome* in thoſe days was that whole Society of Men, which in *Rome* profeſſed the Name of Chriſt, and not that Religion which the Laws of the Common-wealth did then authoriſe; we ſay as much, and therefore grant, that the Common-wealth of *Rome* was one Society, and the Church of *Rome* another, in ſuch ſort that there was between them no mutual dependance. But when whole *Rome* became Chriſtian, when they all embraced the Goſpel, and made Laws in defence thereof, if it be held that the Church and Common-wealth of *Rome* did then remain as before; there is no way how this could be poſſible, ſave only one, and that is, they muſt reſtrain the name of a Church in a Chriſtian Common-wealth to the Clergy, excluding all the reſt of Believers both Prince and People; for if all that believe be contained in the name of the Church, how ſhould the Church remain by perſonal ſubſiſtence divided from the Common-wealth, when the whole Common-wealth doth believe? The Church and the Common-wealth are in this caſe therefore perſonally one Society, which Society being termed a Common-wealth as it liveth under whatſoever Form of Secular Law and Regiment, a Church as it liveth under the ſpiritual Law of Chrſt; forſomuch as theſe two Laws contain ſo many and different Offices, there muſt of neceſſity be appointed in it ſome to one charge, and ſome to another, yet without dividing the whole, and making it two ſeveral impaled Societies.

1 Chron. 14. 8, 11.
Hebr. 9. 1.
Allain, lib. 31. p. 151.

2. Taken from the ſpeeches of the Fathers oppoſing the one to the other.

The difference therefore either of Affairs or Offices Eccleſiaſtical from Secular, is no Argument that the Church and Common-wealth are always ſeparate and independent, the one on the other; which thing even *Allain* himſelf conſidering ſomewhat better, doth in this Point a little correct his former judgment before-mentioned, and confeſſeth in his defence of Engliſh Catholicks, that the power Political hath her Princes, Laws, Tribunals; the Spiritual, her Prelates, Canons, Councels, Judgments, and thoſe (when the Temporal Princes were Pagans) wholly ſeparate; but in Chriſtian Common-wealths, joined though not confounded: Howbeit afterwards his former ſting appeareth again; for in a Common-wealth he holdeth that the Church ought not to depend at all upon the authority of any civil perſon whatſoever, as in *England* he ſaith it doth.

Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. 3. Aug. Ep. 167.

It will be objected, that the Fathers do oftentimes mention the Common-wealth and the Church of God, by way of oppoſition. Can the ſame thing be oppoſed to it-ſelf? If one and the ſame Society be both Church and Common-wealth, what ſenſe can there be in that Speech; *That they ſuffer and flouriſh together*? What ſenſe is that which maketh one thing to be adjudged to the Church, and another to the Common-wealth? Finally, in that which putteth a difference between the cauſes of the Province and the Church, doth it not hereby appear, that the Church and the Common-wealth, are things evermore perſonally ſeparate? No, it doth not hereby appear that there is not perpetually any ſuch ſeparation; we ſpeak of them as two, we may ſever the rights and the cauſes of the one well enough from the other, in regard of that difference which we grant is between them, albeit we make no perſonal difference. For the truth is, that the Church and the Common-wealth, are names which import things really different: But thoſe things are accidents, and ſuch accidents as may and always ſhould lovingly dwell together in one ſubject. Wherefore the real difference between the accidents ſignified by theſe names, doth not prove different ſubjects for them always to reſide in. For albeit the ſubjects wherein they be reſident be ſometimes different, as when the people of God have their reſidence among Infidels; yet the nature of them is not ſuch, but that their ſubject may be one, and therefore it is but a changeable accident; in thoſe accidents they are to be divers: There can be no Error in our conceit concerning this Point, if we remember ſtill what accident that is, for which a Society hath the name of a Common-wealth, and what accident that which doth cauſe it to be termed a Church: A Common-wealth we name it ſimply in regard of ſome regiment or policy under which Men live; a Church for the truth of that Religion which they profeſs. Now Names betokening accident inabſtracted, betoken not only the Accidents themſelves, but alſo together with them Subjects whereunto they cleave. As when we name a Schoolmaſter and a Phyſician, thoſe names do not only betoken two accidents, teaching and curing, but alſo ſome perſon or perſons in whom thoſe accidents are. For there is no impediment but both may be in one Man, as well as they are for the moſt part in divers. The Common-wealth and the Church therefore being ſuch names, they do not only betoken theſe Accidents of Civil Government and Chriſtian Religion, which we have mentioned, but alſo together with them ſuch multitudes as are the ſubjects of thoſe accidents. Again, their nature being ſuch as they may well enough dwell together in one ſubject, it followeth that their names though always implying that difference of accidents that hath been ſet down, yet do not always imply different ſubjects alſo. When we oppoſe therefore the Church and the Common-wealth in Chriſtian Society, we mean by the Common-wealth that Society with relation to all the publick affairs thereof, only the matter of true Religion excepted; by the Church, the ſame Society with only reference unto the matter of true Religion, without any affairs; beſides, when that Society, which is both a Church and a Common-wealth, doth flouriſh in thoſe things which belong unto it as a Common-wealth, we then ſay, the Common-wealth doth flouriſh; when in both them, we then ſay, the Church and Common-wealth do flouriſh together.

The Prophet *Eſay* to note corruptions in the Common-wealth complaineth, *That where*
Iſai. 1. 21. *juſtice and judgment had lodged, now were murtherers; Princes were become companions of Thieves, every one loved gifts, and rewards; but the fatherleſs was not judged, neither did the widows cauſe come before them.* To ſhew abuſes in the Church, *Malachy* doth make his
Mal. 1. 18. complaint, *Ye offer unclean bread upon mine Altar. If ye offer the blind for ſacrifice, it is not evil as ye think; if the lame and the ſick, nothing is amiſs.* The treaſure which *David* beſtowed upon the Temple, did argue the love which he bore unto the Church: The pains
1 Chron. 29. 3. which *Nehemiah* took for building the walls of the City, are tokens of his care for the
Nehem. 2. 27. Common-wealth. Cauſes of the Common-wealth, or Province, are ſuch as *Gallio* was content to be judge of. *If it were a matter of wrong, or an evil deed (O ye Jews) I would according to reaſon maintain you.* Cauſes of the Church, are ſuch as *Gallio* there reciteth; *If*
Acts 18. 14. *it be a queſtion of your Law, look ye to it, I will be no judge thereof*: In reſpect of this difference therefore the Church and the Common-wealth may in ſpeech be compared or oppoſed aptly enough the one to the other; yet this is no Argument, that they are two Independent Societies.

3. Taken from the effect of puniſhment inflicted by the one or the other.

Some other Reaſons there are which ſeem a little more nearly to make for the purpoſe, as long as they are but heard, and not ſifted: For what though a Man being ſevered by Excommunication from the Church be not thereby deprived of freedom in the City, or being there diſcommoned, is not therefore forthwith excommunicated and excluded the Church? What though the Church be bound to receive them upon Repentance, whom the Common-wealth may refuſe again to admit? If it chance the ſame Man to be ſhut out of both, diviſion of the Church and Common-wealth which they contend for, will very hardly hereupon follow:. For we muſt note, that members of a Chriſtian Common-wealth have a triple ſtate; a natural, a civil, and a ſpiritual: No Man's natural eſtate is cut off otherwiſe than by that capital execution. After which, he that is none of the body of the Common-wealth, doth not I think remain fit in the body of that viſible Church. And concerning Man's civil eſtate, the ſame is ſubject partly to inferior abatements of liberty, and partly to diminution in the higheſt degree, ſuch as baniſhment is; ſith it caſteth out quite and clean from the body of the Common-wealth, it muſt needs alſo conſequently caſt the baniſhed party even out of the very Church he was of before; becauſe that Church and the Common-wealth he was of, were both one and the ſame Society; ſo that whatſoever doth utterly ſeparate a Man's perſon from the one, it ſeparateth from the other alſo. As for ſuch abatements of civil eſtate as take away only ſome priviledge, dignity or other benefit, which a Man enjoyeth in the Common-wealth, they reach only to our dealing with publick affairs, from which what may let, but that Men may be excluded, and thereunto reſtored again, without diminiſhing or augmenting the number of perſons, in whom either Church or Common-wealth conſiſteth. He that by way of puniſhment loſeth his voice in a publick election of Magiſtrates, ceaſeth not thereby to be a Citizen; a Man disfranchiſed may notwithſtanding enjoy as a Subject the common benefit of Protection under Laws and Magiſtrates; ſo that theſe inferior diminutions which touch Men civilly, but neither do clean extinguiſh their eſtates, as they belong to the Common-wealth, nor impair a whit their condition as they are of the Church of God; theſe, I ſay, do clearly prove a difference of the one from the other, but ſuch a difference as maketh nothing for their ſurmiſe of diſtracted Societies.

And concerning Excommunication, it cutteth off indeed from the Church, and yet not from the Common-wealth; howbeit ſo, that the party Excommunicate is not thereby ſevered from one body which ſubſiſteth in it-ſelf, and retained by another in like ſort ſubſiſting; but he which before had fellowſhip with that Society whereof he was a member, as well touching things ſpiritual as civil, is now by force of Excommunication, although not ſevered from the body in Civil affairs, nevertheleſs for the time cut off from it as touching Communion in thoſe things which belong to the ſame body as it is the Church: A Man which having been both Excommunicated by the Church, and deprived of Civil dignity in the Common-wealth; is upon his repentanee neceſſarily reunited into the one, but not of neceſſity into the other. What then? That which he is admitted unto, is a Communion in things Divine, whereof both parts are partakers; that from which he is withheld, is the benefit of ſome human priviledge, or right, which other Citizens happily enjoy. But are not theſe Saints and Citizens, one and the ſame People? are they not one and the ſame Society? Doth it hereby appear that the Church which received an Excommunicate, can have no dependancy on any perſon which hath chief Authority and Power of theſe things in the Common-wealth whereunto the ſame party is not admitted. Wherefore to end this point, I conclude; Firſt, that under the dominions of Infidels, the Church of Chriſt, and their Common-wealth, were two Societies independent. Secondly, that in thoſe Common-wealths, where the Biſhop of *Rome* beareth ſway, one Society is both the Church and the Common-wealth: But the Biſhop of *Rome* doth divide the body into two divers bodies, and doth not ſuffer the Church to depend upon the power of any civil Prince and Potentate. Thirdly, that within this Realm of *England*, the caſe is neither as in the one, nor as in the other of the former two: But from the ſtate of Pagans we differ, in that with us one Society is both the Church and Common-wealth, which with them it was not; as alſo from the ſtate of thoſe Nations which ſubjected themſelves to the Biſhop of *Rome*, in that our Church hath dependance from the Chief in our Common-wealth, which it hath not when he is ſuffered to rule. In a word, our ſtate is according to the pattern of God's own ancient elect people, which people was not part of them the Common-wealth, and part of them the Church of God; but the ſelf-ſame people whole and entire were both under one Chief Governor, on whoſe Supream Authority they did all depend. Now the drift of all that hath been alledged to prove perpetual ſeparation and independeney between the Church and the Common-wealth, is, that this being held neceſſary, it might conſequently be thought fit, that in a Chriſtian Kingdom, he whoſe power is greateſt over the Common-wealth, may not lawfully have ſupremacy of power alſo over the Church, that is to ſay, ſo far as to order thereby and to diſpoſe of ſpiritual affairs, ſo far as the higheſt uncommanded Commander in them. Whereupon it is grown a Queſtion, whether Government Eccleſiaſtical, and power of Dominion in ſuch degrees as the Laws of this Land do grant unto the Soveraign Governor thereof, may by the ſaid ſupream Governor lawfully be enjoy'd and held: For reſolution wherein, we are, Firſt, to define what the power of dominion is. Secondly, then to ſhew by what right. Thirdly, after what ſort. Fourthly, in what meaſure. Fifthly, in what inconveniency. According to whoſe example Chriſtian Kings may have it. And when theſe generals are opened, to examine afterwards how lawful that is which we in regard of Dominion do attribute unto our own: namely the title of headſhip over the Church, ſo far as the bounds of this Kingdom do reach. Secondly, the Prerogative of calling and diſſolving great aſſemblies, about ſpiritual affairs publick. Thirdly, the right of aſſenting unto all thoſe orders concerning Religion, which muſt after be in force as Law. Fourthly, the advancement of Principal Church Governors to their rooms of Prelacy. Fifthly, judicial authority higher than others are capable of. And ſixthly, exemption from being puniſhable with ſuch kind of Cenſures as the platform of Reformation doth teach, that they ought to be ſubject unto.

What the Power of Dominion is.

Luke 24.
1 Cor. 14.

WIthout order there is no living in publick Society, becauſe the want thereof is the mother of confuſion, whereupon diviſion of neceſſity followeth; and out of diviſion, deſtruction. The Apoſtle therefore giving inſtruction to publick Societies, requireth that all things be orderly done: Order can have no place in things, except it be ſetled amongſt the perſons that ſhall by office be converſant about them. And if things and perſons be ordered, this doth imply that they are diſtinguiſhed by degrees. For order is a gradual diſpoſition: The whole World conſiſting of parts ſo many, ſo different, is by this only thing upheld; he which framed them, hath ſet them in order: The very Deity it-ſelf both keepeth and requireth for ever this to be kept as a Law, that whereſoever there is a coagmentation of many, the loweſt be knit unto the higheſt, by that which being interjacent, may cauſe each to cleave to the other, and ſo all to continue one. This order of things and perſons in publick Societies, is the work of Policy, and the proper inſtrument thereof in every degree is power, power being that hability which we have of our ſelves, or receive from others for performance of any action. If the action which we have to perform be converſant about matters of meer Religion, the power of performing it is then ſpiritual; And if that power be ſuch as hath not any other to over-rule it, we term it Dominion, or Power Supream; ſo far as the bounds thereof extend. When therefore Chriſtian Kings are ſaid to have Spiritual Dominion or Supream Power in Eccleſiaſtical affairs and cauſes, the meaning is, that within their own Precincts and Territories, they have an authority and power to command even in matters of Chriſtian Religion, and that there is no higher nor greater that can in thoſe caſes over-command them, where they are placed to reign as Kings. But withal we muſt likewiſe note that their power is termed ſupremacy, as being the higheſt, not ſimply without exception of any thing. For what Man is ſo brainſick, as not to except in ſuch ſpeeches God himſelf the King of all Dominion? Who doubteth, but that the King who receiveth it, muſt hold it of, and order the Law according to that old axiom, *Attribuat Rex legi, quod lex attribuit ei poteſtatem*: And again, *Rex non debet eſſe ſub homine, ſed ſub Deo & lege.* Thirdly, whereas it is altogether without reaſon, *That Kings are judged to have by virtue of their Dominion, although greater power than any, yet not than all the ſtate of thoſe Societies conjoyned, wherein ſuch Soveraign rule is given them*; there is not any thing hereunto to the contrary by us affirmed, no not when we grant Supream Authority unto Kings; becauſe Supremacy is not otherwiſe intended or meant to exclude partly forreign powers, and partly the power which belongeth in ſeveral unto others, contained as parts in that politick body over which thoſe Kings have Supremacy; *Where the King have power of Dominion or Supream power, there no forreign State, or Potentate, no State or Potentate Domeſtical, whether it conſiſteth of one or many, can poſſibly have in the ſame affairs and cauſes Authority higher than the King.* Power of Spiritual Dominion therefore is in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, that ruling Authority, which neither any forreign State, nor yet any part of that politick body at home, wherein the ſame is eſtabliſhed, can lawfully overrule. It hath been declared already in general, how *the beſt eſtabliſhed dominion is where the Law doth moſt rule the King*: The true effect whereof particulary is found as well in Eccleſiaſtical as Civil affairs: In theſe the King, through his Supream Power, may do ſundry great things himſelf, both appertaining to Peace and War, both at home, and by command and by commerce with States abroad, becauſe the Law doth ſo much permit. Sometimes on the other ſide, *The King alone hath no right to do without conſent of his Lords and Commons in Parliament: The King himſelf cannot change the nature of Pleas, nor Courts, no not ſo much as reſtore blood*; becauſe the Law is a bar unto him: The poſitive Laws of the Realm have a priviledge therein, and reſtrain the Kings power; which poſitive Laws, whether by cuſtom or otherwiſe eſtabliſhed without repugnancy to the Laws of God, and nature, ought not leſs to be in force even in ſupernatural affairs of the Church, whether in regard of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, we willingly embrace that of *Ambroſe, Imperator bonus intra Eccleſiam, non ſupra Eccleſiam eſt, Kings have Dominion to exerciſe in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, but according to the Laws of the Church*; whether it be therefore the nature of Courts, or the form of Pleas, or the kind of Governors, or the order of Proceeding in whatſoever buſineſs, for the received Laws and Liberty of the Church, *the King hath Supream Authority and Power, but againſt them never*; What ſuch poſitive Laws hath appointed to be done by others than the King, or by others with the King, and in what form they have appointed the doing of it, the ſame of neceſſity muſt be kept; neither is the Kings ſole Authority to alter it: Yet, as it were a thing unreaſonable, if in civil affairs the King, albeit the whole univerſal body did join with him, ſhould do any thing by their abſolute power for the ordering of their ſtate at home, in prejudice of thoſe ancient Laws of Nations, which are of force throughout all the World, becauſe the neceſſary commerce of Kingdoms dependeth on them: So in principal matters belonging to Chriſtian Religion, a thing very ſcandalous and offenſive it muſt needs be thought, if either Kings or Laws ſhould diſpoſe of the Law of God, without any reſpect had unto that which of old hath been reverently thought of throughout the World, and wherein there is no Law of God which forceth us to ſwerve from the ways, wherein ſo many and holy Ages have gone: Wherefore not without good conſideration, the very Law it-ſelf hath provided, *That Judges Eccleſiaſtical appointed under the King's Commiſſion, ſhall not adjudge for Hereſy any thing but that which heretofore hath been adjudged by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the firſt four general Councils, or by ſome other general Council, wherein the ſame hath been declared Hereſy, by the expreſs words of the ſaid Canonical Scriptures, or ſuch as hereafter ſhall be determined to be hereſy by the High Court of Parliament of this Realm, with the Aſſent of the Clergy in the Convocation, An.* 1. *Reg. Eliz.* By which words of the Law, who doth not plainly ſee, how that in one branch of Proceeding by virtue of the King's ſupream authority, the credit which thoſe four firſt general Councils have throughout all Churches, and evermore had, was judged by the making of the aforeſaid Act a juſt cauſe wherefore they ſhould be mentioned in that caſe, as a requiſite part of that rule wherewith Dominion was to be limited? But of this we ſhall further conſider, when we come unto that which Soveraign Power may do in making Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

Unto which Supream Power in Kings, two kinds of Adverſaries there are which have oppoſed themſelves: one ſort defending, *That Supream power in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical throughout the world, appertaineth of Divine Right to the Biſhop of Rome*: Another ſort, *That the ſaid power belongeth in every national Church unto the Clergy thereof aſſembled.* We which

defend

The Right which Men give, God ratifies.

defend as well againſt the one, as againſt the other, *That Kings within their own Precincts may have it*, muſt ſhew by what right it muſt come unto them. Firſt unto me, it ſeemeth almoſt out of doubt and controverſie, that every independent multitude before any certain form of Regiment eſtabliſhed, hath under God Supream Authority, full Dominion over it-ſelf, even as a Man not tied with the band of ſubjection as yet unto any other, hath over himſelf the like power. God, creating mankind, did endue it naturally with power to guide it-ſelf in what kind of Society ſoever he ſhould chuſe to live. A Man which is born Lord of himſelf, may be made anothers Servant. And that power which naturally whole Societies have, may be derived unto many, few, or one; under whom the reſt ſhall then live in ſubjection: Some multitudes are brought into ſubjection by force, as they who being ſubdued, are fain to ſubmit their necks unto what yoak it pleaſeth their Conquerors to lay upon them; which Conquerors by juſt and lawful Wars do hold their power over ſuch multitudes as a thing deſcending unto them; Divine Providence it-ſelf ſo diſpoſing. For it is God who giveth victory in the day of War, and unto whom Dominion in this ſort is derived, the ſame they enjoy according to the Law of Nations; which Law authoriſeth Conquerors to reign as abſolute Lords over them whom they vanquiſh. Sometimes it pleaſeth God himſelf by ſpecial appointment to chuſe out and nominate ſuch, as to whom Dominion ſhall be given; which thing he did often in the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*: They which in this ſort receive power immediately from God, have it by meer Divine right; they by human, on whom the ſame is beſtowed, according to Mens diſcretion, when they are left freely by God to make choice of their own Governors. By which of theſe means ſoever it happen, that Kings or Governors be advanced unto their Eſtates, we muſt acknowledge both their lawful choice to be approved of God, and themſelves to be God's Lieutenants; and confeſs their Power which they have to be his. As for Supream Power in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, the Word of God doth no where appoint that all Kings ſhould have it, neither that any ſhould not have it; for which cauſe, it ſeemeth to ſtand altogether by human Right, that unto Chriſtian Kings there is ſuch Dominion given.

Corona eſt poteſtas delegata à Deo. Bracton.

Again, on whom the ſame is beſtowed at Mens diſcretions, they likewiſe do hold it by Divine Right: If God in his revealed Word, hath appointed ſuch Power to be, although himſelf extraordinarily beſtow it not, but leave the appointment of perſons to Men; yea, albeit God do neither appoint nor aſſign the perſon: Nevertheleſs, when Men have aſſigned and eſtabliſhed both, who doth doubt but that ſundry duties and affairs depending thereupon are preſcribed by the Word of God, and conſequently by that very right to be exacted? For example ſake, the power which *Roman* Emperors had over foreign Provinces, was not a thing which the Law of God did ever Inſtitute: Neither was *Tiberius Cæſar* by eſpecial Commiſſion from Heaven therewith inveſted, and yet payment of Tribute unto *Cæſar* being now made Emperor, is the plain Law of Jeſus Chriſt: Unto Kings by human Right, Honour by very Divine Right, is due; Man's Ordinances, are many times propoſed as grounds in the Statutes of God; And therefore of what kind ſoever the means be, whereby Governors are lawfully advanced to their States, as we by the Laws of God ſtand bound meekly to acknowledge them for God's Lieutenants; and to confeſs their Power his: So by the ſame Law they are both authoriſed, and required to uſe that Power as far as it may be in any State available to his Honour. The Law appointeth no Man to be a husband; but if a Man hath betaken himſelf unto that condition, it giveth him Power and Authority over his own Wife. That the Chriſtian World ſhould be ordered by the Kingly Regiment, the Law of God doth not any where command: and yet the Law of God doth give them, which once are exalted unto that place of Eſtate, right to exact at the hands of their Subjects general obedience in whatſoever affairs their power may ſerve to command, and God doth ratifie works of that Soveraign Authority, which Kings have received by Men. This is therefore the right whereby Kings do hold their power; but yet in what ſort the ſame doth reſt and abide in them, it ſomewhat behoveth farther to ſearch, where that we be not enforced to make over large diſcourſes about the different Conditions of Soveraign or Supream Power; that which we ſpeak of Kings, ſhall be in reſpect of the State, and according to the nature of this Kingdom, where the people are in no ſubjection, but ſuch as willingly themſelves have condeſcended unto for their own moſt behoof and Security. In Kingdoms therefore of this quality, the higheſt Governor hath indeed univerſal Dominion, but with dependency upon that whole entire body, over the ſeveral parts whereof he hath Dominion: ſo that it ſtandeth for an Axiom in this caſe; The King is *Major ſingulis, univerſis minor*. The King's dependency, we do not conſtrue as ſome have done, who are of opinion that no Man's birth can make him a King; but every particular perſon, advanced to ſuch Authority, hath at his entrance into his Reign, the ſame beſtowed on him as an eſtate in condition by the voluntary Deed of the people, in whom it doth lie to put by any one, and to prefer ſome other before him, better liked of or judged fitter for the place, and that the party ſo rejected hath no injury done unto him; no although the ſame be done in a place where the Crown doth go διὰ γένος by ſucceſſion, and to a perſon which is capital, and hath apparently, if blood be reſpected, the neareſt right. They plainly affirm in all well appointed Kingdoms, the cuſtom evermore hath been, and is, that children ſucceed not their Parents, till the people after a ſort have created them a new, neither that they grow to their Fathers as natural and proper Heirs, but are then to be reckoned for Kings when at the hands of ſuch as repreſent the King's Majeſty, they have by a Scep-

Junius Brutus vindic. p. 83.

ter and a Diadem received, as it were, the inveſture of Kingly Power: Their very words are, *That where ſuch power is ſetled into a family or kindred, the Stock it-ſelf is thereby cho-ſen, but not the twigg that ſpringeth of it. The next of the Stock unto him that raigneth, are not through nearneſs of blood made Kings, but rather ſet forth to ſtand for the Kingdom; where Regal Dominion is hereditary, it is notwithſtanding (if we look to the perſons which have it) altogether elective.* To this purpoſe are ſelected heaps of Scriptures concerning the Solemn Coronation or Inaguration of *Saul*, of *David*, of *Solomon*, and others, by the Nobles, Ancients, and people of the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*; as if theſe ſolemnities were a kind of deed, whereby the right of Dominion is given. Which ſtrange, untrue, and unnatural conceits, ſet abroad by ſeeds-Men of Rebellion, only to animate unquiet ſpirits, and to feed them with poſſibility of aſpiring to Thrones, if they can win the hearts of the people, what hereditary title ſoever any other before them may have. I ſay unjuſt and inſolent poſitions, I would not mention, were it not thereby to make the countenance of truth more orient; for unleſs we will openly proclaim defiance unto all law, equity, and reaſon, we muſt (there is no remedy) acknowledge, that in Kingdoms hereditary birth giveth right unto Soveraign Dominion; and the death of the Predeceſſor putteth the Succeſſor by blood in Seiſin. Thoſe publick ſolemnities before ſpecified, do but ſerve for an open teſtification of the Inheritors right, or belonging unto the form of inducting him into poſſeſſion of that thing he hath right unto: Therefore in caſe it doth happen, that without right of blood a Man in ſuch wiſe be poſſeſſed, all theſe new elections and inveſtings are utterly void; they make him no indefeaſable eſtate; the Inheritor by blood may diſpoſſeſs him as an Uſurper. The caſe thus ſtanding, albeit we judge it a thing moſt true, that Kings, even Inheritors, do hold their right in the Power of Dominion, with dependency upon the whole Body politick, over which they have Rule as Kings; yet ſo it may not be underſtood as if ſuch dependency did grow, for that every ſupream Governor doth perſonally take from thence his power by way of gift, beſtowed of their own free accord upon him at the time of his entrance into the ſaid place of his Soveraign Government. But the cauſe of dependency is that firſt Original conveyance, when power was derived from the whole into One; to paſs from him unto them, whom out of him nature by lawful births ſhould produce, and no natural or legal inability make uncapable: *Neither can any Man with reaſon think, but that the firſt inſtitution of Kings, a ſufficient conſideration wherefore their power ſhould always depend on that from which it did always flow by Original influence of power, from the body unto the King, is the cauſe of Kings dependency in Power upon the body.* By dependency we mean ſubordination and ſubjection: A manifeſt token of which dependency may be this; as there is no more certain Argument, that Lands are held under any as Lords, than if we ſee that ſuch Lands in defect of Heirs fall unto them by eſcheat: In like manner, it doth follow rightly, that ſeeing Dominion when there is none to inherit it, returneth unto the body; therefore, they which before were Inheritors thereof, did hold it with dependency upon the body, ſo that by comparing the body with the head, as touching power, it ſeemeth always to reſide in both; fundamentally and radically in the one, in the other derivatively; in the one the Habit, in the other the Act of Power. May a Body politick then at all times, withdraw in whole or in part the influence of Dominion which paſſeth from it, if inconveniences do grow thereby? It muſt be preſumed, that Supream Governors will not in ſuch caſe oppoſe themſelves, and be ſtiff in detaining that, the uſe whereof is with publick detriment: But ſurely without their conſent, I ſee not how the body by any juſt means ſhould be able to help it-ſelf, ſaving when Dominion doth eſcheat; ſuch things therefore muſt be thought upon before hand, that Power may be limited ere it be granted, which is the next thing we are to conſider.

Pag. 85.

Tully de Of.

In what meaſure.

IN power of Dominion, all Kings have not an equal latitude: Kings by conqueſt make their own Charter; ſo, that how large their power, either Civil or Spiritual, is, we cannot with any certainty define further, than only to ſet them in the line of the Law of God and Nature for bounds. Kings by God's own ſpecial appointment, have alſo that largeneſs of power which he doth aſſign or permit with approbation touching Kings which were firſt inſtituted by agreement and compoſition made with them over whom they reign, how far their power may extend; the Articles of Compact between them is to ſhew not only the Articles of Compact at the firſt beginning, which for the moſt part are either clean worn out of knowledge, or elſe known to very few; but whatſoever hath been after in free and voluntary manner condeſcended unto, whether by expreſs conſent, (whereof poſitive laws are witneſſes,) or elſe by ſilent allowance, famouſly notified through cuſtom, reaching beyond the memory of Man. By which means of after-Agreement, it cometh many times to paſs in Kingdoms, that they whoſe ancient Predeceſſors were by violence and force made ſubject, do by little and little grow into that ſweet form of Kingly Government, which Philoſophers define, *Regency willingly ſuſtained, and indued with Chiefty of power in the greateſt things.* Many of the Ancients in the Writings do ſpeak of Kings with ſuch high and ample terms, as if univerſality of Power, even in regard of things and not of perſons, did appertain to the very being of a King: The reaſon is, becauſe the ſpeech concerning Kings, they frame according to the ſtate of thoſe Monarchs, to whom unlimited authority was given; which ſome not obſerving, imagine, that all Kings, even in that they are Kings, ought to have whatſoever power they judge any Soveraign Ruler lawfully to have enjoyed. But the moſt judicious Philoſopher, whoſe eye ſcarce any thing did eſcape which was to be found in the boſom of nature, he conſidering how far the power of one Soveraign Ruler may be different from another Regal Authority, noteth in *Spartan* Kings, *That of all others they were moſt tied to Law, and ſo the moſt reſtrained power.* A King which hath not ſupream power in the greateſt things, is rather intituled a King, than inveſted with real Soveraignty. We cannot properly term him a King, of whom it may not be ſaid, at the leaſtwiſe, as touching certain the chiefeſt affairs of the State, ἄρχειν, ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ οὐδενὸς, his right in them is to have rule, not ſubject to any other predominancy. I am not of opinion that ſimply in Kings the moſt, but the beſt limited power is beſt, both for them and the people: The moſt limited is that which may deal in feweſt things, the beſt, that which in dealing is tied unto the ſoundeſt, perfecteſt, and moſt indifferent Rule, which Rule is the Law: I mean not only the Law of Nature, and of God; but the National Law conſonant thereunto. *Happier that people whoſe Law is their King in the greateſt things, than that whoſe King is himſelf their Law: Where the King doth guide the State, and the Law the King, that Common-wealth is like an Harp or Melodious Inſtrument, the ſtrings whereof are turned and handled all by one hand, following as Laws, the Rules and Canons of Muſical Science.* Moſt divinely therefore *Archytas* maketh unto publick felicity theſe four ſteps and degrees, every of which doth ſpring from the former, as from another cauſe, ὁ δὲ Βασιλεὺς νόμιμος, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἀκόλουθος, ὁ δὲ ἀρχόμενος ἀπόλυτος, ἡ δὲ ὅλη κοινωνία εὐδαίμων, *The King ruling by Law, the Magiſtrate following, the Subject free, and the whole Society happy.* Adding on the contrary ſide, that where this order is not, it cometh by tranſgreſſion thereof to paſs that a King groweth a Tyrant; he that ruleth under him abhorreth to be guided by him or commanded; the people ſubject unto both, have freedom under neither, and the whole Community is wretched. In which reſpect, I cannot chuſe but commend highly their wiſdom, by whom the Foundation of the Common-wealth hath been laid; wherein though no manner of Perſon, or Cauſe be unſubject unto the King's Power, yet ſo is the power of the King over all, and in all limited, that unto all his proceedings the Law it-ſelf is a rule. The Axioms of our Regal Government are theſe, *Lex facit regem*: The Kings grant of any favour made contrary to the Law is void; *Rex nihil poteſt niſi quod jure poteſt*: Our Kings therefore, when they are to take poſſeſſion of the Crown they are called unto, have it pointed out before their eyes, even by the very Solemnities and Rites of their Inauguration, to what affairs by the ſame Law their Supream Power and Authority reacheth; crowned we ſee they are, enthroniſed and anointed; the Crown a Sign of a Military Dominion; the Throne of Sedentary or Judicial; the Oil of Religious and Sacred Power. It is not on any ſide denied, that Kings may have Authority in Secular affairs. The Queſtion then is, *What power they may lawfully have, and exerciſe in cauſes of God. A Prince, or Magiſtrate, or a Community* (ſaith Doctor *Stapleton*) *may have power to lay corporal puniſhment on them which are teachers of perverſe things; power to make Laws for the Peace of the Church; Power to proclaim, to defend, and even by revenge to preſerve* dogmata *the very Articles of Religion themſelves from violation.* Others, in affection no leſs devoted unto the Papacy, do likewiſe yield, that the Civil Magiſtrate may by his Edicts and Laws keep all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons within the bounds of their duties, and conſtrain them to obſerve the Canons of the Church, to follow the rule of ancient Diſcipline. That if *Joaſh* was commended for his care and proviſion, concerning ſo ſmall a part of Religion, as the Church-treaſure; it muſt needs be both unto Chriſtian Kings themſelves greater honour, and to Chriſtianity a larger benefit, when the cuſtody of Religion, and the worſhip of God in general is their charge. If therefore all theſe things mentioned be moſt properly the affairs of God's Eccleſiaſtical cauſes; if the actions ſpecified be works of power; and if that power be ſuch as Kings may uſe of themſelves, without the fear of any other power ſuperior in the ſame thing; it followeth neceſſarily, that Kings may have ſupream power, not only in Civil, but alſo in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and conſequently, that they may withſtand what Biſhop or Pope ſoever ſhall, under the pretended claim of higher Spiritual Authority, oppoſe themſelves againſt their proceedings. But they which have made us the former grant, will never hereunto condeſcend; what they yield that Princes may do, it is with ſecret exception always underſtood, if the Biſhop of *Rome* give leave, if we enterpoſe no prohibition; wherefore, ſomewhat it is in ſhew, in truth nothing which they grant. Our own Reformers do the very like, when they make their diſcourſe in general, concerning the Authority which Magiſtrates may have, a Man would think them to be far from withdrawing any jot of that, which with reaſon may be thought due, *The Prince and Civil Magiſtrate* (ſaith one of them) *hath to ſee the Laws of God, touching his Worſhip, and touching all Matters, and all Orders of the Church to be executed, and duly obſerved; and to ſee every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon do that Office, whereunto he is appointed; and to puniſh thoſe which fail in their Office accordingly.* Another acknowledgeth, *That*

the

Ariſt. Pol. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Pythagoras apud Erdant. de Regno.

Stapl. *de Do. Princip. lib.* 5. 6, 17.

T.C.l.1 p.192.

Farmers Def. of the Godly Magiſtrate.

Humble motion. p. 36.

Cicero lib. 1. de nat. Deor.

Kinds.

By what Rule.

the Magiſtrate may lawfully uphold all truth by his Sword, puniſh all perſons, enforce all to their duties towards God and Men; maintain by his Laws every point of God's Word, puniſh all vice in all Men; ſee into all cauſes, viſit the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, and correct the abuſes thereof: Finally to look to his Subjects, that under him they may lead their lives in all godlineſs and honeſty. A third more frankly profeſſeth, *That in caſe their Church Diſcipline were eſtabliſhed, ſo little it ſhortneth the Arms of Soveraign Dominion in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, that Her Gracious Majeſty, for any thing they teach or hold to the contrary, may no leſs than now remain ſtill over all perſons, in all things Supream Governeſs even with that full and Royal Authority, Superiority, and Pre-eminence, Supremacy, and Prerogative, which the Laws already eſtabliſhed do give her; and her Majeſties Injunctions, and the Articles of the Convocation-houſe, and other writings Apologetical of her Royal Authority, and ſupream Dignity, do declare and explain. Poſſidonius* was wont to ſay of the Epicure, *That he thought there were no Gods, but that thoſe things which he ſpake concerning the Gods, were only given out for fear of growing odious amongſt Men: And therefore that in words he left gods remaining, but in very deed overthrew them, inſomuch as he gave them no kind of Action.* After the very ſelf-ſame manner, when we come unto thoſe particular effects, Prerogatives of Dominion which the Laws of this Land do grant unto the Kings thereof, it will appear how theſe Men, notwithſtanding their large and liberal Speeches abate ſuch parcels out of the afore alledged grant and flouriſhing ſhew, that a Man comparing the one with the other, may half ſtand in doubt, leſt their Opinion in very truth be againſt that Authority, which by their Speeches they ſeem mightily to uphold, partly for the avoiding of publick obloquy, envy, and hatred; partly to the intent they may both in the end by the eſtabliſhment of their Diſcipline, extinguiſh the force of Supream Power, which Princes have, and yet, in the mean while, by giving forth theſe ſmooth Diſcourſes, obtain that their favourers may have ſomewhat to alledge for them by way of Apology, and that ſuch words only ſound towards all kind of fulneſs of Power. But for my ſelf, I had rather conſtrue ſuch their contradictions in the better part, and impute their general acknowledgment of the lawfulneſs of Kingly Power, unto the force of truth, preſenting it-ſelf before them ſometimes above their particular contrarieties, oppoſitions, denials, unto that error which having ſo fully poſſeſt their minds, caſteth things inconvenient upon them; of which things in their due place. Touching that which is now in hand, we are on all ſides fully agreed. Firſt, that there is not any reſtraint or limitation of matter for regal Authority and Power to be converſant in, but of Religion only; and of whatſoever cauſe thereunto appertaineth Kings may lawfully have charge, they lawfully may therein exerciſe Dominion, and uſe the temporal Sword. Secondly, that ſome kind of actions converſant about ſuch affairs are denied unto Kings: As namely, Actions of Power and Order, and of Spiritual Juriſdiction, which hath with it inſeparably joined Power to Adminiſter the Word and Sacraments, power to Ordain, to Judge as an Ordinary, to bind and looſe, to Excommunicate, and ſuch like. Thirdly, that even in thoſe very actions, which are proper unto Dominion, there muſt be ſome certain rule whereunto Kings in all their proceedings ought to be ſtrictly tied; which rule for proceeding in Eccleſiaſtical affairs and cauſes by Regal Power, hath not hitherto been agreed upon with ſuch uniform conſent, and certainty, as might be wiſhed. The different ſentences of Men herein I will now go about to examine, but it ſhall be enough to propoſe what Rule doth ſeem in this caſe moſt reaſonable.

Ob utilitatem publicam reip. per unum conſuli oportere, prudentiſſimi docent. L. C. 11. F. de origine juris Civilis.

The caſe of deriving Supream Power from a whole intire multitude into ſome ſpecial part thereof; as partly the neceſſity of expedition in publick affairs, partly the inconvenience of confuſion and trouble, where a multitude of Equals dealeth; and partly the diſſipation which muſt needs enſue, in companies where every Man wholly ſeeketh his own particular (as we all would do, even with other Mens hurts) and haply the very overthrow of themſelves, in the end alſo; if for the procurement of the common good of all Men, by keeping every ſeveral Man in order, ſome were not inveſted with Authority over all, and encouraged with Prerogative-Honour to ſuſtain the weighty burthen of that charge. The good which is proper unto each Man belongeth to the common good of all, as part to the whole perfection; but theſe two are things different; for Men by that which is proper, are ſevered; united they are by that which is common. Wherefore, beſides that which moveth each Man in patticular to ſeek his own private good, there muſt be of neceſſity in all publick Societies alſo a general mover, directing unto common good, and framing every Man's particular unto it. The end whereunto all Government was inſtituted, was *Bonum publicum*, the *Univerſal or Common good.* Our queſtion is of Dominion, for that end and purpoſe derived into one; ſuch as all in one publick State have agreed, that the Supream charge of all things ſhould be committed unto one: They, I ſay, conſidering what inconveniency may grow, where States are ſubject unto ſundry Supream Authorities, have for fear of theſe inconveniencies withdrawn from liking to eſtabliſh many; οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, the multitude of Supream Commanders is troubleſome. *No Man* (ſaith our Saviour) *can ſerve two Maſters*; ſurely two ſupream Maſters would make any ones ſervice ſomewhat uneaſie in ſuch caſes as might fall out. Suppoſe that to morrow the Power which hath Dominion in Juſtice, require thee at the Court; that which in War, at the Field; that which in Religion, at the Temple; all have equal Authority over thee, and impoſſible it is, that then in ſuch caſe thou ſhouldſt be obedient unto all: By chuſing any one whom thou wilt obey, certain thou art for thy diſobedience to incur the diſpleaſure of the other two.

But

According to what example.

But there is nothing for which ſome comparable reaſon or other may not be found; are we able to ſhew any commendable State of Government, which by experience and practice hath felt the benefit of being in all cauſes ſubject unto the Supream Authority of one? Againſt the policy of the *Iſraelites*, I hope there will no Man except, where *Moſes* deriving ſo great a part of his burthen in Government unto others, did notwithſtanding retain to himſelf Univerſal Supremacy; *Jehoſhaphat* appointing one to be choſen in the affairs of God, and another in the King's affairs, did this as having Dominion over them in both. If therefore from approbation of Heaven, the Kings of God's own choſen people had in the affairs of Jewiſh Religion Supream Power, why not Chriſtian Kings the like alſo in Chriſtian Religion? Firſt, unleſs Men will anſwer, as ſome have done, *That the* Jews *Religion was of far leſs perfection and dignity than ours, ours being that truth whereof theirs was but a ſhadowiſh prefigurative reſemblance.* Secondly, *That all parts of their Religion, their Laws, their Sacrifices, and their Rites and Ceremonies, being fully ſet down to their hands, and needing no more, but only to be put in execution; the Kings might well have higheſt Authority to ſee that done; whereas with us there are a number of Myſteries even in Belief, which were not ſo generally for them, as for us neceſſary to be with ſound expreſs acknowledgment underſtood: A number of things belonging to external Government, and our manner of ſerving God, not ſet down by particular Ordinances, and delivered to us in writing, for which cauſe the State of the Church doth now require, that the Spiritual Authority of Eccleſiaſtical perſons be large, abſolute, and not ſubordinate to Regal power.* Thirdly, *That whereas God armeth Religion Jewiſh as Chriſtian with the Temporal ſword; But of Spiritual puniſhment, the one with power to impriſon, to ſcourge, to put to death: The other with bare authority to Cenſure and Excommunicate: There is no reaſon that the Church which hath no viſible ſword, ſhould in Regiment be ſubject unto any other power, than only unto theirs which have authority to bind and looſe.* Fourthly, *That albeit whilſt the Church was reſtrained unto one people, it ſeemed not incommodious to grant their King the general Chiefty of Power; yet now the Church having ſpread it-ſelf over all Nations, great inconveniencies muſt thereby grow, if every Chriſtian King in his ſeveral Territory ſhall have the like power.* Of all theſe differences, there is not one which doth prove it a thing repugnant to the Law, either of God, or of Nature, that all Supremacy of external Power be in Chriſtian Kingdoms granted unto Kings thereof, for preſervation of quietneſs, unity, order, and peace, in ſuch manner as hath been ſhewed.

Stapl. de prin. Doct. pag. 19. Stapl. 10.

Idem ib.

Of the Title of Headſhip.

For the Title or State it-ſelf, although the Laws of this Land have annexed it to the Crown, yet ſo far we ſhould not ſtrive, if ſo be Men were nice and ſcrupulous in this behalf only; becauſe they do wiſh that, for reverence to Chriſt Jeſus, the Civil Magiſtrate did rather uſe ſome other form of ſpeech wherewith to expreſs that Soveraign Authority which he lawfully hath over all, both Perſons and Cauſes of the Church. But I ſee that hitherto they which condemn utterly the name ſo applied, do it becauſe they miſlike that ſuch Power ſhould be given to Civil Governors. The great exception that Sir *Thomas Moor* took againſt that Title, who ſuffered death for denyal of it, was, *for that it maketh a Lay, a Secular Perſon, the head of the State Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical*; as though God himſelf did not name *Saul*, the Head of all the Tribes of *Iſrael*; and conſequently of that Tribe alſo among the reſt, whereunto the State Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical belonged; when the Authors of the Centuries reprove it in Kings and Civil Governors, the reaſon is, *iſtis non competit iſte Primatus*; ſuch kind of Power is too high for them, they fit it not: In excuſe of Mr. *Calvin*, by whom this Realm is condemned of Blaſphemy, for intituling, *H.* 8. *Supream Head of this Church under Chriſt*, a charitable conjecture is made, that he ſpake by miſinformation; howbeit as he profeſſeth utter diſlike of that name, ſo whether the name be uſed or no, the very Power it-ſelf which we give unto Civil Magiſtrates, he much complaineth of, and proteſteth, *That their Power over all things was it which had ever wounded him deeply: That un-adviſed Perſons had made them too Spiritual, that throughout* Germany *this fault did reign; that in thoſe very parts where* Calvin *himſelf was, it prevailed more than was to be wiſhed; that Rulers by imagining themſelves ſo Spiritual, have taken away Eccleſiaſtical Government; that they think they cannot reign unleſs they aboliſh all the Authority of the Church, and be themſelves the chief Judges, as well in Doctrine, as in the whole Spiritual Regency.* So that, in truth, the Queſtion is, whether the Magiſtrate by being Head in ſuch ſenſe as we term him, do uſe or exerciſe any part of that Authority, not which belongeth unto Chriſt, but which other Men ought to have.

Raſienſis, Epiſt. p. 5. 17. Pref. Cont. 7. Calvin. In com. 7. Amos 7. 13.

Theſe things being firſt conſidered thus, it will be eaſier to judge concerning our own eſtate, whether by force of Eccleſiaſtical Government, Kings have any other kind of Prerogative than they may lawfully hold and enjoy. It is, as ſome do imagine, too much, that Kings of *England* ſhould be termed Heads in relation of the Church. That which we do underſtand by Headſhip, is, their only Supreme Power in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs and Cauſes; That which lawful Princes are, what ſhould make it unlawful for Men in Spiritual Stiles or Titles to ſignifie? If the having of Supreme Power be allowed, why is the expreſſing thereof, by the Title of *Head*, condemned? They ſeem in words (at leaſtwiſe ſome of them) now at the length to acknowledge, that Kings may have Dominion or Supream Government even over all, both Perſons and Cauſes. We in terming our Princes, *Heads of the Church*, do but teſtifie that we acknowledge them ſuch Governors. Again, T. C. l. 2. p. 4. 11. to this it will peradventure be replied, *That howſoever we interpret our ſelves, it is not fit for a mortal Man, and therefore not fit for a Civil Magiſtrate to be intituled the Head of the Church, which was given to our Saviour Chriſt, to lift him above all Powers, Rules, Dominions, Titles, in Heaven or in Earth. Where, if this Title belong alſo to Civil Magiſtrates, then it is manifeſt, that there is a Power in Earth whereunto our Saviour Chriſt is not in this point ſuperior. Again, if the Civil Magiſtrate may have this Title, he may be termed alſo the firſt-begotten of all Creatures, the firſt-begotten of all the Dead, yea the Redeemer of his People.* Epheſ. 1. 21. Col. 1. 18. *For theſe are alike given him as Dignities whereby he is lifted up above all Creatures. Beſides this, the whole Argument of the Apoſtle in both place doth lead to ſhew that this Title* Head of the Church, *cannot be ſaid of any Creature. And further, the very demonſtrative Articles amongſt the* Hebrews, *eſpecially whom St.* Paul *doth follow, ſerveth to tie that which is verified of one, unto himſelf alone: So that when the Apoſtle doth ſay that Chriſt is* Κεφαλὴ, *the Head, it is as if he ſhould ſay, Chriſt, and none other, is the Head of the Church.* Thus have we againſt the entituling of the Higheſt Magiſtrate, *Head*, with relation unto the Church, four ſeveral Arguments gathered by ſtrong ſurmiſe out of words marvellous unlikely to have been written to any ſuch purpoſe, as that whereunto they are now uſed and urged. To the *Epheſians*, the Epheſ. 1. 20, 21, 22, 23. Apoſtle writeth, *That Chriſt, God had ſet on his right hand in the Heavenly places above all Regency and Authority, and Power, and Dominion, and whatſoever name is named, not in this World only, but in that which ſhall be alſo: And hath under his feet ſet all things, and hath given him head above all things unto the Church, which is his Body, even the fulneſs of him which accompliſheth all in all.* Col. 1. 18. Col. 1. 16. To the *Coloſſians* in like manner, *That he is the head of the body of the Church, who is a firſt-born Regency out of the dead, to the end he might be made amongſt them all ſuch an one as hath the Chiefty*: He meaneth, amongſt all them whom he mentioned before, ſaying, *By him all things that are, were made; the things in the Heavens, and the things in the Earth, the things that are viſible, and the things that are inviſible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Regencies,* &c. Unto the fore-alledged Arguments therefore we anſwer: Firſt, that it is not ſimply the title of *Head*, in ſuch ſort underſtood, as the Apoſtle himſelf meant it; ſo that the ſame being imparted in another ſenſe unto others, doth not any ways make thoſe others his Equals; in as much as diverſity of things is uſually to be underſtood, even when of words there is no diverſity; and it is only the adding of one and the ſame thing unto divers Perſons, which doth argue equality in them. If I term Chriſt and *Cæſar* Lords, yet this is no equalizing *Cæſar* with Chriſt, becauſe it is not thereby intended: *To term the Emperor Lord,* (ſaith Tertullian) *I, for my part, will not refuſe, ſo that I be not required to call him Lord, in the ſame ſenſe that God is ſo termed.* Neither doth it follow, which is objected in the ſecond place, that if the Civil Magiſtrate may be intituled a *Head*, he may as well be termed *the firſt-begotten of all Creatures, the firſt-begotten of the Dead, and the Redeemer of his People.* For albeit the former dignity doth lift him up no leſs than theſe, yet theſe terms are not appliable and apt to ſignifie any other inferior dignity, as the former term of *Head* was. The Argument of matter which the Apoſtle followeth hath ſmall evidence or proof, that his meaning was to appropriate unto Chriſt, that the aforeſaid title; otherwiſe than only in ſuch ſenſe as doth make it, being ſo underſtood, too high to be given to any Creature.

As for the force of the Article where our Lord and Saviour is called the *Head*, it ſerveth to tie that unto him by way of excellency, which in meaner degrees is common to others; it doth not exclude any other utterly from being termed *Head*, but from being intituled as Chriſt is *the Head*, by way of the very higheſt degree of excellency: Not in the communication of Names, but in the confuſion of things, there is error. Howbeit, if *Head* were a Name that could not well be, nor never had been uſed to ſignifie that which a Magiſtrate may be in relation to ſome Church; but were by continual uſe of ſpeech appropriated unto the only thing it ſignifieth, being applied unto Jeſus Chriſt; then, although we muſt carry in our ſelves a right underſtanding, yet ought we otherwiſe rather to ſpeak, unleſs we interpret our own meaning by ſome clauſe of plain ſpeech, becauſe we are elſe in manifeſt danger to be underſtood according to that conſtruction and ſenſe, wherein ſuch words are perſonally ſpoken. But here the rareſt conſtruction, and moſt removed from common ſenſe, is that which the World doth import being applied unto Chriſt; that which we ſignifie by it in giving it to the Magiſtrate, it is a great deal more familiar in the common conceit of Men.

The word is ſo fit to ſignifie all kinds of Superiority, Pre-eminence, and Chiefty, that nothing is more ordinary than to uſe it in vulgar ſpeech, and in common underſtanding ſo Eſay 7. 9. *Tekah* is termed the head of *Samaria*. to take it: If therefore Chriſtian Kings may have any pre-eminence or chiefty above all others, although it be leſs than that which *Theodore Beza* giveth, who placeth Kings amongſt the principal Members, whereunto publick Function in the Church belongeth; and denyeth not, but that of them which have publick Function, the Civil Magiſtrates power hath all the reſt at command, in regard of that part of his Office, which is to procure that Peace and good Order be eſpecially kept in things concerning the firſt Table; if even hereupon they term him *the Head of the Church*, which is *his Kingdom*, it ſhould not ſeem ſo unfit a thing; which Title ſurely we could not communicate to any other, no not although it ſhould at our hands be exacted with torments: But that our meaning herein is made known to the World, ſo that no Man which will underſtand can eaſily be ignorant, that we do not impart unto Kings, when we term them *Heads*, the honour which is properly given to our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, when the bleſſed Apoſtle in Scripture doth term him the *Head of the Church.*

The power which we ſignifie in that name, differeth in three things plainly from that which Chriſt doth challenge.

Firſt, it differeth in order, becauſe God hath given to his Church for the Head, ὑπερ πάντα, ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς, *Far above all Principalities, and Powers, and Might, and Dominion, and* Epheſ. 1. 21. *every Name that is named, not in this World only, but alſo in that which is to come*: Whereas the Power which others have, is ſubordinate unto his.

Secondly, again, as he differeth in order, ſo in meaſure of Power alſo; becauſe God hath given unto him the ends of the Earth for his Poſſeſſion; unto him, Dominion from Sea to Pſalm 2. 8. Sea, unto him all power both in Heaven and Earth, unto him ſuch Soveraignty, as doth not only reach over all places, perſons, and things, but doth reſt in his own only Perſon, and is not by any ſucceſſion continued; he reigneth as Head and King, nor is there any kind of law which tieth him, but his own proper will and wiſdom, his power is abſolute, the ſame jointly over all which it is ſeverally over each: Not ſo the Power of any other Headſhip. How Kings are reſtrained, and how their Power is limited, we have ſhewed before; ſo that unto him is given by the title of *Headſhip over the Church* that largeneſs of Power, wherein neither Man, nor Angel, can be matched nor compared with him.

Thirdly, the laſt and greateſt difference between him and them, is in the very kind of their Power. The Head being, of all other parts of the Body, moſt divine, hath dominion over all the reſt; it is the fountain of ſenſe, of motion, the throne where the guide of the Soul doth reign; the Court from whence direction of all things human proceedeth. Why Chriſt is called *the Head of the Church*, theſe Cauſes themſelves do yield. As the Head is the chiefeſt part of a Man, above which there is none, always joined with the Body; ſo Chriſt the higheſt in his Church, is always knit to it. Again, as the Head giveth ſenſe and motion unto all the Body, ſo he quickneth us, and, together with underſtanding of heavenly things, giveth ſtrength to walk therein. Seeing therefore that they cannot affirm Chriſt ſenſibly preſent, or always viſibly joined unto his Body the Church which is on Earth, in as much as his Corporal reſidence is in Heaven; again, ſeeing they do not affirm (it were intolerable if they ſhould) that Chriſt doth perſonally adminiſter the external Regiment of outward actions in the Church, but, by the ſecret inward influence of his Grace, giveth Spiritual life, and the ſtrength of ghoſtly motions thereunto: Impoſſible it is, that they ſhould ſo cloſe up their eyes, as not to diſcern what odds there is between that kind of operation which we imply in the *Headſhip* of Princes, and that which agreeth to our Saviour's dominion over the Church. The *Headſhip* which we give unto Kings, is altogether viſibly exerciſed, and ordereth only the external frame of Church-affairs here amongſt us; ſo that it plainly differeth from Chriſt's, even in very nature and kind. To be in ſuch ſort united unto the Church as he is; to work as he worketh, either on the whole Church or upon any particular Aſſembly, or in any one Man; doth neither agree, nor hath any poſſibility of agreeing unto any one beſides him.

Againſt the firſt diſtinction or difference, it is to be objected, *That to entitle a Magiſtrate* T. C. l. 2. p. 411. *head of the Church, although it be under Chriſt, is not abſurd. For Chriſt hath a two-fold Superiority; over his, and over Kingdoms: According to the one, he hath a Superior, which is his Father; according to the other, none but immediate Authority with his Father; that is to ſay, of the Church he is Head and Governor only as the Son of Man; Head and Governor of Kingdoms only as the Son of God. In the Church, as Man, he hath Officers under him, which Officers are Eccleſiaſtical Perſons: As for the Civil Magiſtrate, his Office belongeth unto King-* T. C. l. 2. p. 418. *doms, and to Common-wealths, neither is he there an under or ſubordinate Head, conſidering that his Authority cometh from God, ſimply and immediately, even as our Saviour Chriſt's doth.* Whereunto the ſum of our Anſwer is. Firſt, that as Chriſt being Lord or Head over all, doth, by virtue of that Soveraignty, rule all; ſo he hath no more a Superior in governing his Church, than in exerciſing Soveraign Dominion upon the reſt of the World beſides. Secondly, that all Authority, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical, is ſubordinate unto him. And Thirdly, the Civil Magiſtrate being termed Head, by reaſon of that Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs which hath been already declared that themſelves do acknowledge to be lawful: It followeth, that he is a Head even ſubordinated of Chriſt, and to Chriſt. For more plain explication whereof, unto God we acknowledge daily, that Kingdom, Power, and Glory, are his; that he is the immortal and inviſible King of Ages, as well the future which ſhall be, as the preſent which now is. That which the Father doth work as Lord and King over all, he worketh not without, but by the Son, who, through co-eternal generation, receiveth of the Father that Power, which the Father hath of himſelf. And for that cauſe our Saviour's words concerning his own Dominion, are, *To me all Power both in Heaven and in Earth is given*: The Father by the Son did create, and doth guide all;

wherefore Chriſt hath Supream dominion over the whole univerſal World. Chriſt is God, Chriſt is λόγος, the conſubſtantial Word of God, Chriſt is alſo that conſubſtantial Word Apoc. 1. 8. which made Man. As God, he ſaith of himſelf, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: He which was, and which is, and which is to come; even the very Omnipotent.* As the conſubſtantial Word of God, he hath with God, before the beginning of the World, that John 17. 5. glory, which, as he was Man, he requireth to have: *Father, glorifie thy Son with that glory which with thee he enjoyed before the World was.* Further, it is not neceſſary, that all things ſpoken of Chriſt ſhould agree to him, either as God, or elſe as Man; but ſome things as he is the conſubſtantial Word of God, ſome things as he is that Word incarnate. The Works of Supream Dominion which have been ſince the firſt beginning wrought by the power of the Son of God, are now moſt properly and truly the Works of the Son of Man: The Word made Fleſh doth ſit for ever, and reign, as Soveraign Lord over all. Dominion belongeth unto the Kingly Office of Chriſt, as Propitiation and Mediation unto his Prieſtly; Inſtruction, unto his Paſtoral and Prophetical Office. His Works of Dominion are, in ſundry degrees and kinds, according to the different conditions of them that are ſubject unto it: He preſently doth govern, and hereafter ſhall judge the World, intire and wholly; and therefore his Regal power cannot be with truth reſtrained unto a proportion of the World only. Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as all do not ſhew and acknowledge, with dutiful ſubmiſſion, that Obedience which they owe unto him; therefore ſuch as do, their Lord he is termed by way of excellency, no otherwiſe than the Apoſtle doth term God the Saviour generally of all, but eſpecially of the Faithful; theſe being brought to the obedience of Faith, are every where ſpoken of, as Men tranſlated into that Kingdom, wherein whoſoever is comprehended, Chriſt is the Author of eternal Salvation unto them; they have a high and ghoſtly fellowſhip with God and Chriſt, and Saints; or, as the Apoſtle in more ample manner ſpeak- Heb. 12. 22. eth, *Aggregated they are unto Mount Sion, and to the City of the living God; the Celeſtial Jeruſalem, and to the company of innumerable Angels, and to the Congregation of the firſt-born, which are written in Heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of juſt and perfect Men, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the New Teſtament.* In a word, they are of that Myſtical body, which we term the Church of Chriſt. As for the reſt we account them *Aliens from the Commonwealth of Iſrael, and that live in the Kingdom of Darkneſs, and that are in this preſent World without God.* Our Saviour's Dominion is therefore over theſe, as over Rebels; over them, as over dutiful and loving Subjects; which things being in holy Scriptures ſo plain, I ſomewhat muſe at that ſtrange poſition, that Chriſt in the Government of his Church, and Superiority over the Officers of it, hath himſelf a Superior which is the Father; but in governing of Kingdoms and Common-wealths, and in the Superiority which he hath over Kingdoms, no Superior.

T. C. l. 4. p. 411. Again, *That the Civil Magiſtrates Authority cometh from God immediately, as Chriſt's doth, and is ſubordinate unto Chriſt.* In what Evangeliſt, Apoſtle, or Prophet, is it found, that Chriſt (Supream Governor of the Church) ſhould be ſo unequal to himſelf, as he is Supream Governor of Kingdoms? The works of his Providence for the preſervation of Mankind, by upholding Kingdoms, not only obedient unto, but alſo obſtinate and rebellious againſt him, are ſuch as proceed from Divine Power; and are not the works of his Providence for ſafety of God's Elect, by gathering, inſpiring, comforting, and every way preſerving his Church, ſuch as proceed from the ſame Power likewiſe? Surely, if Chriſt, as God and Man, hath ordained certain means for the gathering and keeping of his Church, ſeeing this doth belong to the Government of that Church, it muſt in reaſon follow, I think, that, as God and Man, he worketh in Church Regiment; and conſequently hath no more there any Superiors, than in the Government of the Common-wealth. Again, to be in the midſt of his, whereſoever they are aſſembled in his Name, and to be with them to the World's end, are comforts which Chriſt doth perform to his Church as Lord and Governor; yea, ſuch as he cannot perform but by that very Power wherein he hath no Superior. Wherefore, unleſs it can be proved, that all the works of our Saviour's Government in the Church, are done by the meer and only force of his Human nature, there is no remedy but to acknowledge it a manifeſt error, that Chriſt, in the Government of the World, is equal to the Father, but not in the Government of the Church. Indeed, to the honour of this Dominion, it cannot be ſaid, that God did exalt him otherwiſe than only according to that Human nature, wherein he was made low. For, as the Son of God, there could no advancement or exaltation grow unto him: And yet the Dominion, whereunto he was in his Human nature lifted up, is not without Divine Power exerciſed. It is by Divine Power, that the Son of Man, who ſitteth in Heaven, doth work as King and Lord upon us which are on Earth. The exerciſe of his Dominion over the Church Militant cannot chooſe but ceaſe, when there is no longer any Militant Church in the World. And therefore, as Generals of Armies when they have finiſhed their Work, are wont to yield up ſuch Commiſſions as were given for that purpoſe, and to remain in the ſtate of Subjects, and not as Lords, as concerning their former authority; even ſo, when the end of all things is come, the Son of Man (who till then reigneth) ſhall do the like, as touching Regiment over the Militant Church on the Earth. So that between the Son of Man and his Brethren, over whom he reigneth now in this their Warfare, there ſhall be then, as touching the exerciſe of that regiment, no ſuch difference, they not warfaring any longer under him, but he, together with them, under God, receiving the joys of everlaſting triumph, that ſo God may be in all; all miſery in all the Wicked, through his Juſtice; in all the Righteous, through his love, all felicity and bliſs. In the mean while he reigneth over the World as King, and doth thoſe things wherein none is Superior unto him, whether we reſpect the works of his Providence and Kingdom, or of his Regiment over the Church. The cauſe of Error in this point, doth ſeem to have been a miſconceit, that Chriſt, as Mediator, being inferior to his Father, doth, as Mediator, all Works of Regiment over the Church, when in truth, Regiment doth belong to his Kingly Office; Mediatorſhip to his Prieſtly. For, as the High-Prieſt both offered Sacrifices, for expiation of the Peoples ſins, and entred into the holy Place, there to make interceſſion for them: So, Chriſt having finiſhed upon the Croſs that part of his Prieſtly Office, which wrought the propitiation for our Sins, did afterwards enter into very Heaven, and doth there as Mediator of the New Teſtament, appear in the ſight of God for us. A like ſlight of Judgment it is, when they hold that Civil Authority is from God, but not immediately through Chriſt, nor with any ſubordination to God, nor doth any thing from God but by the hands of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. They deny it not, to be ſaid of Chriſt in the Old Teſtament, *By me Princes rule, and the Nobles, and all the Judges of the Earth.* In the New as much is taught, *That Chriſt is the Prince of the Kings of the Earth.* Wherefore, to the end it may more plainly appear, how all Authority of Man is derived from God through Chriſt, and muſt by Chriſtian Men be acknowledged to be no otherwiſe held than of, and under him; we are to note, that, becauſe whatſoever hath neceſſary being, the Son of God doth cauſe it to be, and thoſe things without which the World cannot well continue, have neceſſary being in the World: A thing of ſo great uſe as Government, cannot chooſe but be originally from Him. Touching that Authority which Civil Magiſtrates have in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, it being from God by Chriſt, as all other good things are, cannot chuſe but be held as a thing received at his hands; and becauſe ſuch power is of neceſſity for the ordering of Religion, wherein the eſſence and very being of the Church conſiſteth, can no otherwiſe flow from him, than according to that ſpecial care which he hath to govern and guide his own People: It followeth, that the ſaid Authority is of and under him after a more ſpecial manner, in that *he is Head of the Church,* and not in reſpect of his general Regency over the World. *All things* (ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking unto the Church) *are yours, and ye are Chriſt's, and Chriſt is God's.* Kings are Chriſt's as Saints, becauſe they are of the Church, if not collectively, yet diviſively underſtood. It is over each particular Perſon within that Church where they are Kings: Surely, Authority reaching both unto all Mens perſons, and to all kinds of cauſes alſo: It is not denied, but that they may have and lawfully exerciſe it; ſuch Authority it is, for which, and for no other in the World, we term them Heads; ſuch Authority they have under Chriſt, becauſe he in all things is Lord over all; and even of Chriſt it is that they have received ſuch Authority in as much as of him all lawful Powers are; therefore the Civil Magiſtrate is, in regard of this Power, an under and ſubordinate Head of Chriſt's People.

T.C.l.2.p.15.
Heb. 9. 25.
Eſai. 7. 25.
Rom. 13. 1.
Prov. 8. 15.
Humble motion, p. 63.
Rev. 1. 5.
1 Cor. 3. 12.

It is but idle where they ſpeak, *That although, for ſeveral Companies of Men, there may be ſeveral Heads or Governors, differing in the meaſure of their Authority from the Chiefeſt, who is Head over all; yet it cannot be in the Church, for that the reaſon why Head-Magiſtrates appoint others for ſuch ſeveral places, is, becauſe they cannot be preſent every where to perform the Office of an Head. But Chriſt is never from his Body, nor from any part of it, and therefore needeth not to ſubſtitute any, which may be Heads, ſome over one Church, and ſome over another.* Indeed the conſideration of Man's imbecillity, which maketh many Heads neceſſary, where the burthen is too great for one, moveth *Jethro* to be a Perſuader of *Moſes,* that a number of Heads or Rulers might be inſtituted for diſcharge of that duty by parts, which in whole he ſaw was troubleſome. Now, although there be not in Chriſt any ſuch defect, or weakneſs; yet other cauſes there be divers, more than we are able to ſearch into, wherefore it might ſeem unto him expedient to divide his Kingdom into many Provinces, and place many Heads over it, that the power which each of them hath in particular with reſtraint, might illuſtrate the greatneſs of his unlimited Authority. Beſides, howſoever Chriſt be Spiritually always united unto every part of his Body, which is the Church: Nevertheleſs, we do all know, and they themſelves who alledge this, will I doubt not, confeſs alſo, that from every Church here viſible, Chriſt, touching viſible and corporal preſence, is removed as far as Heaven from the Earth is diſtant. Viſible Government is a thing neceſſary for the Church; and it doth not appear, how the exerciſe of viſible Government over ſuch Multitudes every where diſperſed throughout the World, ſhould conſiſt without ſundry viſible Governors; whoſe Power being the greateſt in that kind, ſo far as it reacheth, they are in conſideration thereof termed ſo far Heads. Wherefore, notwithſtanding the perpetual conjunction, by virtue whereof our Saviour always remaineth ſpiritually united unto the parts of his Miſtical Body; Heads indeed with Supream Power, extending to a certain compaſs, are for the exerciſe of a viſible Regiment not unneceſſary. Some other reaſons there are belonging unto this branch, which ſeem to have been objected, rather for the exerciſe of Mens wits, in diſſolving Sophiſms, than that the Authors of them could think in likelihood, thereby to ſtrengthen their cauſe. For example, *If the Magiſtrate be Head of the Church within his own Dominion, then is he none of the Church: For all that are of the Church make the Body of Chriſt, and every one of the Church fulfilleth the place of one member of the Body: By making the Magiſtrate therefore Head, we do exclude him from being a Member ſubject to the Head, and ſo leave him no place in the Church.* By which

T.C.l.p.413.
T.C.l.p.410.
Ut *Hen.*8.6.7.

reaſon, the name of a Body Politick, is ſuppoſed to be always taken of the inferior ſort alone, excluding the Principal Guides and Governors, contrary to all Mens cuſtoms of ſpeech. The error ariſeth by miſconceiving of ſome Scripture ſentences, where Chriſt as the Head, and the Church as the Body, are compared or oppoſed the one to the other. And, becauſe in ſuch compariſons or oppoſitions, the Body is taken for thoſe only parts which are ſubject unto the Head, they imagine, that who ſo is the Head any Church, he is therefore even excluded from being a part of that Church; that the Magiſtrate can be none of the Church, if ſo we make him the Head of the Church in his own Dominions: A chief and principal part of the Church therefore. Next, this is ſurely a ſtrange concluſion, A Church doth indeed make the Body of Chriſt, being wholly taken together; and every one in the ſame Church fulfilleth the place of a Member in the Body, but not the place of an inferior Member, they which have Supream Authority and Power over all the reſt. Wherefore, by making the Magiſtrate Head in his own Dominions, we exclude him from being a Member ſubject unto any other Perſon, which may viſibly there rule in place of a Superior or Head over him; but ſo far are we off from leaving him by this means no place in the Church, that we do grant him the Chief place. Indeed the Heads of thoſe viſible Bodies, which are many, can be but parts inferior in that Spiritual Body which is but one; yea, they may from this be excluded clean, who notwithſtanding ought to be honoured, as poſſeſſing in order the higheſt rooms: But for the Magiſtrate to be termed, in his Dominions, an Head, doth not bar him from being any way a Part or Member of the Church of God.

As little to the purpoſe are thoſe other Cavils: *A Church which hath the Magiſtrate for Head, is perfect Man without Chriſt*: So that the knitting of our Saviour thereunto, ſhould be an addition of that which is too much. Again, *If the Church be the Body of Chriſt, and of the Civil Magiſtrate, it ſhall have two heads, which being monſtrous, is to the great diſhonour of Chriſt and his Church.* Thirdly, *If the Church be planted in a popular eſtate, then, foraſmuch as all govern in common, and all have Authority, all ſhall be Heads there, and no Body at all, which is another Monſter.* It might be feared what this birth of ſo many Monſters together might portend, but that we know how things, natural enough in themſelves, may ſeem monſtrous, through miſconceit; which error of mind is indeed a Monſter: and the skilful in Nature's myſteries, have uſed to term it the Womb of Monſters; if any be, it is that troubled Underſtanding, wherein, becauſe things lie confuſedly mixt together, what they are it appeareth not. A Church perfect without Chriſt, I know not how a Man ſhall imgine, unleſs there may be either Chriſtianity without Chriſt, or elſe a Church without Chriſtianity. If Magiſtrates be Heads of the Church, they are of neceſſity Chriſtians, then is their Head Chriſt. The adding of Chriſt univerſal Head over all, unto Magiſtrates particular Headſhip, is no more ſuperfluous in any Church than in other Societies: each is to be both ſeverally ſubject unto ſome Head, and to have a Head alſo general for them all to be ſubject unto. For ſo in Armies, in Civil Corporations, we ſee it fareth: A Body Politick, in ſuch reſpects, is not like a Natural Body; in this, more Heads than one is ſuperfluous; in that, not. It is neither monſtrous, nor yet uncomely for a Church to have different Heads: For if Chriſtian Churches be in number many, and every of them a perfect Body by it-ſelf, Chriſt being Lord and Head over all; why ſhould we judge it a thing more monſtrous for one Body to have two Heads, than one Head ſo many Bodies? Him that God hath made the Supream Head of the whole Church; the Head, not only of that Miſtical Body, which the eye of Man is not able to diſcern, but even of every Chriſtian Politick Society, of every viſible Church in the World? And whereas, Laſtly, it is thought ſo ſtrange, that in Popular States, a Multitude to it-ſelf ſhould be both Body and Head, all this Wonderment doth grow from a little overſight, in deeming that the Subject wherein Headſhip ought to reſide, ſhould be evermore ſome one Perſon; which thing is not neceſſary. For in the collective Body that hath not derived as yet the Principality of power into ſome one or few, the whole of neceſſity muſt be Head over each part; otherwiſe it could not have power poſſibly to make any one certain Perſon Head; inaſmuch as the very power of making a Head belongeth unto Headſhip. Theſe ſuppoſed *Monſters* we ſee therefore are no ſuch *Giants*, as that there ſhould need any *Hercules* to tame them.

The laſt difference which we have between the Title of Head when we give it unto Chriſt, and when we give it to other Governors, is, that the kind of Dominion which it importeth, is not the ſame in both: Chriſt is Head, as being the Fountain of Life and Ghoſtly nutriment, the Well-ſpring of Spiritual Bleſſings poured into the Body of the Church; they Heads, as being the principal inſtruments for the Churches outward Government; he Head, as Founder of the Houſe, they, as his chiefeſt Overſeers. Againſt this is exception eſpecially taken, and our Purveyours are herein ſaid to have their proviſion from the popiſh Shambles: For by *Pighius* and *Harding*, to prove that Chriſt alone is not Head of the Church, this diſtinction, they ſay, is brought, that, according to the inward influence of Grace, Chriſt only is Head: But, according to the outward Government, the being Head is a thing common to him with others. To raiſe up falſhoods of old condemned, and bring it for confirmation of any thing doubtful, which already hath ſufficiently been proved an error, and is worthily ſo taken, this would juſtly deſerve cenſuring. But, ſhall manifeſt truth therefore be reproached, becauſe Men convicted in ſome things of manifeſt untruth, have at any time thought or alledged it? If too much eagerneſs againſt their Adverſaries had not made them forget themſelves, they might remember, where being charged as Maintainers of thoſe very things, for which others before them have been condemned of Hereſie, yet, leſt the name of any ſuch Heretick, holding the ſame which they do, ſhould make them odious; they ſtick not frankly to confeſs, *That they are not afraid to conſent in ſome points, with Jews and Turks*: Which defence, for all that, were a very weak Buckler for ſuch as ſhould conſent with Jews and Turks, in that which they have been abhorred and hated for in the Church. But as for this diſtinction of Headſhip, Spiritual and Miſtical of Jeſus Chriſt, miniſterial and outward in others beſides Chriſt; what cauſe is there to miſlike either *Harding*, or *Pighius*, or any other beſides for it? That which they have been reproved for, is, not becauſe they did therein utter an untruth, but ſuch a Truth as was not ſufficient to bear up the Cauſe which they did thereby ſeek to maintain. By this diſtinction, they have both truly and ſufficiently proved, that the name of *Head* importing Power and Dominion over the Church, might be given to others beſides Chriſt, without prejudice to any part of his honour. That which they ſhould have made manifeſt, was, the name of *Head*, importing the power of univerſal Dominion over the whole Church of Chriſt militant, doth, and that by Divine right, appertain to the Pope of *Rome*: They did prove it lawful to grant unto others, beſides Chriſt, the power of Headſhip in a different kind from his; but they ſhould have proved it lawful to challenge, as they did to the Biſhop of *Rome*, a Power univerſal in that different kind. Their fault was therefore in exacting wrongfully ſo great Power as they challenged in that kind, and not in making two kinds of Power, unleſs ſome reaſons can be ſhewed for which this diſtinction of Power ſhould be thought erroneous and falſe. A little they ſtir, (although in vain) to prove, that we cannot with truth make ſuch diſtinction of Power, whereof the one kind ſhould agree unto Chriſt only, and the other be further communicated. Thus therefore they argue, *If there be no Head but Chriſt, in reſpect of Spiritual Government, there is no Head but he in reſpect of the Word, Sacraments, and Diſcipline adminiſtred by thoſe whom he hath appointed, for as much alſo as it is his Spiritual Government*: Their meaning is, that whereas we make two kinds of Power, of which two, the one being Spiritual, is proper unto Chriſt; the other, Men are capable of, becauſe it is viſible and external: We do amiſs altogether in diſtinguiſhing, they think, for as much as the viſible and external power of Regiment over the Church, is only in relation unto the Word, Sacraments, and Diſcipline, adminiſtred by ſuch as Chriſt hath appointed thereunto, and the exerciſe of this Power is alſo his Spiritual Government: Therefore we do but vainly imagine a viſible and external Power in the Church differing from his Spiritual Power. Such Diſputes as this, do ſomewhat reſemble the practiſing of Well-willers upon their Friends in the pangs of Death; whoſe manner is, even then, to put ſmoak in their Noſtrils, and ſo to fetch them again, although they know it a matter impoſſible to keep them living. The kind of affection which the Favourers of this laboring-cauſe bear towards it, will not ſuffer them to ſee it die, although by what means they ſhould make it live, they do not ſee; but they may ſee that theſe wreſtlings will not help: Can they be ignorant how little it booteth to overcaſt ſo clear a light with ſome miſt of ambiguity in the name of Spiritual Regiment? To make things therefore ſo plain, that henceforward a Child's capacity may ſerve rightly to conceive our meaning, we make the Spiritual Regiment of Chriſt to be generally that whereby his Church is ruled and governed in things Spiritual, Of this general we make two diſtinct kinds; the one inviſible, exerciſed by Chriſt himſelf in his own Perſon; the other outwardly adminiſtred by them, whom Chriſt doth allow, to be Rulers and Guiders of his Church. Touching the former of theſe two kinds, we teach that Chriſt, in regard thereof, is particularly termed *the Head of the Church of God*; neither can any other Creature, in that ſenſe and meaning, be termed Head, beſides him, becauſe it importeth the conduct and government of our Souls, by the hand of that bleſſed Spirit wherewith we are ſealed and marked, as being particularly his. Him only therefore do we acknowledge to be the Lord, which dwelleth, liveth, and reigneth in our hearts; him only to be that Head, which giveth ſalvation and life unto his Body; him only to be that Fountain from whence the influence of heavenly Graces diſtilleth, and is derived into all parts, whether the Word, or the Sacraments, or Diſcipline, or whatſoever, be the means whereby it floweth. As for the Power of adminiſtring theſe things in the Church of Chuch, which Power we call the Power of Order, it is indeed both Spiritual and His; Spiritual, becauſe ſuch properly concerns the Spirit: His, becauſe by him it was inſtituted. Howbeit, neither Spiritual, as that which is inwardly and inviſibly exerciſed; nor His, as that which he himſelf, in Perſon, doth exerciſe. Again, that power of Dominion, which is indeed the point of this Controverſie, and doth alſo belong to the ſecond kind of Spiritual Government, namely, unto that Regiment which is external and viſible: This likewiſe being Spiritual in regard of the manner about which it dealeth; and being his, in as much as he approveth whatſoever is done by it, muſt notwithſtanding be diſtinguiſhed alſo from that Power whereby he himſelf in Perſon adminiſtreth the former kind of his own Spiritual Regiment, becauſe he himſelf in Perſon doth not adminiſter this; we do not therefore vainly imagine, but truly and rightly diſcern a Power external and viſible in the Church, exerciſed by Men, and ſevered in nature from that Spiritual Power of Chriſt's own Regiment; which Power is termed Spiritual, becauſe it worketh ſecretly, inwardly, and inviſibly: His, becauſe none doth,

T.C. l.3.p.63.

T.C. l.2.p.45.

doth, nor can it perſonally exerciſe, either beſides, or together with him; ſeeing that him only we may name our Head, in regard of His; and yet in regard of that other Power from this, term others alſo, beſides him, Heads, without any contradiction at all; which thing may very well ſerve for anſwer unto that alſo which they further alledge againſt the aforeſaid
T. C. l. 1. p. 415. diſtinction, namely, *That even the outward Societies and Aſſemblies of the Church, where one or two are gathered together in his Name, either for hearing of the Word, or for Prayer, or any other Church-exerciſe, our Saviour Chriſt being in the midſt of them as Mediator, muſt be their Head: And if he be not there idle, but doing the Office of a Head fully, it followeth, that even in the outward Societies and Meetings of the Church, no meer Man can be called the Head of it, ſeeing that our Saviour Chriſt doing the whole Office of the Head himſelf alone, leaveth nothing to Men, by doing whereof they may obtain that Title.* Which Objection I take as being made for nothing but only to maintain Argument: For they are not ſo far gone as to argue this in ſooth and right good earneſt. *God ſtandeth* (ſaith the Pſalmiſt) *in the midſt of gods*; if God be there preſent, he muſt undoubtedly be preſent as God; if he be not there idle, but doing the Office of a God fully, it followeth, that God himſelf alone doing the whole Office of a God, leaveth nothing in ſuch Aſſemblies to any other, by doing whereof they may obtain ſo high a Name. The Pſalmiſt therefore hath ſpoken amiſs, and doth ill to call
T. C. l. 2. p. 413. Judges, Gods. Not ſo; for as God hath this Office differing from theirs, and doth fully diſcharge it even in the midſt of them, ſo they are not hereby excluded from all kind of Duty, for which that Name ſhould be given unto them alſo, but in that Duty for which it was given them, they are encouraged Religiouſly and carefully to order themſelves after the ſelf-ſame manner. Our Lord and Saviour being in the midſt of his Church as Head, is our comfort, without the abridgment of any one duty; for performance whereof, others are termed Heads in another kind than he is. If there be of the ancient Fathers, which ſay, *That there is but one Head of the Church, Chriſt; and that the Miniſter that baptizeth cannot be the Head of him that is baptized, becauſe Chriſt is the Head of the whole Church: And that* Paul *could not be Head of the Church which he planted, becauſe Chriſt is the Head of the whole Body*: They underſtand the name of Head in ſuch ſort as we grant, that it is not applicable to any other, no not in relation to the leaſt part of the whole Church; he which baptizeth, baptizeth into Chriſt; he which converteth, converteth into Chriſt; he which ruleth, ruleth for Chriſt. The whole Church can have but one to be Head as Lord and Owner of all; wherefore if Chriſt be Head in that kind, it followeth that no other beſides can be ſo either to the whole or to any part.

To call and diſſolve all Solemn Aſſemblies about the Publick Affairs of the Church.

AMongſt ſundry Prerogatives of *Simon*'s Dominion over the Jews, there is reckoned, as not the leaſt, *That no Man might gather any great Aſſembly in the Land without him.* For ſo the manner of Jewiſh Regiment had always been, that, whether the cauſe for which Men aſſembled themſelves in peaceable, good, and orderly ſort were Eccleſiaſtical, or Civil, Supream Authority ſhould aſſemble them: *David* gathered all *Iſrael* together unto *Jeruſalem*; when the Ark was to be removed, he aſſembled the Sons of *Aaron* and the *Levites*. *Solomon* did the like at ſuch time as the Temple was to be dedicated; when the Church was to be reformed, *Aſa* in his time did the ſame: The ſame upon like occaſions was done afterwards by *Joaſh*, *Hezekias*, *Joſiah*, and others.

Polyb. l. 6. de milit. ac domeſt. Rom. Diſcipl. The Conſuls of *Rome*, *Polybius* affirmeth to have had a kind of Regal Authority, in that they might call together the Senate and People whenſoever it pleaſed them. Seeing therefore the Affairs of the Church and Chriſtian Religion, are Publick Affairs; for the ordering whereof more Solemn Aſſemblies ſometimes are of as great importance and uſe, as they are for Secular Affairs: It ſeemeth no leſs an act of Supream Authority to call the one, then the other. Wherefore the Clergy, in ſuch wiſe gathered together, is an Eccleſiaſtical Senate, which with us, as in former times, the chiefeſt Prelate at his diſcretion did uſe to aſſemble; ſo that afterwards in ſuch conſiderations as have been before ſpecified, it ſeemed more meet to annex the ſaid Prerogative to the Crown. The plot of reformed Diſcipline not liking thereof ſo well, taketh order, that every former Aſſembly before it breaketh
Lib. 1. de Col. illicet. & de conventiculis, cap. de Epiſc. & Presbyt. up, ſhould it-ſelf appoint both the time and place of their After-meeting again. But, becauſe I find not any thing on that ſide particularly alledged againſt us herein, a longer diſputation about ſo plain a cauſe ſhall not need. The ancient Imperial Law forbiddeth ſuch Aſſemblies as the Emperor's Authority did not cauſe to be made. Before Emperors became Chriſtians, the Church had never any General Synod; their greateſt Meeting conſiſting of Biſhops, and others the graveſt in each Province. As for the Civil Governor's Authority, it ſuffered them only as things not regarded, or not accounted of at ſuch times
Hierarch. lib. 6. cap. 1. as it did ſuffer them. So that what right a Chriſtian King hath as touching Aſſemblies of that kind, we are not able to judge, till we come to later times, when Religion had won the
Conſtant. concil. à Theodoſio. hearts of the higheſt Powers. *Conſtantine*, (as *Pighius* doth grant) was not only the firſt that ever did call any General Council together, but even the firſt that deviſed the calling

of them for conſultation about the buſineſſes of God. After he had once given the example, his Succeſſors a long time followed the ſame; inſomuch that St. *Hierom* to diſprove the Authority of a Synod, which was pretended to be general, uſeth this as a forcible Argument, *Dic, quis Imperator hanc Synodum juſſerit convocari?* Their anſwer hereunto is no anſwer, which ſay, *That the Emperors did not this without conference had with the Biſhops*: For to our purpoſe it is enough, if the Clergy alone did it not otherwiſe than by the leave and appointment of their Soveraign Lords and Kings. Whereas therefore it is on the contrary ſide alledged, that *Valentinian* the elder being requeſted by Catholick Biſhops, to grant that there might be a Synod for the ordering of matters called in queſtion by the *Arrians*, anſwered, that he being one of the Laity, might not meddle with ſuch matters, and thereupon willed that the Prieſts and Biſhops, to whom the care of thoſe things belongeth, ſhould meet and conſult together by themſelves where they thought good. We muſt, with the Emperors ſpeech, weigh the occaſion and drift thereof. *Valentinian* and *Valens*, the one a Catholick, the other an *Arrian*, were Emperors together: *Valens*, the Governor of the Eaſt; and *Valentinian* of the Weſt Empire. *Valentinian* therefore taking his Journey from the Eaſt, unto the Weſt parts, and paſſing for that intent through *Thracia*, there the Biſhops, which held the ſoundneſs of Chriſtian Belief becauſe they knew that *Valens* was their profeſſed Enemy, and therefore if the other was once departed out of thoſe quarters, the Catholick Cauſe was like to find very ſmall favour, moved preſently *Valentinian* about a Council to be aſſembled under the countenance of his Authority; who by likelihood conſidering what inconvenience might grow thereby, inaſmuch as it could not be but a means to incenſe *Valens* the more againſt them, refuſed himſelf to be Author of, or preſent at any ſuch Aſſembly; and of this his denial gave them a colourable reaſon, to wit, that we was, although an Emperor, yet a ſecular Perſon, and therefore not able, in matters of ſo great obſcurity, to ſit as a competent Judge. But if they which were Biſhops and learned Men, did think good to conſult thereof together, they might; whereupon, when they could not obtain that which they moſt deſired, yet that which he granted unto them they took, and forthwith had a Council. *Valentinian* went on towards *Rome*, they remaining in conſultation, till *Valens*, which accompanied him, returned back; ſo that now there was no remedy, but either to incurr a manifeſt contempt, or elſe at the hands of *Valens* himſelf, to ſeek approbation of that they had done. To him therefore they became Suitors: His Anſwer was ſhort; *Either Arianiſm, or Exile, which they would*; whereupon their Baniſhment enſued. Let reaſonable Men now therefore be Judges, how much this example of *Valentinian* doth make againſt the Authority, which we ſay that Soveraign Rulers may lawfully have, as concerning Synods and Meetings Eccleſiaſtical.

Sardicen. conſil. a Con.

Hieron. cont. Ruffinum l. 2.

Sozomen, l. 6. cap. 7. Ambroſ. Epiſt. 52.

Of the Authority of making Laws.

THere are which wonder, that we ſhould account any Statute a Law, which the High Court of *Parliament* in *England* hath eſtabliſhed about the matters of *Church-Regiment*; the Prince and Court of Parliament, having (as they ſuppoſe) no more lawful means to give order to the Church and Clergy in thoſe things, than they have to make Laws for the Hierarchies of Angels in Heaven; That the Parliament being a meer Temporal Court, can neither by the law of Nature, nor of God, have competent power to define of ſuch matters; That Supremacy in this kind cannot belong unto Kings, as Kings, becauſe Pagan Emperors, whoſe Princely power was true Soveraignty, never challenged ſo much over the Church; That Power, in this kind, cannot be the right of any Earthly Crown, Prince, or State, in that they be Chriſtians, foraſmuch as if they be Chriſtians, they all owe ſubjection to the Paſtors of their Souls; That the Prince therefore not having it himſelf, cannot communicate it to the Parliament, and conſequently cannot make Laws here, or determine of the Churches Regiment by himſelf, Parliament, or any other Court ſubjected unto him.

The Parliament of *England*, together with the Convocation annexed thereunto, is that whereupon the very eſſence of all Government within this Kingdom doth depend; it is even the body of the whole Realm; it conſiſteth of the King, and of all that within the Land are ſubject unto him. The Parliament is a Court, not ſo meerly Temporal, as if it might meddle with nothing but only Leather and Wool: Thoſe days of Queen *Mary* are not yet forgotten, wherein the Realm did ſubmit it-ſelf unto the Legate of Pope *Julius*, at which time, had they been perſwaded, as this Man ſeemeth now to be, had they thought, that there is no more force in Laws made by Parliament concerning Church-Affairs, then if Men ſhould take upon them to make Orders for the Hierarchies of Angels in Heaven, they might have taken all former Statutes of that kind as cancelled, and by reaſon of nullity, abrogated. What need was there, that they ſhould bargain with the Cardinal, and purchaſe their Pardon by promiſe made before-hand, that what Laws they had made, aſſented unto, or executed, againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Supremacy, the ſame they would, in that preſent Parliament, effectually abrogate and repeal? Had they power to repeal Laws made, and none to make Laws concerning the Regiment of the Church? Again, when they had by ſuit obtained his confirmation for ſuch Foundations of Biſhopricks, Cathedral Churches, Hoſpitals, Colledges, and Schools; for ſuch Marriages before made, for ſuch Inſtitutions into Livings Eccleſiaſtical, and for all ſuch Judicial Proceſſes, as having been ordered according to the Laws before in force, but contrary unto the Canons and Orders of the Church of *Rome*; were in that reſpect thought defective, although the Cardinal in his Letters of Diſpenſation, did give validity unto thoſe Acts, even *Apoſtolicæ firmitatis robur*, the very ſtrength of Apoſtolical ſolidity; what had all theſe been without thoſe grave authentical words? *Be it enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, that all and ſingular Articles and Clauſes contained in the ſaid Diſpenſation, ſhall remain and be reputed and taken to all intents and conſtructions in the Laws of this Realm, lawful, good and effectual to be alledged and pleaded in all Courts Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, for good and ſufficient matter either for the Plaintiff or Defendant, without any Allegation or Objection to be made againſt the validity of them, by pretence of any General Councel, Canon, or Decree to the contrary.* Somewhat belike they thought there was in this meer Temporal Court, without which the Popes own meer Eccleſiaſtical Legate's Diſpenſation had taken ſmall effect in the Church of *England*; neither did they, or the Cardinal imagine any thing committed againſt the Law of Nature, or of God, becauſe they took order for the Churches Affairs, and that even in the Court of Parliament. The moſt natural and religious courſe in making Laws, is, that the matter of them be taken from the judgment of the wiſeſt in thoſe things which they are to concern. In matters of God, to ſet down a form of Prayer, a ſolemn confeſſion of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and Ceremonies meet for the exerciſe of Religion; It were unnatural not to think the Paſtors and Biſhops of our Souls a great deal more fit, than Men of Secular Trades, and Callings: Howbeit, when all, which the wiſdom of all ſorts can do, is done for the deviſing of Laws in the Church, it is the general conſent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of Laws, without which they could be no more unto us than the Councel of Phyſitians to the ſick. Well might they ſeem as wholſom admonitions and inſtructions; but Laws could they never be, without the conſent of the whole Church, to be guided by them; whereunto both Nature and the practice of the Church of God ſet down in Scripture, is found every way ſo fully conſonant, that God himſelf would not impoſe, no not his own Laws, upon his People, by the hand of *Moſes*, without their free and open conſent. Wherefore, to define and determine, even of the Churches Affairs by way of aſſent and approbation, as Laws are defined in that Right of Power, which doth give them the force of Laws; thus to define of our own Churches Regiment, the Parliament of *England* hath competent Authority.

An. 1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. cap. 8.

Touching that Supremacy of Power which our Kings have in this caſe of making Laws, it reſteth principally in the ſtrength of a negative voice; which not to give them, were to deny them that, without which they were Kings but by meer title, and not in exerciſe of Dominion. Be it in Regiment Popular, Ariſtocratical, or Regal, Principality reſteth in that Perſon, or thoſe Perſons unto whom is given right of excluding any kind of Law whatſoever it be, before eſtabliſhment. This doth belong unto Kings, as Kings; Pagan Emperors, even *Nero* himſelf had no leſs; but much more than this in the Laws of his own Empire. That he challenged not any intereſt of giving voice in the Laws of the Church, I hope no Man will ſo conſtrue, as if the cauſe were conſcience, and fear to encroach upon the Apoſtles right. If then it be demanded, By what right from *Conſtantine* downward, the Chriſtian Emperors did ſo far intermeddle with the Churches affairs, either we muſt herein condemn them, as being over preſumptuouſly bold, or elſe judge that, by a Law, which is termed *Regia*, that is to ſay, Regal, the People having derived unto their Emperors their whole power for making of Laws, and by that means his Edicts being made Laws, what matter ſoever they did concern, as Imperial dignity endowed them with competent Authority and Power to make Laws for Religion, ſo they were thought by Chriſtianity to uſe their Power, being Chriſtians, unto the benefit of the Church of Chriſt: Was there any Chriſtian Biſhop in the world which did then judge this repugnant unto the dutiful ſubjection which Chriſtians do owe to the Paſtors of their Souls; to whom, in reſpect of their Sacred Order, it is not by us, neither may be denyed, that Kings and Princes are as much, as the very meaneſt that liveth under them, bound in conſcience to ſhew themſelves gladly and willingly obedient, receiving the Seals of Salvation, the bleſſed Sacraments at their hands, as at the hands of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all reverence, not diſdaining to be taught and admoniſhed by them, nor with-holding from them as much as the leaſt part of their due and decent honour? All which, for any thing that hath been alledged, may ſtand very well without reſignation of Supremacy of Power in making Laws, even Laws concerning the moſt Spiritual Affairs of the Church; which Laws being made amongſt us, are not by any of us ſo taken or interpreted, as if they did receive their force from power, which the Prince doth communicate unto the Parliament, or unto any other Court under him, but from Power which the whole Body of the Realm being naturally poſſeſt with, hath by free and deliberate aſſent derived unto him that ruleth over them, ſo far forth as hath been declared; ſo that our Laws made concerning Religion, do take originally their eſſence from the power of the whole Realm and Church of *England*, than which, nothing can be more conſonant unto the law of Nature and the will of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Item quod Principi placuit, Legis habet vigorem. Inſt de J. N. G. & C.

T.C.l.1.p. 192.

To let theſe go, and return to our own Men; *Eccleſiaſtical Governors*, they ſay, *may not meddle with making of Civil Laws, and of Laws for the Common-wealth; nor the Civil Magiſtrate,*

Magiſtrate, high or low, with making of Orders for the Church. It ſeemeth unto me very ſtrange, that theſe Men, which are in no cauſe more vehement and fierce than where they plead, that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons may not κυριεύειν, be Lords, ſhould hold, that the power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which thing of all other is moſt proper unto Dominion, belongeth to none but Eccleſiaſtical Perſons only: Their over-ſight groweth herein for want of exact obſervation, what it is to make a Law. *Tully*, ſpeaking of the Law of Nature, ſaith, *That thereof God himſelf was* Inventor, Diſceptator, Lator, *the Deviſer, the Diſcuſſer, and Deliverer*: Wherein he plainly alludeth unto the chiefeſt parts which then did appertain to his Publick action. For when Laws were made, the firſt thing was to have them deviſed; the ſecond to ſift them with as much exactneſs of Judgment as any way might be uſed; the next by ſolemn voice of Soveraign Authority to paſs them, and give them the force of Laws. It cannot in any reaſon ſeem otherwiſe than moſt fit, that unto Eccleſiaſtical Perſons the care of deviſing Eccleſiaſtical Laws be committed, even as the care of Civil unto them which are in thoſe Affairs moſt skilful. This taketh not away from Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, all right of giving voice with others, when Civil Laws are propoſed for Regiment of the Common-wealth, whereof themſelves, though now the World would have them annihilated, are notwithſtanding as yet a part; much leſs doth it cut off that part of the power of Princes, whereby, as they claim, ſo we know no reaſonable cauſe wherefore we may not grant them, without offence to Almighty God, ſo much Authority in making all manner of Laws within their own Dominions, that neither Civil, nor Eccleſiaſtical do paſs without their Royal aſſent.

In deviſing and diſcuſſing of Laws, Wiſdom eſpecially is required; but that which eſtabliſheth them, and maketh them, is Power, even Power of Dominion; the Chiefty whereof (amongſt us) reſteth in the Perſon of the King. Is there any Law of Chriſt's, which forbiddeth Kings and Rulers of the Earth to have ſuch Soveraign and Supream Power in the making of Laws, either Civil or Eccleſiaſtical? If there be, our controverſie hath an end. Chriſt, in his Church, hath not appointed any ſuch Law, concerning Temporal Power, as God did of old unto the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*; but leaving that to be at the World's free choice, his chiefeſt care is, that the Spiritual Law of the Goſpel might be publiſhed far and wide. They that received the Law of Chriſt, were, for a long time, People ſcattered in ſundry Kingdoms, Chriſtianity not exempting them from the Laws which they had been ſubject unto, ſaving only in ſuch caſes as thoſe Laws did injoin that which the Religion of Chriſt did forbid: Hereupon grew their manifold Perſecutions throughout all places where they lived; as oft as it thus came to paſs, there was no poſſibility that the Emperors and Kings under whom they lived, ſhould meddle any whit at all with making Laws for the Church. From Chriſt, therefore, having received Power, who doubteth, but as they did, ſo they might bind them to ſuch Orders as ſeemed fitteſt for the maintenance of their Religion, without the leave of high or low in the Common-wealth; for as much as in Religion it was divided utterly from them, and they from it. But when the mightieſt began to like of the Chriſtian Faith; by their means, whole Free-States and Kingdoms became obedient unto Chriſt. Now the queſtion is, whether Kings, by embracing Chriſtianity, do thereby receive any ſuch Law as taketh from them the weightieſt part of that Soveraignty which they had even when they were Heathens: Whether, being Infidels, they might do more in cauſes of Religion, than now they can by the Laws of God, being true Believers. For, whereas in Regal States, the King or Supream Head of the Common-wealth, had, before Chriſtianity, a ſupream ſtroak in making of Laws for Religion; he muſt by embracing Chriſtian Religion utterly deprive himſelf thereof, and in ſuch cauſes, become ſubject unto his Subjects, having even within his own Dominions them whoſe commandment he muſt obey; unleſs his Power be placed in the Head of ſome foreign Spiritual Potentate: So that either a foreign or domeſtical Commander upon Earth, he muſt admit more now, than before he had, and that in the chiefeſt things whereupon Common-wealths do ſtand. But apparent it is unto all Men which are not Strangers unto the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, that no State of the World receiving Chriſtianity, is, by any Law therein contained, bound to reſign the Power which they lawfully held before: But over what Perſons, and in what Cauſes ſoever the ſame hath been in force, it may ſo remain and continue ſtill. That which, as Kings, they might do in matters of Religion, and did in matter of falſe Religion, being Idolatrous and Superſtitious Kings, the ſame they are now even in every reſpect fully authoriſed to do in all affairs pertinent to the ſtate of true Chriſtian Religion. And, concerning the Supream Power of making Laws for all Perſons, in all cauſes to be guided by, it is not to be let paſs, that the head Enemies of this Headſhip are conſtrained to acknowledge the King endued even with this very Power, ſo that he may and ought to exerciſe the ſame, taking order for the Church and her affairs, of what nature or kind ſoever, in caſe of neceſſity: As when there is no lawful Miniſtry, which they interpret then to be (and this ſurely is a point very remarkable) whereſoever the Miniſtry is wicked. A wicked Miniſtry is no lawful Miniſtry; and in ſuch ſort no lawful Miniſtry, that, what doth belong unto them as Miniſters by right of their calling, the ſame to be annihilated in reſpect of their bad qualities; their wickedneſs in it-ſelf a deprivation of right to deal in the affairs of the Church, and a warrant for others to deal in them which are held to be of a clean other Society, the Members whereof have been before ſo peremptorily for ever excludeth from power of dealing for ever with affairs of the Church. They which

T. C. l. 3. p. 51.

which once have learned throughly this Leſſon, will quickly be capable perhaps of another equivalent unto it. For the wickedneſs of the Miniſtry transfers their right unto the King; In caſe the King be as wicked as they, to whom then ſhall the right deſcend? There is no remedy, all muſt come by devolution at length, even as the Family of *Brown* will have it, unto the godly among the people, for confuſion unto the wiſe and the great, by the poor and the ſimple: Some *Kniperdoling*, with his retinue, muſt take this work of the Lord in hand; and the making of Church-Laws and Orders, muſt prove to be their right in the end: If not for love of the truth, yet for ſhame of groſs abſurdities, let theſe contentions and ſtifling fancies be abandoned. The cauſe which moved them for a time to hold a wicked Miniſtry no lawful Miniſtry; and in this defect of a lawful Miniſtry, authoriſed Kings to make Laws and Orders for the Affairs of the Church, till it were well eſtabliſhed, is ſurely this. Firſt, they ſee that whereas the continual dealing of the Kings of *Iſrael* in the Affairs of the Church, doth make now very ſtrong againſt them, the burthen whereof they ſhall in time well enough ſhake off, if it may be obtained, that it is indeed lawful for Kings to follow theſe holy examples; howbeit no longer than during the caſe of neceſſity, while the wickedneſs, and in reſpect thereof, the unlawfulneſs of the Miniſtry doth continue. Secondly, they perceive right well, that unleſs they ſhould yield Authority unto Kings in caſe of ſuch ſuppoſed neceſſity, the Diſcipline they urge were clean excluded, as long as the Clergy of *England*, doth thereunto remain oppoſite. To open therefore a door for her entrance, there is no remedy but the Tenet muſt be this: That now when the Miniſtry of *England* is univerſally wicked, and in that reſpect hath loſt all Authority, and is become no lawful Miniſtry, no ſuch Miniſtry as hath the right, which otherwiſe ſhould belong unto them if they were virtuous and godly, as their Adverſaries are; in this neceſſity the King may do ſomewhat for the Church: That which we do imply in the name of Headſhip, he may both have and exerciſe till they be entered, which will disburthen and eaſe him of it: Till they come, the King is licenſed to hold that Power which we call

T. C. l. 1. p. 192. Headſhip. But what afterwards? In a Church ordered, that which the Supream Magiſtrate hath to do, is to ſee that the laws of God touching his Worſhip, and touching all matters and orders of the Church, be executed and duly obſerved; to ſee that every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon do that Office whereunto he is appointed, to puniſh thoſe that fail in

Gol.f.40.p.4. their Office. In a word, that which *Allain* himſelf acknowledged unto the Earthly power which God hath given him, it doth belong to defend the Laws of the Church; to cauſe them to be executed, and to puniſh Rebels and Tranſgreſſors of the ſame: On all ſides therefore it is confeſt, that to the King belongeth power of maintaining the Laws made for Church-Regiment, and of cauſing them to be obſerved; but Principality of Power in making them, which is the thing we attribute unto Kings, this both the one ſort, and the other do withſtand.

Power to command all Perſons, and to be over all Judges in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

Touching the Kings ſuper-eminent authority in commanding, and in judging of Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; firſt, to explain therein our meaning, it hath been taken as if we did hold, that Kings may preſcribe what themſelves think good to be done in the ſervice of God: How the Word ſhall be taught, how the Sacraments adminiſtred; that Kings may perſonally ſit in the Conſiſtory where the Biſhops do, hearing and determining what Cauſes ſoever do appertain unto the Church; that Kings and Queens in their own proper Perſons, are by Judicial Sentence to decide the Queſtions which do ariſe about matters of Faith and Chriſtian Religion; that Kings may excommunicate; finally, that Kings may do whatſoever is incident unto the Office and Duty of an Eccleſiaſtical Judge. Which opinion, becauſe we account as abſurd, as they who have father'd the ſame upon us, we do them to wit, that this is our meaning and no otherwiſe: There is not within this Realm an Eccleſiaſtical Officer, that may by the Authority of his own place, command univerſally throughout the King's Dominions: But they of this People, whom one may command, are to anothers commandment unſubject. Only the King's Royal Power is of ſo large compaſs, that no Man, commanded by him according to the order of Law, can plead himſelf to be without the bounds and limits of that Authority. I ſay, according to order of Law, becauſe that with us the higheſt have thereunto ſo tied themſelves, that otherwiſe than ſo, they take not upon them to command any. And, that Kings ſhould be in ſuch ſort Supream Commanders over all Men, we hold it requiſite, as well for the ordering of Spiritual, as Civil Affairs; inaſmuch as without univerſal Authority in this kind, they ſhould

2 Chron. 24. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. not be able when need is, to do as virtuous Kings have done. *Joſiah, purpoſing to renew the Houſe of the Lord, aſſembled the Prieſts and Levites; and when they were together, gave them their charge, ſaying: Go out unto the Cities of* Judah, *and gather of* Iſrael *money to repair the Houſe of the Lord from year to year, and haſte the things: But the Levites haſtned not. Therefore the King commanded* Jehoiada, *the Chief Prieſt, and ſaid unto him; why haſt thou not required of the Levites, to bring in out of* Judah *and* Jeruſalem, *the Tax of* Moſes, *the Servant of the Lord, and of the Congregation of* Iſrael, *for the Tabernacle of the Teſtimony? For wicked* Athaliah, *and her Children brake up the Houſe of the Lord God, and all the things that were dedicated for the Houſe of the Lord, did they beſtow upon* Balaam. *Therefore the*

2 Chron. 6. 30. 6. *King commanded, and they made a Cheſt, and ſet it at the Gate of the Houſe of the Lord without, and they made a Proclamation through* Judah *and* Jeruſalem, *to bring unto the Lord, the Tax of* Moſes *the Servant of the Lord, laid upon* Iſrael *in the Wilderneſs.* Could either he have done this, or after him *Ezekias* the like concerning the celebration of the Paſſover, but that all ſorts of Men in all things did owe unto theſe their Soveraign Rulers, the ſame obedience,

bedience, which ſometimes *Joſhua* had them by vow and promiſe bound unto? *Whoſoever ſhall rebel againſt thy Commandments, and will not obey thy words in all thou commandeſt him, let him be put to death: only be ſtrong and of a good courage.* Furthermore, Judgment Eccleſiaſtical we ſay is neceſſary for deciſion of Controverſies riſing between Man and Man, and for correction of faults committed in the Affairs of God: Unto the due execution whereof there are three things neceſſary, Laws, Judges, and Supream Governors of Judgments. What Courts there ſhall be, and what cauſes ſhall belong unto each Court, and what Judges ſhall determine of every cauſe, and what Order in all Judgments ſhall be kept; of theſe things the Laws have ſufficiently diſpoſed, ſo that his duty who ſitteth in any ſuch Court, is to judge, not of, but after the ſame Law. *Imprimis illud obſervare debet Judex, nè aliter judicet quàm legibus, conſtitutionibus, aut moribus proditum eſt, ut Imperator Juſtinianus*; which Laws (for we mean the poſitive Laws of our Realm, concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs) if they otherwiſe diſpoſe of any ſuch thing, than according to the Law of Reaſon, and of God, we muſt both acknowledge them to be amiſs, and endeavour to have them reformed: But touching that point, what may be objected, ſhall after appear. Our Judges in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, are either Ordinary or Commiſſionary; Ordinary, thoſe whom we term Ordinaries; and ſuch, by the Laws of this Land, are none but Prelates only, whoſe Power to do that which they do, is in themſelves, and belonging to the nature of their Eccleſiaſtical calling. In Spiritual Cauſes, a Lay-Perſon may be no Ordinary; a Commiſſionary Judge, there is no lett but that he may be; and, that our Laws do evermore referr the ordinary Judgment of Spiritual Cauſes unto Spiritual Perſons, ſuch as are termed Ordinaries, no Man which knoweth any thing of the Practice of this Realm, can eaſily be ignorant. Now, beſides them which are Authoriſed to judge in ſeveral Territories, there is required an univerſal Power which reacheth over all, imparting Supream Authority of Government, over all Courts, all Judges, all Cauſes; the operation of which Power, is as well to ſtrengthen, maintain, and uphold particular Juriſdictions, which haply might elſe be of ſmall effect: As alſo to remedy that which they are not able to help, and to redreſs that wherein they at any time do otherwiſe than they ought to do. This Power being ſometime in the Biſhop of *Rome*, who, by ſiniſter Practiſes had drawn it into his hands, was, for juſt conſiderations, by publick conſent annexed unto the King's Royal Seat and Crown; from thence the Authors of Reformation would tranſlate it into their National Aſſemblies or Synods; which Synods are the only helps which they think lawful to uſe againſt ſuch Evils in the Church, as particular Juriſdictions are not ſufficient to redreſs. In which Cauſe, our Laws have provided, that the King's ſuper-eminent Authority and Power ſhall ſerve: As namely, when the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, or the Principal Perſons therein do need Viſitation and Reformation; when in any part of the Church, Errors, Schiſms, Hereſies, Abuſes, Offences, Contempts, Enormities, are grown; which Men, in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, either do not, or cannot help. Whatſoever any Spiritual Authority and Power (ſuch as Legates from the See of *Rome* did ſometimes exerciſe) hath done or might heretofore have done, for the remedies of thoſe Evils in lawful ſort, (that is to ſay, without the violation of the Laws of God, or Nature, in the deed done) as much in every degree our Laws have fully granted, that the King for ever may do, not only by ſetting Eccleſiaſtical Synods on work, that the thing may be their Act, and the King their Motioner unto it, for ſo much perhaps the Maſters of the Reformation will grant: But by Commiſſions few or many, who having the King's Letters Patents, may, in the virtue thereof, execute the premiſes as Agents in the right, not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his ſuper-eminent Power. When Men are wronged by inferior Judges, or have any juſt cauſe to take exception againſt them; their way for Redreſs, is to make their Appeal; and Appeal is a preſent delivery of him which maketh it, out of the hands of their Power and Juriſdictions from whence it is made. Pope *Alexander* having ſometimes the King of *England* at advantage, cauſed him, amongſt other things, to agree, that as many of his Subjects as would, might have appeal to the Court of *Rome*. *And thus* (ſaith one) *that whereunto a mean Perſon at this day would ſcorn to ſubmit himſelf, ſo great a King was content to be ſubject to. Notwithſtanding, even when the Pope* (ſaith he) *had ſo great Authority amongſt Princes which were far off, the* Romans *he could not frame to obedience, nor was able to obtain that himſelf might abide at* Rome, *though promiſing not to meddle with other than Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.* So much are things that terrifie, more feared by ſuch as behold them aloof off than at hand. Reformers I doubt not in ſome Cauſes will admit Appeals, but Appeals made to their Synods; even as the Church of *Rome* doth allow of them, ſo they be made to the Biſhop of *Rome*. As for that kind of Appeal which the Engliſh Laws do approve from the Judge of any certain particular Court unto the King, as the only Supream Governor on Earth, who, by his Delegates, may give a final definitive Sentence, from which no farther Appeal can be made: Will their Plat-form allow of this? Surely, foraſmuch as in that eſtate which they all dream of, the whole Church muſt be divided into Pariſhes, in which none can have greater or leſs Authority and Power than another; again, the King himſelf muſt be but a common Member in the Body of his own Pariſh, and the cauſes of that only Pariſh, muſt be by the Officers thereof determinable: In caſe the King had ſo much favour or preferment, as to be made one of thoſe Officers (for otherwiſe by their poſitions, he were not to meddle any more than the meaneſt amongſt his Subjects, with the Judgment of any Eccleſiaſtical Cauſe) how is it poſſible they ſhould allow of Appeals to be made from any o-

Joſ. 1. 18.

Juſt. de Offic. jud.

1 Eliz. cap. 1.

Machiavil. Hiſt. Flor. l. 1.

15 Hen. 8. c. 15.

ther abroad to the King? To receive appeals from all other Judges, belongeth to the higheſt in power of all, and to be in power over All (as touching Judgment in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes) this, as they think, belongeth only to Synods. Whereas therefore, with us, Kings do exerciſe over all Things, Perſons, and Cauſes, Supream Power, both of voluntary and litigious Juriſdictions; ſo that according to the one they incite, reform, and command; according to the other, they judge univerſaily, doing both in far other ſort than ſuch as have ordinary Spiritual power; oppugned we are herein by ſome colourable ſhew of Argument, as if to grant thus much to any Secular perſon, it were reaſonable: *For ſith it is* (ſay they) *apparent out of the Chronicles, that judgment in Church-matters pertaineth to God; ſeeing likewiſe it is evident out of the Apoſtles, that the High-Prieſt is ſet over thoſe matters in God's behalf: It muſt needs follow, that the Principality or direction of the Judgment of them, is, by God's Ordinance, appertaining to the High-Prieſt, and conſequently to the Miniſtry of the Church; and if it be by God's Ordinance appertaining unto them, how can it be tranſlated from them to the Civil Magiſtrate?* Which Argument, briefly drawn into form, lieth thus: That which belongeth unto God, may not be tranſlated unto any other, but whom he hath appointed to have it in his behalt: But principality of Judgment in Church-matters appertaineth unto God, which hath appointed the High-Prieſt, and conſequently the Miniſtry of the Church alone, to have it in his behalf; *Ergo*, it may not from them be tranſlated to the Civil Magiſtrate. The firſt of which Propoſitions we grant, as alſo in the ſecond that branch which aſcribeth unto God Principality in Church-matters. But, that either he did appoint none, but only the High-Prieſt to exerciſe the ſaid Principality for him; or that the Miniſtry of the Church may in reaſon from thence be concluded to have alone the ſame Principality by his appointment; theſe two Points we deny utterly. For, concerning the High-Prieſt, there is, firſt, no ſuch Ordinance of God to be found; *Every High-Prieſt* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *is taken from amongſt Men, and is ordained for Men in things pertaining to God*; whereupon it may well be gathered, that the Prieſt was indeed Ordained of God, to have Power in things appertaining unto God: For the Apoſtle doth there mention the Power of offering Gifts and Sacrifices for Sin; which kind of Power, was not only given of God unto Prieſts, but reſtrained unto Prieſts only. The power of Juriſdiction and ruling Authority, this alſo God gave them, but not them alone: For it is held, as all Men know, that others of the Laity were herein joined by the Law with them. But, concerning Principality in Church-affairs, (for of this our Queſtion is, and of no other) the Prieſt neither had it alone, nor at all, but in Spiritual or Church-affairs, (as hath been already ſhewed) it was the Royal Prerogative of Kings only. Again, though it were ſo, that God had appointed the High-Prieſt to have the ſaid Principality of Government in thoſe matters; yet how can they who alledge this, enforce thereby, that conſequently the Miniſtry of the Church, and no other ought to have the ſame, when they are ſo far off from allowing ſo much to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, as the Prieſt-hood of the Law had by God's appointment: That we but collecting thereout a difference in Authority and Juriſdiction amongſt the Clergy, to be for the Polity of the Church not inconvenient; they forthwith think to cloſe up our mouths by anſwering, *That the Jewiſh High-Prieſt, had Authority above the reſt, only in that they prefigured the Soveraignty of Jeſus Chriſt; as for the Miniſters of the Goſpel, it is altogether unlawful to give them as much as the leaſt Title, any Syllable whereof may ſound to Principality.* And of the Regency which may be granted, they hold others even of the Laity, no leſs capable than the Paſtors themſelves. How ſhall theſe things cleave together? The truth is, that they have ſome reaſon to think it not at all of the fitteſt for Kings, to ſit as ordinary Judges in matters of Faith and Religion. An ordinary Judge muſt be of the quality which in a Supream Judge is not neceſſary; becauſe the Perſon of the one is charged with that which the other Authority diſchargeth, without imploying perſonally himſelf therein. It is an Error to think, that the King's Authority can have no force nor power in the doing of that which himſelf may not perſonally do. For firſt, impoſſible it is, that at one and the ſame time, the King in Perſon ſhould order ſo many, and ſo different affairs, as by his own power every where preſent, are wont to be ordered both in peace and war, at home and abroad. Again, the King in regard of his nonage or minority, may be unable to perform that thing wherein years of diſcretion are requiſite for perſonal action; and yet his authority even then be of force. For which cauſe we ſay, that the King's authority dieth not, but is, and worketh always alike, Sundry conſiderations there may be, effectual to with-hold the King's Perſon from being a doer of that which notwithſtanding his Power muſt give force unto, even in Civil affairs; where nothing doth more either concern the duty, or better beſeem the Majeſty of Kings, than perſonally to adminiſter Juſtice to their People (as moſt famous Princes have done;) yet if it be in caſe of Felony or Treaſon, the Learned in the Laws of this Realm do affirm, that well may the King commit his Authority to another, to judge between him and the Offender; but the King being himſelf there a Party, he cannot perſonally ſit to give Judgment.

T. C. l. 3. pag. 154.
2 Chron. 19.5.
Heb. 5. 1.

Stamf. Pleas of the Crown l. 1. c. 3.

As therefore the Perſon of the King may, for juſt conſiderations, even where the cauſe is Civil, be notwithſtanding withdrawn from occupying the Seat of Judgment, and others under his Authotity be ſit, he unfit himſelf to judge; ſo the conſiderations for which it were haply not convenient for Kings to ſit and give Sentence in Spiritual Courts, where Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical are uſually debated, can be no bar to that force and efficacy which their Soveraign Power hath over thoſe very Conſiſtories, and for which we hold, without any exception,

ception, that all Courts are the Kings. All Men are not for all things ſufficient, and therefore Publick affairs being divided, ſuch Perſons muſt be authoriſed Judges in each kind, as Common reaſon may preſume to be moſt fit. Which cannot of Kings and Princes ordinarily be preſumed in Cauſes meerly Eccleſiaſtical; ſo that even Common ſenſe doth rather adjudge this burthen unto other Men. We ſee it hereby a thing neceſſary, to put a difference, as well between that Ordinary Juriſdiction which belongeth unto the Clergy alone, and that Commiſſionary wherein others are for juſt conſiderations appointed to join with them, as alſo between both theſe Juriſdictions; and a third, whereby the King hath tranſcendent Authority, and that in all Cauſes over both. Why this may not lawfully be granted unto him, there is no reaſon. A time there was when Kings were not capable of any ſuch Power, as namely, when they profeſſed themſelves open Enemies unto Chriſt and Chriſtianity. A time there followed, when they, being capable, took ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs to themſelves, as ſeemed beſt in their own eyes, becauſe no certainty, touching their right, was as yet determined. The Biſhops, who alone were before accuſtomed to have the ordering of ſuch Affairs, ſaw very juſt cauſe of grief, when the higheſt, favouring Hereſie, withſtood, by the ſtrength of Soveraign Authority, Religious proceedings. Whereupon they oftentimes, againſt this unreſiſtable power, pleaded the uſe and cuſtom, which had been to the contrary; namely, that the affairs of the Church ſhould be dealt in by the Clergy, and by no other; unto which purpoſe, the ſentences that then were uttered in defence of unaboliſhed Orders and Laws, againſt ſuch as did, of their own heads, contrary thereunto; are now altogether impertinently brought in oppoſition againſt them, who uſe but that Power which Laws have given them, unleſs Men can ſhew that there is in thoſe Laws ſome manifeſt iniquity or injuſtice. T. C. l. 3. p. 155. Whereas therefore againſt the force Judicial and Imperial, which Supream Authority hath, it is alledged, how *Conſtantine* termeth *Church-Officers, Over-ſeers of things within the Church*; himſelf, *of thoſe without the Church*: how *Auguſtine* witneſſeth, that the Emperor not daring to judge of the Biſhop's Cauſe, committed it to the Biſhops; and was to crave pardon of the Biſhops, for that by the *Donatiſts* importunity, which made no end of appealing unto him, he was, being weary of them, drawn to give ſentence in a matter of theirs; Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. 4. Ep. 162, 166. how *Hilary* beſeecheth the Emperor *Conſtance*, to provide that the Governors of his Provinces ſhould not preſume to take upon them the Judgment of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, to whom only Common-wealth matters belonged; how *Ambroſe* affirmeth, that *Palaces* belong unto the *Emperor*, *Churches to the Miniſter*; Lib. 5. ep. 33. That the Emperor hath the Authority over the Common-walls of the City, and not in holy things; for which cauſe he never would yield to have the Cauſes of the Church debated in the Princes Conſiſtories, but excuſed himſelf to the Emperor *Valentinian*, for that being convented to anſwer concerning Church-matters in a Civil Court, he came not: We may by theſe teſtimonies drawn from Antiquity, if we liſt to conſider them, diſcern how requiſite it is that Authority ſhould always follow received Laws in the manner of proceeding. For, inaſmuch as there was at the firſt no certain Law, determining what force the principal Civil Magiſtrates authority ſhould be of, how far it ſhould reach, and what order it ſhould obſerve; but Chriſtian Emperors from time to time did what themſelves thought moſt reaſonable in thoſe affairs; by this means it cometh to paſs that they in their practice vary, and are not uniform. Virtuous Emperors, ſuch as *Conſtantine* the Great was, made conſcience to ſwerve unneceſſarily from the cuſtom which had been uſed in the Church, even when it lived under Infidels; *Conſtantine*, of reverence to Biſhops, and their Spiritual Authority, rather abſtained from that which himſelf might lawfully do, than was willing to claim a Power, not fit or decent for him to exerciſe. The Order which hath been before, he ratifieth, exhorting the Biſhops to look to the Church, and promiſing, that he would do the Office of a Biſhop over the Common-wealth; which very *Conſtantine* notwithſtanding, did not thereby ſo renounce all Authority in judging of Special Cauſes, but that ſometime he took, as St. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth, even perſonal cognition of them; howbeit, whether as purpoſing to give therein judicially any Sentence, I ſtand in doubt; for if the other of whom St. *Auguſtine* elſewhere ſpeaketh, did, in ſuch ſort, judge, ſurely there was cauſe why he ſhould excuſe it as a thing not uſually done. Otherwiſe there is no lett, but that any ſuch great Perſon may hear thoſe Cauſes to and fro debated, and deliver in the end his own opinion of them, declaring on which ſide himſelf doth judge that the truth is. But this kind of Sentence bindeth no ſide to ſtand thereunto; it is a Sentence of private perſwaſion, and not of ſolemn juriſdiction, albeit a King, or an Emperor pronounce it: Again, on the contrary part, when Governors infected with Hereſie were poſſeſſed of the Higheſt Power, they thought they might uſe it as pleaſed themſelves, to further by all means that opinion which they deſired ſhould prevail, they not reſpecting at all what was meet, preſumed to command and judge all Men, in all Cauſes, without either care of orderly proceeding, or regard to ſuch Laws and Cuſtoms as the Church had been wont to obſerve. So that the one ſort feared to do even that which they might; and that which the other ought not, they boldly preſumed upon; the one ſort, of modeſty, excuſed themſelves where they ſcarce needed; the other, though doing that which was inexcuſable, bare it out with main power, not enduring to be told by any Man how far they roved beyond their bounds. So great odds was between them whom before we mentioned, and ſuch as the younger *Valentinian*, by whom St. *Ambroſe* being commanded to yield up one of the Churches under him unto the *Arrians,* whereas they which were ſent on his Meſſage, alledged, that the Emperor did but uſe his own right, foraſmuch as all things were in his power: The Anſwer which the holy Biſhop gave them, was, *That the Church is the Houſe of God, and that thoſe things that are God's are not to be yielded up, and diſpoſed of it at the Emperor's will and pleaſure; his Palaces he might grant to whomſoever he pleaſeth, but God's own Habitation not ſo.* A cauſe why many times Emperors do more by their abſolute Authority than could very well ſtand with reaſon, was the over-great importunity of wicked Hereticks, who being Enemies to Peace and Quietneſs, cannot otherwiſe than by violent means be ſupported.

In this reſpect therefore we muſt needs think the ſtate of our own Church much better ſettled than theirs was; becauſe our Laws have with far more certainty preſcribed bounds unto each kind of Power. All deciſion of things doubtful, and correction of things amiſs are proceeded in by order of Law, what Perſon ſoever he be unto whom the adminiſtration of Judgment belongeth. It is neither permitted unto Prelates nor Prince to judge and determine at their own diſcretion, but Law hath preſcribed what both ſhall do. What Power the King hath, he hath it by Law, the bounds and limits of it are known, the intire Community giveth general order by Law, how all things publickly are to be done, and the King, as the Head thereof, the Higheſt in Authority over all, cauſeth, according to the ſame Law, every particular to be framed and ordered thereby. The whole Body Politick maketh Laws, which Laws gave power unto the King, and the King having bound himſelf to uſe according unto Law that power, it ſo falleth out, that the execution of the one is accompliſhed by the other in moſt religious and peaceable ſort. There is no cauſe given unto any to make ſupplication, as *Hilary* did, that Civil Governors, to whom Common-wealth matters only belong, may not preſume to take upon them the Judgment of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. If the Cauſe be Spiritual, Secular Courts do not meddle with it; we need not excuſe our ſelves with *Ambroſe,* but boldly and lawfully we may refuſe to anſwer before any Civil Judge in a matter which is not Civil, ſo that we do not miſtake either the nature of the Cauſe, or of the Court, as we eaſily may do both, without ſome better direction than can be by the rules of this new found Diſcipline. But of this moſt certain we are, that our Laws do neither ſuffer a [*] Spiritual Court to entertain thoſe Cauſes which by the Law are Civil; nor yet, if the matter be indeed Spiritual, a meer Civil Court to give Judgment of it. Touching Supream Power therefore to command all Men, and in all manner of Cauſes of Judgment to be higheſt, let thus much ſuffice as well for declaration of our own meaning, as for defence of the truth therein.

The Cauſe is not like when ſuch Aſſemblies are gathered together by Supream Authority concerning other affairs of the Church, and when they meet about the making of Eccleſiaſtical Laws or Statutes. For in the one they are only to adviſe, in the other to decree. The Perſons which are of the one, the King doth voluntarily aſſemble, as being in reſpect of quality fit to conſult withal; them which are of the other, he calleth by preſcript of Law, as having right to be thereunto called. Finally, the one are but themſelves, and their Sentence hath but the weight of their own Judgment; the other repreſent the whole Clergy, and their voices are as much as if all did give perſonal verdict. Now the queſtion is, whether the Clergy alone ſo aſſembled, ought to have the whole power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws, or elſe conſent of the Laity, may thereunto be made neceſſary, and the King's aſſent ſo neceſſary, that his ſole denial may be of force to ſtay them from being Laws.

What Laws may be made for the affairs of the Church and to whom the power of making them appertaineth.

If they with whom we diſpute were uniform, ſtrong and conſtant in that which they ſay, we ſhould not need to trouble our ſelves about their Perſons, to whom the power of making Laws for the Church belongs: For they are ſometime very vehement in contention, that from the greateſt thing unto the leaſt about the Church, all muſt needs be immediately from God. And to this they apply the pattern of the ancient Tabernacle which God delivered unto *Moſes,* and was therein ſo exact, that there was not left as much as the leaſt pin for the wit of Man to deviſe in the framing of it. To this they alſo apply that ſtreight and ſevere charge which God ſo often gave concerning his own Law, *Whatſoever I command you, take heed ye do it; thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, thou ſhalt take nothing from it*: Nothing, whether it be great or ſmall. Yet ſometimes bethinking themſelves better, they ſpeak as acknowledging that it doth ſuffice to have received in ſuch ſort the principal things from God, and that for other matters the Church had ſufficient authority to make Laws; whereupon they now have made it a queſtion, what Perſons they are whoſe right it is to take order for the Churches affairs, when the inſtitution of any new thing therein is requiſite. Law may be requiſite to be made either concerning things that are only to be known and believed in, or elſe touching that which is to be done by the Church of God. The Law of

Deut. 12. 32. and 4. 2. Joſh. 1. 7.

---

[*] See the Statute of *Ed* 1. and *Edw.* 2. and *Nat. Brev.* touching Prohibition. See alſo in *Bracton* theſe Sentences, *l.* 5. c. 2. Eſt Juriſdictio ordinaria quædam delegata, quæ pertinet ad Sacerdotium, & Forum Eccleſiaſticum, ſicut in cauſis Spiritualibus & Spiritualitati annexis. Eſt etiam alia Juriſdictio ordinaria vel delegata quæ pertinet ad Coronam, & dignitatem Regis, & ad Regnum in cauſis & placitis rerum temporalium in foro ſeculari. *Again,* Cum diverſæ ſint hinc inde juriſdictiones, & diverſi Judices, & diverſæ cauſæ, debet quilibet ipſorum imprimis æſtimare, an ſua ſit juriſdictio, ne falcem videatur ponere in Meſſem alienam. *Again,* Non pertinet ad Regem injungere pœnitentias, nec ad judicem ſecularem, nec etiam ad eos pertinet cognoſcere de iis quæ ſunt Spiritualibus annexa, ſicut de decimis & aliis Eccleſiæ proventionibus. *Again,* Non eſt Laicus conveniendus coram Judice Eccleſiaſtico de aliquo quod in foro ſeculari terminari poſſit & debeat.

of Nature, and the Law of God, are ſufficient for declaration in both what belongeth unto each Man ſeparately, as his Soul is the Spouſe of Chriſt, yea ſo ſufficient, that they plainly and fully ſhew, whatſoever God doth require by way of neceſſary introduction unto the ſtate of everlaſting bliſs. But as a Man liveth joined with others in common ſociety, and belongeth to the outward Politick Body of the Church, albeit the ſame Law of Nature and Scripture have in this reſpect alſo made manifeſt the things that are of greateſt neceſſity; nevertheleſs, by reaſon of new occaſions ſtill ariſing, which the Church, having care of Souls, muſt take order for as need requireth, hereby it cometh to paſs, that there is, and ever will be, ſo great uſe even of Human Laws and Ordinances, deducted by way of diſcourſe as a concluſion from the former Divine and Natural, ſerving as Principals thereunto. No Man doubteth, but that for matters of Action and Practice in the Affairs of God, for manner in Divine Service, for order in Eccleſiaſtical proceedings about the Regiment of the Church, there may be oftentimes cauſe very urgent to have Laws made: but the reaſon is not ſo plain, wherefore Human Laws ſhould appoint Men what to believe. Wherefore is this we muſt note two things: 1. That in matters of opinion, the Law doth not make that to be truth which before was not, as in matter of Action it cauſeth that to be a duty, which was not before; but manifeſteth only and giveth Men notice of that to be truth, the contrary whereunto they ought not before to have believed. 2. That opinions do cleave to the underſtanding, and are in heart aſſented unto, it is not in the power of any Human Law to command them, becauſe to preſcribe what Men ſhall think belongeth only unto God: *Corde creditur, ore fit confeſſio*, ſaith the Apoſtle. As opinions are either fit, or inconvenient to be profeſſed, ſo Man's laws hath to determine of them. It may for Publick unities ſake require Mens profeſſed aſſent, or prohibit their contradiction to ſpecial Articles, wherein, as there haply hath been Controverſie what is true, ſo the ſame were like to continue ſtill, not without grievous detriment unto a number of Souls; except Law, to remedy that evil, ſhould ſet down a certainty, which no Man afterwards is to gain-ſay. Wherefore, as in regard of Divine Laws, which the Church receiveth from God, we may unto every Man apply thoſe words of wiſdom in *Solomon, My Son keep thou thy Father's Precepts; Conſerva, fili mi, præcepta Patris tui*: Even ſo concerning the Statutes and Ordinances which the Church it-ſelf makes, we may add thereunto the words that follow, *Et ne dimittas legem Matris tuæ, And forſake thou not thy Mother's law.*

Thom. 1. 2. quæſt. 108. art. 2.

Prov. 6.

It is a thing even undoubtedly natural, that all free and *Independant* Societies ſhould themſelves make their own Laws, and that this Power ſhould belong to the whole, not to any certain part of a Politick Body, though haply ſome one part may have greater ſway in that action than the reſt; which thing being generally fit and expedient in the making of all Laws, we ſee no cauſe why to think otherwiſe in Laws, concerning the ſervice of God, which in all well-order'd States and Common-wealths, is the * firſt thing that Law hath care to provide for. When we ſpeak of the right which naturally belongeth to a Common-wealth, we ſpeak of that which muſt needs belong to the Church of God. For if the Common-wealth be Chriſtian, if the People which are of it do publickly embrace the true Religion, this very thing doth make it the Church, as hath been ſhewed. So that unleſs the verity and purity of Religion do take from them which embrace it, that power wherewith otherwiſe they are poſſeſſed; look what Authority, as touching Laws for Religion, a Common-wealth hath ſimply, it muſt of neceſſity, being of the Chriſtian Religion.

---

* Δεῖ τὸν νόμον τὰ περὶ Θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας, καὶ γονέας, καὶ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ ἢ τίμια πρῶτα τίθεσθαι. Δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα, τὰ γὰρ μικρὰ τοῖς μείζοσιν ἀκολουθεῖν προσήκει. *Archit. de leg. & Inſtit.* That is; It behoveth the Law firſt to eſtabliſh or ſettle thoſe things which belong to the Gods, and Divine Powers, and to our Parents, and univerſally thoſe things which be virtuous and honourable. In the ſecond place, thoſe things that be convenient and profitable; for it is fit, that matters of the leſs weight ſhould come after the greater.

It will be therefore perhaps alledged, that a part of the verity of Chriſtian Religion is to hold the power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws, a thing appropriated unto the Clergy in their Synods; and whatſoever is by their only voices agreed upon, it needeth no further approbation to give unto it the ſtrength of a Law, as may plainly appear by the Canons of that firſt moſt venerable Aſſembly: Where, thoſe things the Apoſtle and *James* had concluded, were afterwards publiſhed and impoſed upon the Churches of the Gentiles abroad as Laws, the Records thereof remaining ſtill in the Book of God for a teſtimony, that the power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws, belongeth to the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, the Biſhops and Prelates of the Church of God.

Acts 15.7,13, 23.

To this we anſwer, that the Council of *Jeruſalem* is no Argument for the power of the Clergy to make Laws; for firſt, there hath not been ſithence, any Council of like Authority to that in *Jeruſalem*: Secondly, the cauſe why that was of ſuch Authority, came by a ſpecial accident: Thirdly, the reaſon why other Councils being not like unto that in nature, the Clergy in them ſhould have no power to make Laws by themſelves alone, is in truth ſo forcible, that, except ſome Commandment of God to the contrary can be ſhewed, it ought, notwithſtanding the aforeſaid example, to prevail.

The Decrees of the Council of *Jeruſalem*, were not as the Canons of other Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, Human, but, very Divine Ordinances: For which cauſe the Churches were far and wide commanded every where to ſee them kept, no otherwiſe than if Chriſt himſelf had perſonally on Earth been the Author of them. The cauſe why that Council was of ſo great Authority and Credit above all others which have been ſithence, is expreſſed in thoſe words

Acts 15. 4.

Mat. 16.
Mat. ult.

2 Cor. 3.

of principal obſervation, *Unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us it hath ſeemed good*: Which form of ſpeech, though other Councils have likewiſe uſed, yet neither could they themſelves mean, nor may we ſo underſtand them, as if both were in equal ſort aſſiſted with the power of the Holy Ghoſt; but the latter had the favour of that general aſſiſtance and preſence which Chriſt doth promiſe unto all his, according to the quality of their ſeveral Eſtates and Callings; the former, the grace of ſpecial, miraculous, rare and extraordinary illumination, in relation whereunto the Apoſtle comparing the Old Teſtament and the New together, termeth the one a Teſtament of the Letter, for that God delivered it written in ſtone; the other a Teſtament of the Spirit, becauſe God imprinted it in the hearts, and declared it by the tongues of his choſen Apoſtles through the power of the Holy Ghoſt, feigning both their conceits and ſpeeches in moſt Divine and incomprehenſible manner. Wherefore, inaſmuch as the Council of *Jeruſalem* did chance to conſiſt of Men ſo enlightened, it had authority greater than were meet for any other Council beſides to challenge, wherein ſuch kind of Perſons are, as now the ſtate of the Church doth ſtand; Kings being not then that which now they are, and the Clergy not now that which then they were. Till it be proved that ſome ſpecial Law of Chriſt hath for ever annexed unto the Clergy alone the power to make Eccleſiaſtical Laws, we are to hold it a thing moſt conſonant with equity and reaſon, that no Eccleſiaſtical Laws be made in a Chriſtian Common-wealth, without conſent as well of the Laity as of the Clergy, but leaſt of all without conſent of the higheſt Power.

Cap. delicta, de exceſs. Prælator L. per fundum Ruſticor. præd. & ſect. Religioſum de rerum diviſ. Gloſſ. dict. 96. c. ubinam.

For of this thing no Man doubteth, namely, that in all Societies, Companies, and Corporations, what ſeverally each ſhall be bound unto, it muſt be with all their aſſents ratified. Againſt all equity it were, that a Man ſhould ſuffer detriment at the hands of Men for not obſerving that which he never did either by himſelf, or by others, mediately or immediately agree unto: Much more than a King ſhould conſtrain all others to the ſtrict obſervation of any ſuch Human Ordinance as paſſeth without his own approbation. In this Caſe therefore eſpecially, that vulgar Axiom is of force, *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari & approbari debet.* Whereupon Pope *Nicolas*, although otherwiſe not admitting Lay-perſons, no not Emperors themſelves, to be preſent at Synods, doth notwithſtanding ſeem to allow of their preſence, when matters of Faith are determined, whereunto all Men muſt ſtand bound: *Ubinam ligiſtis Imperatores Anteceſſores veſtros, Synodalibus Conventibus interfuiſſe, niſi forſitan in quibus de Fide tractatum eſt, quæ non ſolum ad Clericos, verum etiam ad Laicos & omnes pertinet Chriſtianos*? A Law, be it Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, is a Publick Obligation, wherein, ſeeing that the whole ſtandeth charged, no reaſon it ſhould paſs without his privity and will, whom principally the whole doth depend upon, *Sicut Laici juriſdictionem Clericorum perturbare, ita Clerici juriſdictionem Laicorum non debent minuere*, ſaith *Innocentius*, *Extra de judic. novit. As the Laity ſhould not hinder the Clergy's juriſdiction, ſo neither is it reaſon that the Laity's right ſhould be abridged by the Clergy*, ſaith Pope *Innocent*. But were it ſo that the Clergy alone might give Laws unto all the reſt, foraſmuch as every Eſtate doth deſire to inlarge the bounds of their own Liberties, is it not eaſie to ſee how injurious this might prove to Men of other conditions? Peace and Juſtice are maintained by preſerving unto every Order their Right, and by keeping all Eſtates, as it were, in an even ballance; which thing is no way better done, than if the King, their common Parent, whoſe care is preſumed to extend moſt indifferently over all, do bear the chiefeſt ſway in the making Laws which All muſt be ordered by: Wherefore of them which in this point attribute moſt to the Clergy, I would demand, What evidence there is, whereby it may clearly be ſhewed, that in ancient Kingdoms Chriſtian, any Canon deviſed by the Clergy alone in their Synods, whether Provincial, National, or General, hath, by meer force of their Argument, taken place as a Law, making all Men conſtrainable to be obedient thereunto, without any other approbation from the King, before or afterwards, required in that behalf. But what ſpeak we of ancient Kingdoms, when at this day, even the Papacy it-ſelf, the very Tridentine Council hath not every where as yet obtained to have in all points the ſtrength of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; did not *Philip* King of *Spain*, publiſhing that Council in the Low Countries, add thereunto an expreſs clauſe of ſpecial proviſion, that the ſame ſhould in no wiſe prejudice, hurt, or diminiſh any kind of Priviledge, which the King or his Vaſſals afore-time, had enjoyed, touching either Poſſeſſory Judgments of Eccleſiaſtical Livings, or concerning nominations thereunto, or belonging to whatſoever right they had elſe in ſuch Affairs. If therefore the King's exception taken againſt ſome part of the Canons contained in that Council, were a ſufficient bar to make them of none effect within his Territories; it followeth that the like exception againſt any other part, had been alſo of like efficacy; and ſo conſequently that no part thereof had obtained the ſtrength of a Law, if he which excepted againſt a part, had ſo done againſt the whole: As, what reaſon was there, but that the ſame Authority which limited, might quite and clean have refuſed that Council; who ſo alloweth the ſaid Act of the Catholick Kings for good and lawful, muſt grant that the Canons, even of General Councils, have but the face of Wiſe-Mens opinions, concerning that whereof they treat, till they be publickly aſſented unto, where they are to take place as Laws; and that in giving ſuch publick aſſent as maketh a Chriſtian Kingdom ſubject unto thoſe Laws, the King's Authority is the chiefeſt. That which an Univerſity of Men, a Company, a Corporation, doth without conſent of their Rector, is as nothing. Except therefore we make the King's Authority over the Clergy, leſs in the greateſt things, than the power of the meaneſt Governor

Boet. Epod. hereoic. quæſt. 1. 1. ſect. 24.

is in all things over the College, or Society, which is under him; how ſhould we think it a matter decent, that the Clergy ſhould impoſe Laws, the Supream Governors aſſent not asked?

Yea, That which is more, the Laws thus made, God himſelf doth in ſuch ſort authoriſe, that to deſpiſe them, is to deſpiſe in them him. It is a looſe and licentious opinion, which the *Anabaptiſts* have embraced, holding that a Chriſtian Man's liberty is loſt, and the Soul which Chriſt hath redeemed unto himſelf, injuriouſly drawn into ſervitude under the Yoke of Human Power, if any Law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpel of Chriſt; in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, and not the conſtraint of Men, is to lead us according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God they are the Sons of God, and not ſuch as live in thraldom* unto Men. Their Judgment is therefore, That the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit of no Law-makers but the Evangeliſts, no Courts but Preſbyters, no Puniſhments but Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures: As againſt this ſort, we are to maintain the uſe of Human Laws, and the continual neceſſity of making them from time to time, as long as this preſent World doth laſt; ſo likewiſe the Authority of Laws, ſo made, doth need much more by us to be ſtrengthened againſt another ſort, who, although they do utterly condemn the making of Laws in the Church, yet make they a deal leſs account of them than they ſhould do. There are which think ſimply of Human Laws, that they can in no ſort touch the Conſcience. That to break and tranſgreſs them, cannot make Men in the ſight of God culpable, as Sin doth; only when we violate ſuch Laws, we do thereby make our ſelves obnoxious unto eternal puniſhment in this World, ſo that the Magiſtrate may, in regard of ſuch offence committed, juſtly correct the Offender, and cauſe him, without injury, to endure ſuch pains as Law doth appoint, but further it reacheth not: For firſt, the Conſcience is the proper Court of God, the guiltineſs thereof is Sin, and the puniſhment Eternal death; Men are not able to make any Law that ſhall command the Heart, it is not in them to make Inward conceit a Crime, or to appoint for any crime other puniſhment than corporal; their Laws therefore can have no power over the Soul, neither can the heart of Man be polluted by tranſgreſſing them. St. *Auſtin* rightly defineth Sin to be that which is ſpoken, done, or deſired, not againſt any Laws, but againſt the Law of the Living God. The Law of God is propoſed unto Man, as a Glaſs wherein to behold the ſtains and the ſpots of their ſinful Souls. By it they are to judge themſelves, and when they feel themſelves to have tranſgreſſed againſt it, then to bewail their offences with *David, Againſt thee only, O Lord, have I ſinned, and done wickedly in thy ſight*; that ſo our preſent tears may extinguiſh the flames, which otherwiſe we are to feel, and which God in that day ſhall condemn the wicked unto, when they ſhall render account of the Evil which they have done, not by violating Statute-Laws, and Canons, but by diſobedience unto his Law and his Word.

For our better inſtruction therefore concerning this point, firſt we muſt note, That the Law of God it-ſelf doth require at our hands, Subjection. *Be ye ſubject*, ſaith S. *Peter*; and S. *Paul*, *Let every Soul be ſubject*; *ſubject all unto ſuch Powers as are ſet over us.* For if ſuch as are not ſet over us, require our ſubjection, we, by denying it are not diſobedient to the Law of God, or undutiful unto Higher Powers; becauſe, though they be ſuch in regard of them over whom they have lawful Dominion, yet having not ſo over us, unto us they are not ſuch. Subjection therefore we owe, and that by the Law of God; we are in Conſcience bound to yield it even unto every of them that hold the ſeats of Authority and Power in relation unto us. Howbeit, not all kinds of ſubjection, unto every ſuch kind of Power: Concerning *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, our Saviour's Precept was, *Whatſoever they ſhall tell ye, do it.* Was it his meaning, that if they ſhould at any time enjoin the People to levy an Army, or to ſell their Lands and Goods, for the furtherance of ſo great an enterprize; and, in a word, that ſimply whatſoever it were which they did command, they ought, without any exception, forthwith to be obeyed. No, but whatſoever they ſhall tell you, muſt be underſtood *in pertinentibus ad Cathedram*, it muſt be conſtrued with limitation, and reſtrained unto things of that kind, which did belong to their place and power: For they had not Power general, abſolutely given them to command all things, the reaſon why we are bound in Conſcience to ſubject unto all ſuch power, is, becauſe all powers are of God.

Verum ac proprium civis à peregrino diſcrimen eſt, quòd alter imperio ac poteſtate vili obligatur. alter juſſa Principis alieni reſpuere poteſt: illum Princeps ab hoſtium æque ac Civium injuria tueri tenetur, hunc non item niſi rogatus & humanitatis officiis impulſus, ſaith *Bodin.* de Rep. l. 1. c. 6. non multum à fine, p.61. Edit. Lugd. B. in fol. 1586.

They are of God either inſtituting or permitting them? Power is then of Divine inſtitution, when either God himſelf doth deliver, or Men by light of nature find out the kind thereof. So that the power of Parents over Children, and of Husbands over their Wives, the power of all ſorts of Superiors, made by conſent of Common-wealths within themſelves, or grown from agreement amongſt Nations, ſuch power is of God's own Inſtitution in reſpect of the kind thereof; again, if reſpect be had unto thoſe particular Perſons, to whom the ſame is derived, if they either receive it immediately from God, as *Moſes* and *Aaron* did; or from nature, as Parents do; or from Men, by a natural and orderly courſe, as every Governor appointed in any Common-wealth, by the order thereof, doth; then is not the kind of their Power only of God's inſtituting, but the derivation thereof alſo into their Perſons is from him. He hath placed them in their rooms, and doth term them his Miniſters; Subjection therefore is due unto all ſuch Powers, inaſmuch as they are of God's own inſtitution, even then when they are of Man's creation, *Omni Humanæ Creaturæ*: Which things the Heathens themſelves do acknowledge.

Hom. Il. l. 2. A Scepter-ſwaying King, to whom even *Jupiter* himſelf hath given honor, and commandment.

Σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεὺς ὧτε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν.

As for them that exerciſe Power altogether againſt Order, although the kind of Power which they have may be of God, yet is their exerciſe thereof againſt God, and therefore not of God, otherwiſe than by *Permiſſion*, as all Injuſtice is.

Touching ſuch Acts as are done by that power which is according to his Inſtitution, that God in like ſort doth authoriſe them, and account them to be his; though it were not confeſſed, it might be proved undeniably. For if that be accounted our deed, which others do, whom we have appointed to be our Agents, how ſhould God but approve thoſe deeds, even as his own, which are done by vertue of that Commiſſion and Power which he hath given: *Take heed* (ſaith *Jehoſophat* unto his Judges) *be careful and circumſpect what ye do, ye do not execute the judgments of Man, but of the Lord*, 2 *Chron.* 19. 6. The Authority of *Cæſar* over the Jews, from whence was it? Had it any other ground than the Law of Nations, which maketh Kingdoms, ſubdued by juſt War, to be ſubject unto their Conquerors? By this Power *Cæſar* exacting Tribute, our Saviour confeſſeth it to be his Right, a Right which could not be with-held without Injury, yea diſobedience herein unto him, and even Rebellion againſt God. Uſurpers of Power, whereby we do not mean them that by violence have aſpired unto places of Higheſt Authority, but them that uſe more Authority than they did ever receive in form and manner before mentioned; (for ſo they may do, whoſe Title to the rooms of Authority, which they poſſeſs, no Man can deny to be juſt and lawful: Even as contrariwiſe ſome Mens proceedings in Government have been very orderly, who notwithſtanding did not attain to be made Governors, without great violence and diſorder) ſuch Uſurpers thereof, as in the exerciſe of their Power do more than they have been authoriſed to do, cannot in Conſcience bind any Man anto Obedience.

That ſubjection which we owe unto lawful Powers, doth not only import that we ſhould be under them by order of our State, but that we ſhew all ſubmiſſion towards them, both by honour and obedience. He that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God: And reſiſted they be, if either the Authority it-ſelf which they exerciſe be denied, as by Anabaptiſts all Secular Juriſdiction is; or if reſiſtance be made but only ſo far forth, as doth touch their Perſons which are inveſted with Power; (for they which ſaid, *Nolumus hunc regnare*, did not utterly exclude Regiment; nor did they wiſh all kind of Government clearly removed, which would not at the firſt have *David* to govern) or if that which they do by vertue of their Power, namely, their Laws, Edicts, Services, or other Acts of Juriſdiction, be not ſuffered to take effect, contrary to the bleſſed Apoſtles moſt holy rule, *Obey them which have the overſight of you*, Heb. 13. 17. or if they do take effect, yet is not the will of God thereby ſatisfied neither, as long as that which we do is contemptuouſly, or repiningly done, becauſe we can do no otherwiſe. In ſuch ſort the *Iſraelites* in the Deſart obeyed *Moſes*, and were notwithſtanding deſervedly plagued for diſobedience. The Apoſtle's Precept therefore is, *Be ſubject even for God's cauſe: Be ſubject, not for fear, but of meer Conſcience, knowing, that he which reſiſteth them, purchaſeth to himſelf condemnation.* Diſobedience therefore unto Laws, which are made by them, is not a thing of ſo ſmall account, as ſome would make it.

Howbeit too rigorous it were, that the breach of every Human Law ſhould be held a deadly ſin: A mean there is between thoſe extremities, if ſo be we can find it out.

TO

To the READER.

T*H E pleaſures of thy ſpacious Walks in Mr.* Hooker*'s* Temple-Garden *(not unfitly ſo called, both for the* Temple *whereof he was Maſter, and the Subject,* Eccleſiaſtical Polity *) do promiſe acceptance to theſe Flowers, planted and watered by the ſame hand, and for thy ſake compoſed into this Poſie. Sufficiently are they commended by their fragrant ſmell , in the dogmatical Truth ; by their beautiful colours, in the accurate ſtyle ; by their medicinable vertue, againſt ſome diſeaſes in our neighbour Churches, now proving epidemical, and threatning farther infection ; by their ſtrait feature and ſpreading nature, growing from the root of Faith (which, as here is proved, can never be rooted up) and extending the branches of Charity to the covering of* Noah*'s nakedneſs ; opening the windows of Hope to Men's miſty conceits of their bemiſted Fore-fathers. Thus, and more than thus, do the Works commend themſelves ; The Workman needs a better Workman to commend him ; (* Alexander*'s Picture requires* Apelles *his Pencil) nay, he needs it not,* His own Works commend him in the Gates ; *and,* being dead, he yet ſpeaketh ; *the Syllables of that memorable name Mr.* Richard Hooker. *proclaiming more, than if I ſhould here ſtyle him, a painful Student, a profound Scholar, a judicious Writer, with other due Titles of his Honour. Receive then this poſthume Orphan for his own, yea, for thine own ſake ; and if the Printer hath with overmuch haſte, like* Mephiboſheth*'s Nurſe, lamed the Child with ſlips and falls, yet be thou of* David*'s mind,* ſhew kindneſs to him for his Father *Jonathan*'s ſake. *God grant, that the reſt of his Brethren be not more than lamed, and that as* Saul*'s* three Sons dyed the ſame day with him, *ſo thoſe three promiſed to perfect his* Polity, *with other Iſſues of that learned Brain, be not buried in the Grave with their renowned Father. Farewel.*

W. S.

The Contents of the Treatiſes following.

I. A *Supplication made to the Councel by Maſter* Walter Travers.
II. *Maſter* Hooker*'s Anſwer to the Supplication that Maſter* Travers *made to the Councel.*
III. *A learned Diſcourſe of Juſtification, Works, and how the foundation of Faith is overthrown.*
IV. *A learned Sermon of the nature of Pride.*
V. *A Remedy againſt Sorrow and Fear, delivered in a Funeral Sermon.*
VI. *Of the certainty and perpetuity of Faith in the Elect : eſpecially of the Prophet* Habakkuk*'s Faith.*
VII. *Two Sermons upon part of Saint* Jude*'s Epiſtle.*

A Supplication *made to the* COUNCEL, *By*

Maſter Walter Travers.

Right Honorable,

THE manifold benefits, which all the Subjects within this Dominion do at this preſent, and have many years enjoyed, under Her Majeſties moſt happy and proſperous reign, by your godly wiſdom, and careful watching over this Eſtate night and day, (I truly and unfeignedly acknowledge from the bottom of my heart,) ought worthily to bind us all, to pray continually to Almighty God for the continuance and increaſe of the life and good eſtate of your Honours, and to be ready, with all good duties, to ſatisfie and ſerve the ſame to our Power. Beſides publick benefits common unto all, I muſt needs, and do willingly confeſs my ſelf to ſtand bound, by moſt ſpecial Obligation to ſerve and honour you more than any other, for the honourable favour it hath pleaſed you to vouchſafe both oftentimes heretofore, and alſo now of late, in a matter more dear unto me than my earthly commodity, that is, the upholding and furthering of my ſervice in the miniſtring of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. For which cauſe, as I have been always careful ſo to carry my ſelf, as I might by no means give occaſion to be thought unworthy of ſo great a benefit, ſo do I ſtill, next unto her Majeſties gracious countenance, hold nothing more dear and precious to me, than that I may always remain in your Honours favour, which hath oftentimes been helpful and comfortable unto me in my Miniſtry, and to all ſuch as reaped any fruit of my ſimple and faithful labour. In which dutiful regard I humbly beſeech your Honours to vouchſafe to do me this grace, to conceive nothing of me otherwiſe, than according to the duty wherein I ought to live, by any information againſt me, before your Honours have heard my anſwer, and being throughly informed of the matter. Which, although it be a thing, that your Wiſdoms, not in favour, but in juſtice, yield to all men, yet the ſtate of the calling into the Miniſtry, whereunto it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſs to call me, though unworthieſt of all, is ſo ſubject to miſ-information, as, except we may find this favour with your Honours, we cannot look for any other, but that our unindifferent parties may eaſily procure us to be hardly eſteemed of; and that we ſhall be made like the poor Fiſher-boats in the Sea, which every ſwelling wave and billow raketh and runneth over. Wherein my Eſtate is yet harder than any others of my Rank and Calling, who are indeed to fight againſt Fleſh and Blood, in what part ſoever of the Lords Hoſt and Field they ſhall ſtand marſhalled to ſerve, yet many of them deal with it naked, and unfurniſhed of Weapons: But my ſervice was in a place where I was to encounter with it well appointed and armed with skill and with authority, whereof as I have always thus deſerved, and therefore have been careful by all good means to entertain ſtill your Honours favourable reſpect of me, ſo have I ſpecial cauſe at this preſent, wherein miſ-information to the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and other of the High Commiſſion hath been able ſo far to prevail againſt me, that by their Letter they have inhibited me to preach, or execute any Act of Miniſtry in the Temple or elſewhere, having never once called me before them to underſtand by mine anſwer the truth of ſuch things as had been informed againſt me. We have a ſtory in our Books, wherein the Phariſees proceeding againſt our Saviour Chriſt, without having heard him, is reproved by an honourable Counſellour (as the Evangeliſt doth term him) ſaying, *Doth our Law judge a man before it hear him, and know what he hath done?* Which I do not mention, to the end that by an indirect and covert ſpeech I might ſo compare thoſe, who have without ever hearing me, pronounced a heavy ſentence againſt me; for, notwithſtanding ſuch proceedings, I purpoſe by God's grace to carry my ſelf towards them in all ſeeming duty agreeable to their places: much leſs do I preſume to liken my Cauſe to our Saviour Chriſt's, who hold it my chiefeſt honour and happineſs to ſerve him, though it be but among the Hindes and Hired Servants, that ſerve him in the baſeſt corners of his Houſe: But my purpoſe, in mentioning it, is, to ſhew by the judgment of a Prince and great man in *Iſrael*, that ſuch proceeding ſtandeth not with the Law of God, and in a Princely pattern to ſhew it to be a noble part of an honourable Counſellour, not to allow of indirect dealings, but to allow and affect ſuch a courſe in juſtice, as is agreeable to the Law of God. We have alſo a plain rule in the Word of God, not to proceed any otherwiſe againſt any Elder of the Church; much leſs againſt one that laboureth in the Word, and in Teaching. Which rule is delivered with 1 Tim. 5. 19, 21. this moſt earneſt charge and obteſtation, *I beſeech and charge thee in the ſight of God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Elect Angels, that thou keep thoſe* [*rules*] *without preferring one before another, doing nothing of partiality or inclining to either part*; which Apoſtolical and moſt earneſt charge, I referr to your Honours wiſdom how it hath been regarded in ſo heavy a judgment againſt me, without ever hearing my Cauſe; and whether, as having God before their eyes, and the Lord Jeſus, by whom all former Judgments ſhall be tried again, and, as in the preſence of the Elect Angels, Witneſſes and Obſervers of the Regiment of the Church, they have proceeded thus to ſuch a ſentence. They alledge indeed two reaſons in their Letters, whereupon they reſtrain my Miniſtry, which, if they were as ſtrong againſt me as they are ſuppoſed, yet I refer to your Honours wiſdoms, whether the quality of ſuch an offence as they charge me with, which is in effect but an indiſcretion, deſerve ſo grievous a puniſhment both to the Church and Me, in taking away my Miniſtry, and that poor little commodity which it yieldeth for the neceſſary maintenance of my life; if ſo unequal a balancing of faults and puniſhments ſhould have place in the Common-wealth, ſurely we ſhould ſhortly have no Actions upon the Caſe, nor of Treſpaſs, but all ſhould be Pleas of the Crown, nor any man amerced, or fined, but for every light offence put to his ranſom. I have credibly heard, that ſome of the Miniſtry have been committed for grievous tranſgreſſions of the Laws of God and Men, being of no ability to do other ſervice in the Church than to read, yet hath it been thought charitable, and ſtanding with Chriſtian moderation and temperance, not to deprive ſuch of Miniſtry and Beneficency, but to inflict ſome more tolerable puniſhment,

niſhment. Which I write, not becauſe ſuch, as I think, were to be favoured, but to ſhew how unlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodneſs of God not to be touched with any ſuch blame, and one, who, according to the meaſure of the gift of God, have laboured now ſome years painfully, in regard of the weak eſtate of my Body, in preaching the Goſpel, and, as I hope, not altogether unprofitably in reſpect of the Church. But I beſeech your Honours to give me leave briefly to declare the particular reaſons of their Letter, and what Anſwer I have to make unto it.

The firſt is, That, as they ſay, *I am not lawfully called to the Function of the Miniſtry, nor allowed to preach according to the Laws of the Church of* England.

For Anſwer to this, I had need to divide the Points: and firſt to make anſwer to the former, wherein leaving to ſhew what by the Holy Scriptures is required in a lawful Calling, and that all this is to be found in mine, that I be not too long for your weighty affairs, I reſt.

I thus anſwer: My calling to the Miniſtry was ſuch, as in the calling of any thereunto is appointed to be uſed by the Orders agreed upon in the National Synods of the *Low Countries*, for the direction and guidance of their Churches, which Orders are the ſame with thoſe whereby the *French* and *Scottiſh* Churches are governed, whereof I have ſhewed ſuch ſufficient teſtimonial to my Lord the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as is requiſite in ſuch a Matter: whereby it muſt needs fall out, if any man be lawfully called to the Miniſtry in thoſe Churches, then is my Calling, being the ſame with theirs, alſo lawful. But I ſuppoſe, notwithſtanding they uſe this general ſpeech, they mean only, my Calling is not ſufficient, to deal in the Miniſtry within this Land, becauſe I was not made Miniſter according to that Order, which in this Caſe is ordained by our Laws. Whereunto I beſeech your Honours to conſider throughly of mine Anſwer, becauſe exception now again is taken to my Miniſtry, whereas having been heretofore called in queſtion for it, I ſo anſwered the matter, as I continued in my Miniſtry, and, for any thing I diſcerned, looked to hear that no more objected unto me. The communion of Saints (which every Chriſtian man profeſſeth to believe) is ſuch, as that the Acts which are done in any true Church of Chriſt's according to his word, are held as lawful, being done in one Church as in another. Which, as it holdeth in other Acts of Miniſtry, as Baptiſm, Marriage, and ſuch like, ſo doth it in the calling to the Miniſtry; by reaſon whereof, all Churches do ackowledge and receive him for a Miniſter of the word, who hath been lawfully called thereunto in any Church of the ſame Profeſſion. A Doctor created in any Univerſity of Chriſtendom; is acknowledged ſufficiently qualified to teach in any Country. The Church of *Rome* it ſelf, and the Canon law holdeth it, that being ordered in *Spain*, they may execute that belongeth to their Order in *Italy*, or in any other place. And the Churches of the Goſpel never made any queſtion of it; which if they ſhall now begin to make doubt of, and deny ſuch to be lawfully called to the Miniſtry, as are called by another Order than our own; then may it well be looked for, that other Churches will do the like: And if a miniſter called in the *Low-countries* be not lawfully called in *England*, then may they ſay to our Preachers which are there, that being made of another Order than theirs, they cannot ſuffer them to execute any Act of Miniſtry among them; which in the end muſt needs breed a Schiſm, and dangerous diviſions in the Churches. Further, I have heard of thoſe that are learned in the Laws of this Land, that by expreſs Statute to that purpoſe, *Anno* 13. upon ſubſcription to the Articles agreed upon, *Anno* 62. that they who pretended to have been ordered by another Order than that which is now eſtabliſhed, are of like capacity to enjoy any place of Miniſtry within the Land, as they which have been ordered according to that which is now by Law in this caſe eſtabliſhed. Which comprehending manifeſtly all, even ſuch as were made Prieſts, according to the Order of the Church of *Rome*, it muſt needs be, that the Law of a Chriſtian Land profeſſing the Goſpel, ſhould be as favourable for a Miniſter of the Word, as for a Popiſh Prieſt; which alſo was ſo found in Mr. *Whittingham*'s Caſe, who, notwithſtanding ſuch Replies againſt him, enjoyed ſtill the benefit he had by his Miniſtry, and might have done until this day, if God had ſpared him life ſo long; which, if it be underſtood ſo, and practiſed in others, why ſhould the change of the Perſon alter the right, which the Law giveth to all other?

The place of Miniſtry, whereunto I was called, was not Preſentative: and if it had been ſo, ſurely they would never have preſented any man whom they never knew; and the order of this Church is agreeable herein to the Word of God, and the ancient and beſt Canons, that no man ſhould be made a Miniſter *ſine titulo*: therefore having none, I could not by the Orders of this Church have entred into the Miniſtry, before I had a Charge to tend upon. When I was at *Antwerp*, and to take a place of Miniſtry among the People of that Nation, I ſee no cauſe why I ſhould have returned again over the Seas for Orders here; nor how I could have done it, without diſallowing the Orders of the Churches provided in the Country where I was to live. Whereby I hope it appeareth, that my Calling to the Miniſtry is lawful, and maketh me, by our Law, of capacity to enjoy any benefit or commodity, that any other by reaſon of his Miniſtry may enjoy; But my Cauſe is yet more eaſie, who reaped no benefit of my Miniſtry by Law, receiving only a benevolence and voluntary Contribution; and the Miniſtry I dealt with, being

Preaching only, which every Deacon here may do being licenſed, and certain that are neither Miniſters nor Deacons. Thus I anſwer the former of theſe two Points, whereof if there be yet any doubt, I humbly deſire for a final end thereof, that ſome competent Judges in Law may determine of it; whereunto I refer and ſubmit my ſelf with all reverence and duty.

The ſecond is, *That I preached without Licence.* Whereunto this is my Anſwer, I have not preſumed, upon the Calling I had to the Miniſtry abroad, to preach or deal with any part of the Miniſtry within this Church, without the conſent and allowance of ſuch as were to allow me unto it: my Allowance was from the Biſhop of *London*, teſtified by his two ſeveral Letters to the *Inner Temple*, who without ſuch Teſtimony would by no means reſt ſatisfied in it; which Letters being by me produced, I refer it to your Honours wiſdom, whether I have taken upon me to preach, without being allowed (as they charge) according to the Orders of the Realm. Thus having anſwered the ſecond point alſo, I have done with the Objection, *Of dealing without Calling or Licenſe.*

The other Reaſon they alledge is concerning a late Action, wherein I had to deal with Mr. *Hooker*, Maſter of the *Temple*. In the handling of which Cauſe, they charge me with an Indiſcretion, and want of Duty, *In that I inveighed* (as they ſay) *againſt certain Points of Doctrine taught by him as erroneous, not conferring with him, nor complaining of it to them.* My Anſwer hereunto ſtandeth, in declaring to your Honours the whole courſe and carriage of that Cauſe, and the degrees of proceeding in it, which I will do as briefly as I can, and according to the truth, God be my witneſs, as near as my beſt memory, and notes of remembrance may ſerve me thereunto. After that I have taken away that which ſeemed to have moved them to think me not charitably minded to Mr. *Hooker*; which is, Becauſe he was brought in to Mr. *Alveyes* Place, wherein this Church deſired that I might have ſucceeded: which Place, if I would have made ſuit to have obtained, or if I had ambitiouſly affected and ſought, I would not have refuſed to have ſatisfied by ſubſcription ſuch as the matter then ſeemed to depend upon: whereas contrariwiſe, notwithſtanding I would not hinder the Church to do that they thought to be moſt for their edification and comfort, yet did I, neither by Speech nor Letter, make ſuit to any for obtaining of it; following herein that reſolution, which I judge to be moſt agreeable to the Word and Will of God; that is, that labouring and ſuing for Places and Charges in the Church is not lawful. Further, whereas at the Suit of the Church, ſome of your Honours entertained the Cauſe, and brought it to a near iſſue, that there ſeemed nothing to remain, but the commendation of my Lord the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, when as he could not be ſatisfied, but by my ſubſcribing to his late Articles; and that my Anſwer agreeing to ſubſcribe according to any Law, and to the Statute provided in that Caſe, but praying to be reſpited for ſubſcribing to any other, which I could not in Conſcience do, either for the *Temple* (which otherwiſe he ſaid, he would not commend me to) nor for any other Place in the Church, did ſo little pleaſe my Lord Archbiſhop, as he reſolved, that otherwiſe I ſhould not be commended to it. I had utterly here no cauſe of offence againſt Mr. *Hooker*, whom I did in no ſort eſteem to have prevented or undermined me, but that God diſpoſed of me as it pleaſed him, by ſuch means and occaſions as I have declared.

Moreover, as I have taken no cauſe of offence at Mr. *Hooker* for being preferred, ſo there were many Witneſſes, that I was glad that the Place was given him, hoping to live in all godly peace and comfort with him, both for acquaintance and good-will which hath been between us, and for ſome kind of affinity in the marriage of his neareſt kindred and mine. Since his coming, I have ſo carefully endeavoured to entertain all good correſpondence and agreement with him, as I think he himſelf will bear me witneſs of many earneſt Diſputations and Conferences with him about the matter; the rather, becauſe that, contrary to my expectation, he inclined from the beginning but ſmally thereunto, but joined rather with ſuch as had always oppoſed themſelves to any good order in this Charge; and made themſelves to be brought indiſpoſed to his preſent ſtate and proceedings. For, both knowing that God's Commandment charged me with ſuch Duty, and diſcerning how much our peace might further the good ſervice of God and his Church, and the mutual comfort of us both, I had reſolved conſtantly to ſeek for Peace; and though it ſhould fly from me (as I ſaw it did by means of ſome, who little deſired to ſee the good of our Church) yet, according to the rule of God's Word, to follow after it. Which being ſo (as hereof I take God to witneſs, who ſearcheth the heart and reins, and who by his Son will judge the World, both quick and dead) I hope no charitable Judgement can ſuppoſe me to have ſtood evil-affected towards him for his Place, or deſirous to fall into any Controverſy with him.

Which my reſolution I purſued, that whereas I diſcovered ſundry unſound matters in his Doctrine, (as many of his Sermons taſted of ſome ſour leaven or other) yet thus I carried my-ſelf towards him. Matters of ſmaller weight, and ſo covertly diſcovered, that no great offence to the Church was to be feared in them, I wholly paſſed by, as one that diſcerned nothing of them, or had been unfurniſhed of replies; for others of great moment, and ſo openly delivered, as there was juſt cauſe of fear, leſt the Truth and Church of God ſhould be prejudiced and perilled by it, and ſuch as the Conſcience of my Duty and Calling would not ſuffer me altogether to paſs over, this was my courſe, to deliver, when I ſhould have juſt cauſe by my Text, the truth of ſuch Doctrine as he had otherwiſe taught, in general ſpeeches, without touch of his Perſon in any ſort; and further at convenient opportunity to confer with him in ſuch points.

According to which determination, whereas he had taught certain things concerning Predeſtination, otherwiſe than the Word of God doth, as it is underſtood by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel, and not unlike that wherewith *Coranus* ſometimes troubled his Church, I both delivered the truth of ſuch points in a general Doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him alſo privately upon ſuch Articles. In which Conference, I remember, when I urged the conſent of all Churches and good Writers againſt him, that I knew; and deſired, if it were otherwiſe, What Authors he had ſeen of ſuch Doctrine? He anſwered me, That his beſt Author was his own Reaſon; which I wiſhed him to take heed of, as a matter ſtanding with Chriſtian modeſty and wiſdom, in a Doctrine not received by the Church, not to truſt to his own Judgment ſo far, as to publiſh it before he had conferred with others of his Profeſſion, labouring by daily Prayer and Study, to know the will of God, as he did, to ſee how they underſtood ſuch Doctrine: Notwithſtanding, he, with wavering, replyed, That he would ſome other time deal more largely in the matter; I wiſhed him, and prayed him not ſo to do, for the peace of the Church, which, by ſuch means, might be hazarded; ſeeing he could not but think, that men, who make any Conſcience of their Miniſtry, will judge it a neceſſary duty in them, to teach the truth, and to convince the contrary.

Another time, upon like occaſion of this Doctrine of his, *That the aſſurance of that we believe by the Word is not ſo certain, as of that we perceive by ſenſe*; I both taught the Doctrine otherwiſe, namely, the aſſurance of Faith to be greater, which aſſured both of things above, and contrary to all ſenſe and human underſtanding, and dealt with him alſo privately upon that point: According to which courſe of late, when as he had taught, *That the Church of* Rome *is a true Church of Chriſt, and a ſanctified Church by profeſſion of that Truth, which God hath revealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect Church*; and further, *That he doubted not, but thouſands of the Fathers, which lived and dyed in the Superſtitions of that Church, were ſaved, becauſe of their ignorance, which excuſed them,* miſ-alledging to that end 1 Tim 1. 13. a Text of Scripture to prove it: The matter being of ſet purpoſe openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment, that might prejudice the Faith of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable ways, and others weak in Faith to ſuffer themſelves eaſily to be ſeduced, to the deſtruction of their Souls; I thought it my moſt bounden duty to God, and to his Church, whilſt I might have opportunity to ſpeak with him, to teach the Truth in a general ſpeech in ſuch points of Doctrine.

At which time I taught, *That ſuch as dye, or have died at any time in the Church of* Rome, *holding in their ignorance that Faith, which is taught in it, and namely, Juſtification in part by Works, could not be ſaid by the Scriptures to be ſaved.* In which matter, foreſeeing that, if I waded not warily in it, I ſhould be in danger to be reported, (as hath fallen out ſince notwithſtanding) to condemn all the Fathers, I ſaid directly and plainly to all mens underſtanding, *That it was not indeed to be doubted, but many of the Fathers were ſaved; but the means* (I ſaid) *was not their ignorance, which excuſeth no man with God, but their knowledge and faith of the Truth, which it appeareth God vouchſafed them, by many notable Monuments and Records extant in all Ages.* Which being the laſt point in all my Sermon, riſing ſo naturally from the Text I then propounded, as would have occaſioned me to have delivered ſuch matter, notwithſtanding the former Doctrine had been ſound; and being dealt in by a general ſpeech, without touch of his particular; I looked not that a matter of Controverſy would have been made of it, no more than had been of my like dealing in former time. But, far otherwiſe than I looked for, Mr. *Hooker* ſhewing no grief of Offence taken at my ſpeech all the week long, the next Sabbath, leaving to proceed upon his ordinary Text, profeſſed to preach again that he had done the day before, for ſome queſtion that his Doctrine was drawn into, which he deſired might be examined with all ſeverity.

So proceeding, he beſtowed his whole time in that Diſcourſe, concerning his former Doctrine, and anſwering the places of Scripture, which I had alledged, to prove that a man dying in the Church of *Rome*, is not to be judged by the Scriptures to be ſaved. *Apoc.* 18. 4. *Gal.* 5. 2, 3, 4. In which long ſpeech, and utterly impertinent to his Text, under colour of anſwering for himſelf, he impugned directly and openly to all mens underſtanding, the true Doctrine which I had delivered, and, adding to his former Points ſome other like (as willingly one Error followeth another) that is, *That the* Galatians *joyning with Faith in Chriſt Circumciſion, as neceſſary to Salvation, might not be ſaved: And that they of the Church of* Rome *may be ſaved by ſuch a Faith of Chriſt as they had, with a general Repentance of all their Errors, notwithſtanding their opinion of Juſtification, in part by their works and merits*: I was neceſſarily, though not willingly, drawn to ſay ſomething to the Points he objected againſt ſound Doctrine; which I did in a ſhort ſpeech in the end of my Sermon, with proteſtation of ſo doing, not of any ſiniſter affection to any man, but to bear witneſs to the Truth, according to my Calling; and wiſhed, if the matter ſhould needs further be dealt in, ſome other more convenient way might be taken for it; wherein, I hope, my dealing was manifeſt to the Conſciences of all indifferent Hearers of me that day, to have been according to Peace, and without any uncharitableneſs, being duly conſidered.

For that I conferred with him the firſt day, I have ſhewed that the cauſe requiring of me the Duty, at the leaſt not to be altogether ſilent in it, being a matter of ſuch conſequence, that the time alſo being ſhort, wherein I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being ſmall, upon experience of former Conferences, my expectation being, that the Church ſhould be no further troubled with it, upon the motion I made of taking ſome other courſe of dealing. I ſuppoſe my deferring to ſpeak with him till ſome fit opportunity, cannot in Charity be judged uncharitable.

The ſecond day, his unlooked-for oppoſition with the former Reaſons, made it to be a matter that required of neceſſity ſome Publick anſwer; which being ſo temperate, as I have ſhewed, if notwithſtanding it be cenſured as uncharitable, and puniſhed ſo grievouſly as it is, What ſhould have been my puniſhment, if (without all ſuch cautions and reſpects as qualified my ſpeech) I had before all, and in the underſtanding of all, ſo reproved him offending openly, that others might have feared to do the like? which yet, if I had done, might have been warranted by the rule and charge of the Apoſtle, *Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the reſt may alſo fear*; and by his example, who, when *Peter* in this very Caſe which is now between us, had (not in Preaching but) in a matter of Converſation, not gone with a right foot, as was fit for the truth of the Goſpel, conferred not privately with him, but, as his own rule required, reproved him openly before all, that others might hear, and fear, and not dare to do the like. All which reaſons together weighed, I hope, will ſhew the manner of my dealing to have been charitable, and warrantable in every ſort.

The next Sabbath-day after this, Mr. *Hooker* kept the way he had entred into before, and beſtowed his whole hour and more only upon the Queſtions he had moved and maintained; wherein he ſo ſet forth the agreement of the Church of *Rome* with us, and their diſagreement from us, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt Points, and differed only in certain ſmaller matters: Which agreement noted by him in two chief points, is not ſuch as he would have men believe. The one, in that he ſaid, *They acknowledge all men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin,* though ſome of them freed her from ſin, for the Councel of *Trent* holdeth, that ſhe was free from ſin. Another, in that he ſaid, *They teach Chriſt's Righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from us only in the applying of it*: For *Thomas Aquinas* their chief Schoolman, and Archbiſhop *Catherinus* teach, *That Chriſt took away only Original ſin, and that the reſt are to be taken away by our ſelves*; yea, the Councel of *Trent* teacheth, *That Righteouſneſs, whereby we are righteous in God's ſight, is an inherent Righteouſneſs*; which muſt needs be of our own Works, and cannot be underſtood of the Righteouſneſs inherent only in Chriſt's Perſon, and accounted unto us. Moreover he taught at the ſame time, *That neither the* Galatians, *nor the Church of* Rome, *did directly overthrow the foundation of Juſtification by Chriſt alone, but only by conſequent, and therefore might well be ſaved; or elſe neither the Churches of the* Lutherans, *nor any which hold any manner of Error could be ſaved; becauſe* (ſaith he) *every Error by conſequent overthroweth the Foundation.* In which Diſcourſes, and ſuch like, he beſtowed his whole time and more; which, if he had affected either the truth of God, or the peace of the Church, he would truly not have done.

Whoſe example could not draw me to leave the Scripture I took in hand, but ſtanding about an hour to deliver the Doctrine of it, in the end, upon juſt occaſion of the Text, leaving ſundry other his unſound ſpeeches, and keeping me ſtill to the Principal, I confirmed the believing the Doctrine of Juſtification by Chriſt only, to be neceſſary to the Juſtification of all that ſhould be ſaved, and that the Church of *Rome* directly denieth, that a man is ſaved by Chriſt, or by Faith alone, without the Works of the Law. Which my Anſwer, as it was moſt neceſſary for the ſervice of God and the Church, ſo was it without any immodeſt or reproachful ſpeech to Mr. *Hooker*; whoſe unſound and wilful dealings in a Cauſe of ſo great importance to the Faith of Chriſt, and ſalvation of the Church, notwithſtanding I knew well what ſpeech it deſerved, and what ſome zealous earneſt man
Mark 3. 17. of the ſpirit of *John* and *James*, ſirnamed *Boanerges*, Sons of Thunder, would have ſaid in ſuch a caſe; yet I choſe rather to content my ſelf in exhorting him to reviſit his Doc-
2 Sam. 7. 2, 3, 4, 5. trine, as *Nathan* the Prophet did the device, which, without conſulting with God, he had of himſelf given to *David*, concerning the building of the Temple; and with *Peter* the
Gal. 2. 11, 14. Apoſtle, to endure to be withſtood in ſuch a Caſe, not unlike unto this. This in effect, was that which paſſed between us concerning this matter, and the invectives I made againſt him, wherewith I am charged: Which rehearſal, I hope, may clear me (with all that ſhall indifferently conſider it) of the blames laid upon me for want of Duty to Mr. *Hooker*, in not conferring with him, whereof I have ſpoken ſufficiently already; and to the High-Commiſſion, in not revealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to anſwer. My Anſwer is, That I proteſt, no contempt nor wilful neglect of any lawful Authority, ſtayed me from complaining unto them, but theſe Reaſons following.

Firſt, I was in ſome hope, that Mr. *Hooker*, notwithſtanding he had been over-carried with a ſhew of Charity to prejudice the Truth, yet when it ſhould be ſufficiently proved, would have acknowledged it, or at the leaſt induced with Peace, that it might be offered without either offence to him, or to ſuch as would receive it; either of which would have taken away any cauſe of juſt Complaint. When neither of theſe fell out according to my expectation and deſire, but that he replied to the Truth, and objected againſt it, I thought he might have ſome doubts and ſcruples in himſelf, which yet, if they were cleared, he would either embrace ſound Doctrine, or at leaſt ſuffer it to have its courſe: Which hope of him I nouriſhed ſo long, as the matter was not bitterly and immodeſtly handled between us.

Another Reaſon was the Cauſe it ſelf, which, according to the Parable of the Tares (which are ſaid to be ſown among the Wheat) ſprung up firſt in his Graſs: Therefore, as the Servants in that place, are not ſaid to have come to complain to the Lord, till the Tares came to ſhew their fruits in their kind; ſo, I thinking it yet but a time of diſcovering of it what it was, deſired not their ſickle to cut it down.

For further anſwer, It is to be conſidered, that the Conſcience of my Duty to God, and to his Church, did bind me at the firſt, to deliver ſound Doctrine in ſuch Points, as had been otherwiſe uttered in that place, where I had now ſome years taught the Truth. Otherwiſe the rebuke of the Prophet had fallen upon me, for not going up to the breach, and ſtanding in it, and the peril for anſwering the blood of the City, in whoſe Watch-Tower I ſat, if it had been ſurprized by my default. Moreover, my publick Proteſtation, in being unwilling, that if any were not yet ſatisfied, ſome other more convenient way might be taken for it. And laſtly, that I had reſolved (which I uttered before to ſome, dealing with me about the matter) to have proteſted the next Sabbath-day, that I would no more anſwer in that place, any Objections to the Doctrine taught by any means, but ſome other way ſatisfie ſuch as ſhould require it.

Ezek. 22. 30.
Ezek. 33. 6.

Theſe, I truſt, may make it appear, that I failed not in Duty to Authority, notwithſtanding I did not complain, nor give over ſo ſoon dealing in the Caſe: If I did, how is he clear, which can alledge none of all theſe for himſelf; who leaving the expounding of the Scriptures, and his ordinary Calling, voluntarily diſcourſed upon School-Points and Queſtions, neither of Edification, nor of Truth; who, after all this, as promiſing to himſelf, and to untruth, a Victory by my ſilence, added yet in the next Sabbath-day, to the maintenance of his former Opinions, theſe which follow?

That no additament taketh away the Foundation, except it be a Privative; of which ſort, neither the Works added to Chriſt by the Church of Rome, *nor Circumciſion by the* Galatians *were: as one denieth him not to be a man, that ſaith, he is a Righteous man, but he that ſaith he is a dead man*: Whereby it might ſeem, that a man might, without hurt, add Works to Chriſt, and pray alſo that God and Saint *Peter* would ſave him.

That the Galatians *Caſe is harder than the Caſe of the Church of* Rome, *becauſe the* Galatians *joyned Circumciſion with Chriſt, which God had forbidden and aboliſhed; but that which the Church of* Rome *joyned with Chriſt, were good Works which God hath commanded.* Wherein he committed a double fault; one, in expounding all the queſtions of the *Galatians*, and conſequently of the *Romans*, and other Epiſtles, of Circumciſion only, and the Ceremonies of the Law (as they do, who anſwer for the Church of *Rome* in their Writings) contrary to the clear meaning of the Apoſtle, as may appear by many ſtrong and ſufficient reaſons: The other, in that he ſaid, *the addition of the Church of* Rome *was of Works commanded of God*. Whereas the leaſt part of the Works, whereby they looked to merit, was of ſuch works; and moſt were works of Supererogation, and works which God never commanded; but was highly diſpleaſed with, as of Maſſes, Pilgrimages, Pardons, pains of Purgatory, and ſuch like: *That no one ſequel urged by the Apoſtle againſt the* Galatians *for joyning Circumciſion with Chriſt, but might be as well enforced againſt the* Lutherans; *that is, that for their ubiquity it may be as well ſaid to them, If ye hold the body of Chriſt to be in all places, you are fallen from grace, you are under the curſe of the Law, ſaying,* Curſed be he that fulfilleth not all things written in this Book, with ſuch like. He added yet further, *That to a Biſhop of the Church of* Rome, *to a Cardinal, yea to the Pope himſelf, acknowledging Chriſt to be the Saviour of the World, denying other errors, and being diſcomforted for want of Works whereby he might be juſtified, he would not doubt, but uſe this ſpeech, Thou holdeſt the Foundation of Chriſtian Faith, though it be but by a ſlender thread; thou holdeſt Chriſt, though but by the hem of his Garment; why ſhouldeſt thou not hope that vertue may paſs from Chriſt to ſave thee? That which thou holdeſt of Juſtification by thy Works, overthroweth indeed by conſequent the foundation of Chriſtian Faith; but be of good chear, thou haſt not to do with a captious Sophiſter, but with a merciful God, who will juſtifie thee for that thou holdeſt, and not take the advantage of doubtful conſtruction to condemn thee. And if this,* ſaid he, *be an Error, I hold it willingly; for it is the greateſt comfort I have in this World, without which I would not wiſh either to ſpeak or to live.* Thus far, being not to be anſwered in it any more, he was bold to proceed, the abſurdity of which Speech I need not to ſtand upon. I think the like to this, and other ſuch in this Sermon, and the reſt of this matter, hath not been heard in Publick places within this Land, ſince Queen *Mary*'s days. What conſequence this Doctrine may be of, if he be not by Authority ordered to revoke it, I beſeech your H H. as the truth of God and his Goſpel is dear and precious unto you, according to your godly wiſdom to conſider.

I have been bold to offer to your H H. a long and tedious Diſcourſe of theſe matters; but Speech being like to Tapiſtry, which if it be folded up, ſheweth but part of that which is wrought; and being unlapt and laid open, ſheweth plainly to the eye all the work that is in it, I thought it neceſſary to unfold this Tapiſtry, and to hang up the whole Chamber of it in your moſt Honourable Senate, that ſo you may the more eaſily diſcern of all the Pieces, and the ſundry Works and Matters contained in it. Wherein my hope is, your

HH. may ſee I have not deſerved ſo great a Puniſhment, as is laid upon the Church for my ſake, and alſo upon my ſelf, in taking from me the exerciſe of my Miniſtry: Which Puniſhment, how heavy it may ſeem to the Church, or fall out indeed to be, I refer it to them to judge, and ſpare to write what I fear; but to my ſelf it is exceeding grievous, for that it taketh from me the exerciſe of my Calling. Which I do not ſay is dear unto me, as the means of that little benefit whereby I live (although this be a lawful conſideration, and to be regarded of me in due place, and of the Authority under whoſe Protection I moſt willingly live, even by God's Commandment both unto them, and unto me:) but which ought to be more precious unto me than my life, for the love which I ſhould bear to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and to the edification and ſalvation of his Church, for that my life cannot any other way be of any ſervice to God, nor of ſuch uſe and profit to men by any means: For which Cauſe, as I diſcern how dear my Miniſtry ought to be unto me, ſo it is my hearty deſire, and moſt humble requeſt unto God, to your HH. and to all the Authority I live under, to whom any dealing herein belongeth, that I may ſpend my life according to his Example, who in a word of like ſound, of fuller ſenſe, comparing by it the beſtowing of his life to the Offering poured out upon the Sacrifice of the Faith of God's people, and eſpecially of this Church, whereupon I have already poured out a great part thereof in the ſame Calling, from which I ſtand now reſtrained. And if your HH. ſhall find it ſo, that I have not deſerved ſo great a Puniſhment, but rather performed the Duty, which a good and faithful Servant ought, in ſuch caſe, to do to his Lord, and the People he putteth him in truſt withal carefully to keep: I am a moſt humble Suiter by theſe preſents to your HH. that, by your godly wiſdom, ſome good courſe may be taken for the reſtoring of me to my Miniſtry and Place again. Which ſo great a favour, ſhall bind me yet to a greater obligation of Duty (which is already ſo great, as it ſeemed nothing could be added unto it to make it greater) to honour God daily for the continuance and encreaſe of your good eſtate, and to be ready with all the poor means God hath given me, to do your HH. that faithful Service I may poſſibly perform; but if, notwithſtanding my Cauſe be never ſo good, your HH. can by no means pacifie ſuch as are offended, nor reſtore me again, then am I to reſt in the good pleaſure of God, and to commend to your HH. protection, under her Majeſties, my private life, while it ſhall be led in duty; and the Church to him, who hath redeemed to himſelf a People with his precious Blood, and is making ready to come to judge both the Quick and the Dead, to give to every one according as he hath done in this life, be it good or evil; to the Wicked and Unbelievers, Juſtice unto death; but to the Faithful, and ſuch as love his Truth, Mercy and Grace to life everlaſting.

Your Honours moſt bounden, and
moſt humble Supplicant,
Walter Travers,
Miniſter of the Goſpel.

Mr. HOOKER's Anſwer to the SUPPLICATION that Mr. TRAVERS made to the COUNCEL.

To my Lord of CANTERBURY his Grace.

MY Duty in moſt humble wiſe remembred. May it pleaſe your Grace to underſtand, That whereas there hath been a late Controverſie raiſed in the *Temple*, and purſued by Mr. *Travers*, upon conceit taken at ſome words by me uttered, with a moſt ſimple and harmleſs meaning: In the heat of which purſuit, after three publick Invectives, ſilence being enjoyned him by Authority, he hath hereupon, for defence of his proceedings, both preſented the Right Honourable Lords and others of Her Majeſties Privy Council with a Writing; and alſo cauſed or ſuffered the ſame to be Copied out, and ſpread through the hands of ſo many, that well-nigh all ſorts of men have it in their boſomes: The matters wherewith I am therein charged, being of ſuch quality as they are, and my ſelf being better known to your Grace, than to any other of their Honours beſides, I have choſen to offer to your Grace's hands a plain Declaration of my Innocence in all thoſe things wherewith I am ſo hardly, and ſo heavily charged; leſt, if I ſtill remain ſilent, that which I do for quietneſs ſake, be taken as an Argument, that I lack what to ſpeak truly and juſtly in mine own defence.

2. Firſt, becauſe Mr. *Travers* thinketh it is expedient to breed an Opinion in mens minds, that the root of all inconvenient events, which are now ſprung out, is the ſurly and unpeaceable diſpoſition of the man with whom he hath to do; therefore the firſt in the rank of Accuſations laid againſt me is *my inconformity, which have ſo little inclined to ſo many, and ſo earneſt Exhortations and Conferences, as my ſelf,* he ſaith, *can witneſs to have been ſpent upon me, for my better faſhioning unto good correſpondence and agreement.*

3. Indeed, when at the firſt, by means of ſpecial well-willers, without any ſuit of mine, as they very well know (although I do not think it had been a mortal ſin, in a reaſonable ſort, to have ſhewed a moderate deſire that way) yet when by their endeavour, without inſtigation of mine, ſome Reverend and Honourable, favourably affecting me, had procured her Majeſty's Grant of the Place; at the very point of my entring thereinto, the Evening before I was firſt to preach, he came, and two other Gentlemen joined with him: The effect of his Conference then was, *That he thought it his duty to adviſe me not to enter with a ſtrong hand, but to change my purpoſe of preaching there the next day, and to ſtay till he had given notice of me to the Congregation, that ſo their allowance might ſeal my Calling.* The effect of my Anſwer was, *That, as in a place where ſuch Order is, I would not break; ſo here, where it never was, I might not, of my own head, take upon me to begin it*: But liking very well the motion, for the Opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, I requeſted him not to miſlike my Anſwer, though it were not correſpondent to his mind.

4. When this had ſo diſpleaſed ſome, that whatſoever was afterwards done or ſpoken by me, it offended their taſte; angry informations were daily ſent out; intelligence given far and wide, what a dangerous Enemy was crept in; the worſt that Jealouſy could imagine, was ſpoken and written to ſo many, that at the length ſome knowing me well, and perceiving how injurious the Reports were, which grew daily more and more unto my diſcredit, wrought means to bring Mr. *Travers* and me to a ſecond Conference. Wherein, when a common Friend unto us both, had quietly requeſted him to utter thoſe things wherewith he found himſelf any way grieved: He firſt renewed the memory of my entring into this Charge, by vertue only of an Human Creature (for ſo the want of that formality of Popular Allowance was then cenſured) and unto this was annexed a Catalogue, partly of cauſleſs Surmiſes, as *That I had conſpired againſt him, and that I ſought Superiority over him*; and partly of Faults, which to note I ſhould have thought a greater offence than to commit, if I did account them Faults, and had heard them ſo curiouſly obſerved in any other than my ſelf, they are ſuch ſilly things, as *Praying in the entrance of my Sermon only, and not in the end*; *naming Biſhops in my Prayer, Kneeling when I pray, and Kneeling when I receive the Communion,* with ſuch like, which I would be as loath to recite, as I was ſorry to hear them objected, if the rehearſal thereof were not by him thus wreſted from me. Theſe are the Conferences, wherewith I have been wooed to entertain peace and good agreement.

A meer formality it had been to me in that place; where, as no man had ever uſed it before me, ſo it could neither further me, if I did uſe it, nor hinder me, if I did not.

5. As for the vehement Exhortations he ſpeaketh of, I would gladly know ſome reaſon, wherefore he thought them needful to be uſed. Was there any thing found in my Speeches or Dealings, that gave them occaſion, who are ſtudious of Peace, to think that I diſpoſed my ſelf to ſome unquiet kind of Proceedings? Surely the ſpecial Providence of God I do now ſee it was, that the firſt words I ſpake in this place, ſhould make the firſt thing whereof I am accuſed, to appear not only untrue, but improbable, to as many as then heard me with indifferent ears, and do, I doubt not, in their Conſciences clear me of this ſuſpicion. Howbeit I grant this were nothing, if it might be ſhewed that my Deeds following were not ſuitable to my words. If I had ſpoken of Peace at the firſt, and afterwards ſought to moleſt and grieve him, by croſſing him in his Function, by ſtorming, if my pleaſure were not asked, and my Will obeyed in the leaſt occurrences, by carping needleſly ſometimes at the manner of his Teaching, ſometimes at this, ſometimes at that Point of his Doctrine; I might then with ſome likelihood have been blamed, as one diſdaining a peaceable hand, when it had been offered. But if I be able (as I am) to prove that my ſelf have now a full year together born the continuance of ſuch dealings, not only without any manner of reſiſtance, but alſo without any ſuch complaint, as might let or hinder him in his courſe, I ſee no cauſe in the world, why of this I ſhould be accuſed, unleſs it be, leſt I ſhould accuſe, which I meant not. If therefore I have given him occaſion to uſe conferences and exhortations to peace, if, when they were beſtowed upon me, I have deſpiſed them, it will not be hard to ſhew ſome one Word or Deed, wherewith I have gone about to work diſturbance: one is not much, I require but one. Only I require, if any thing be ſhewed, it may be proved, and not objected only as this is, *That I have joined to ſuch as have always oppoſed any good order in his Church, and made themſelves to be thought indiſpoſed to the preſent eſtate and proceedings.* The words have reference, as it ſeemeth,

unto ſome ſuch things as being attempted before my coming to the *Temple*, went not ſo effectually (perhaps) forward, as he that deviſed them would have wiſhed. An Order, as I learn, there was tendred, that Communicants ſhould neither kneel, as in moſt places of the Realm; nor ſit, as in this Place the Cuſtom is; but walk to the one ſide of the Table, and there ſtanding till they had received, paſs afterwards away round about by the other. Which being on a ſudden begun to be practiſed in the Church, ſome ſate wondering what it ſhould mean, others deliberating what to do: Till ſuch time as at length by name one of them being called openly thereunto, requeſted that they might do as they had been accuſtomed, which was granted; and as Mr. *Travers* had miniſtred this way to the reſt, ſo a Curate was ſent to miniſter to them after their way. Which unproſperous beginning of a thing (ſaving only for the inconvenience of needleſs alterations, otherwiſe harmleſs) did ſo diſgrace that Order in their conceit, who had to allow or diſallow it, that it took no place. For neither could they ever induce themſelves to think it good, and it ſo much offended Mr. *Travers*, who ſuppoſed it to be the beſt, that he ſince that time, although contented to receive it as they do, at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meet they ſhould ever receive out of his, which would not admit that Order of receiving it, and therefore in my time hath been always preſent not to miniſter, but only to be miniſtred unto.

6. Another Order there was likewiſe deviſed, but an Order of much more weight and importance. This ſoil, in reſpect of certain Immunities and other Specialties belonging unto it, ſeemed likely to bear that, which in other places of the Realm of *England* doth not take. For which cauſe, requeſt was made to her Majeſties Privy Council, that whereas it is provided by a Statute, there ſhould be Collectors and Side-men in Chuches, which thing, or ſomewhat correſpondent unto it, this place did greatly want; it would pleaſe their Honours to motion ſuch matter to the Antients of the Temple. And, according to their honourable manner of helping forward all motions ſo grounded, they wrote their Letters, as I am informed, to that effect. Whereupon, although theſe Houſes never had uſe of ſuch Collectors and Side-men as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a Box to receive mens Devotion for the Poor, appointing the Treaſurer of both Houſes to take care for beſtowing it where need was, and granted further, that if any could be entreated (as in the end ſome were) to undertake the labour of obſerving mens ſlackneſs in Divine duties, they ſhould be allowed, their Complaints heard at all times, and the faults they complained of, if Mr. *Alveyes* private admonition did not ſerve, then by ſome other means to be redreſſed; but according to the old received Orders of both Houſes. Whereby the ſubſtance of their Honours Letters was indeed fully ſatisfied. Yet, becauſe Mr. *Travers* intended not this, but, as it ſeemed, another thing; therefore, notwithſtanding the Orders which have been taken, and, for any thing I know, do ſtand ſtill in as much force in this Church now, as at any time heretofore, he complaineth much of the good Orders which he doth mean have been withſtood. Now it were hard, if as many as did any ways oppoſe unto theſe and the like Orders, in his perſwaſion good, do thereby make themſelves Diſlikers of the preſent ſtate and proceeding. If they, whom he aimeth at, have any other ways made themſelves to be thought ſuch, it is likely he doth know wherein, and will, I hope, diſcloſe to whom it appertaineth, both the Perſons whom he thinketh, and the cauſe why he thinketh them ſo ill-affected But whatſoever the men be, do their Faults make me faulty? They do, if I join my ſelf with them. I beſeech him therefore to declare, wherein I have joined with them. Other joining than this with any man here, I cannot imagine: It may be I have talked, or walked, or eaten, or interchangeably uſed the duties of common humanity, with ſome ſuch as he is hardly perſwaded of. For I know no Law of God or Man, by force whereof they ſhould be as Heathens and Publicans unto me, that are not gracious in the eyes of another man, perhaps without cauſe, or if with cauſe, yet ſuch cauſe as he is privy unto, and not I. Could he, or any reaſonable man, think it a charitable courſe in me, to obſerve them that ſhew by external courteſies a favourable inclination toward him, and if I ſpy out any one amongſt them, of whom I think not well, hereupon to draw ſuch an accuſation as this againſt him, and to offer it where he hath given up his againſt me? which notwithſtanding I will acknowledge to be juſt and reaſonable, if he or any man living ſhall ſhew, that I uſe as much as the bare familiar company but of one, who by word or deed hath ever given me cauſe to ſuſpect or conjecture him, ſuch as here they are termed, with whom complaint is made that I join my ſelf. This being ſpoken therefore and written without all poſſibility of proof, doth not Mr. *Travers* give me over-great cauſe to ſtand in ſome fear, leſt he make too little conſcience how he uſeth his Tongue or Pen? Theſe things are not laid againſt me for nothing; they are to ſome purpoſe, if they take place. For in a mind perſwaded that I am, as he deciphereth me, one which refuſes to be at peace with ſuch as embrace the truth, and ſide my ſelf with men ſiniſterly affected thereunto, any thing that ſhall be ſpoken concerning the unſoundneſs of my Doctrine, cannot chooſe but be favourably entertained. This preſuppoſed, it will have likelihood enough, which afterwards followeth, that *many of my Sermons have taſted of ſome ſour leaven or other*, that in them he hath *diſcovered many unſound matters*. A thing much to be lamented, that ſuch a place as this, which might have been ſo well provided for, hath fallen into the hands of one no better inſtructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found, that he judgeth my words, as they do colours, which look upon them with green ſpectacles, and think that which they ſee is green, when indeed that is green whereby they ſee?

7. Touching the firſt point of this diſcovery, which is about the matter of Predeſtination, to ſet down that I ſpake (for I have it written) to declare and confirm the ſeveral branches thereof, would be tedious now in this Writing, where I have ſo many things to touch; that I can but touch them only. Neither is it herein ſo needful for me to juſtifie my ſpeech, when the very place and preſence where I ſpake, doth it ſelf ſpeak ſufficiently for my clearing. This matter was not broached in a blind Alley; or uttered where none was to hear it, that had skill with Authority to controul; or covertly inſinuated by ſome gliding Sentence.

8. That which I taught was at *Paul's Croſs*; it was not hudled in amongſt other matters, in ſuch ſort that it could paſs without noting; it was opened, it was proved, it was ſome reaſonable time ſtood upon. I ſee not which way my Lord of *London*, who was preſent and heard it, can excuſe ſo great a fault, as patiently, without rebuke or controulment afterwards, to hear any man there teach otherwiſe than *the Word of God doth*; not as it is underſtood by the private interpretation of ſome one or two men, or by a ſpecial conſtruction received in ſome few Books; but, as it is underſtood *by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel*; by them all, and therefore even by our own alſo amongſt others. A man that did mean to prove that he ſpeaketh, would ſurely take the meaſure of his words ſhorter.

9. The next thing diſcovered, is an opinion about the aſſurance of mens perſwaſions in matters of Faith. I have taught, he ſaith, *That the aſſurance of things which we believe by the Word, is not ſo certain as that we perceive by ſenſe.* And is it as certain? Yea, I taught (as he himſelf, I truſt, will not deny) that the things which God doth promiſe in his Word are ſurer unto us than any thing which we touch, handle, or ſee. But are we ſo ſure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God ſo often prove his Promiſes unto us, as he doth, by argument taken from our ſenſible experience? We muſt be ſurer of the proof, than of the thing proved, otherwiſe it is no proof. How is it, that if ten men do all look upon the Moon, every one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the Moon, as another; but many believing one and the ſame Promiſe, all have not one and the ſame fulneſs of Perſwaſion? How falleth it out, that men being aſſured of any thing by ſenſe, can be no ſurer of it than they are; whereas the ſtrongeſt in faith, that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour, and ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning Heavenly and Spiritual things may grow, encreaſe, and be augmented?

10. The Sermon, wherein I have ſpoken ſomewhat largely of this point, was long before this late Controverſy roſe between him and me, upon requeſt of ſome of my friends, ſeen and read by many, and, amongſt many, ſome who are thought able to diſcern: And I never heard that any one of them hitherto hath condemned it as containing unſound matter. My Caſe were very hard, if as oft as any thing I ſpeak diſpleaſeth one man's taſte, my Doctrine, upon his only word, ſhould be taken for ſour leaven.

11. The reſt of this diſcovery is all about the matter now in queſtion; wherein he hath two faults predominant, would tire out any that ſhould anſwer unto every point ſeverally; unapt ſpeaking of School-Controverſies, and of my words ſo untowatd a reciting, that he which ſhould promiſe to draw a Man's Countenance, and did indeed expreſs the parts, at leaſtwiſe moſt of them, truly, but perverſly place them, could not repreſent a more offenſive Viſage, than unto me my own ſpeech ſeemeth in ſome places, as he hath ordered it. For anſwer whereunto, that Writing is ſufficient, wherein I have ſet down both my words and meaning in ſuch ſort, that where this Accuſation doth deprave the one, and either miſ-interpret, or, without juſt cauſe, miſlike the other, it will appear ſo plainly, that I may ſpare very well to take upon me a new needleſs labour here.

12. Only at one thing which is there to be found, becauſe Mr. *Travers* doth here ſeem to take ſuch a ſpecial advantage, as if the matter were unanſwerable, he conſtraineth me either to detect his over-ſight, or to confeſs mine own in it. In ſettling the Queſtion between the Church of *Rome* and us, about Grace and Juſtification, leſt I ſhould give them an occaſion to ſay, as commonly they do, that when we cannot refute their Opinions, we propoſe to our ſelves ſuch inſtead of theirs, as we can refute; I took it for the beſt and moſt perſpicuous way of teaching, to declare firſt, how far we do agree, and then to ſhew our diſagreement; not generally (as Mr. *Travers* his * words would carry it, for the eaſier faſtning that upon me, wherewith, ſaving only by him, I was never in my life touched) but about the matter only of Juſtification: for further I had no cauſe to meddle at this time. What was then my Offence in this Caſe? I did, as he ſaith, ſo ſet it out, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt Points, and differed only in ſmaller matters. It will not be found, when it cometh to the balance, a light difference where we diſagree, as I did acknowledge that we do, about the very eſſence of the Medicine whereby Chriſt cureth our Diſeaſe. Did I go about to make a ſhew of Agreement in the weightieſt Points, and was I ſo fond as not to conceal our diſagreement about this? I do wiſh that ſome indifferency were uſed by them that have taken the weighing of my words.

* *His words be theſe*, The next Sabbath day after this, Mr. *Hooker* kept the way he entred into before, and beſtowed his whole hour and more, only upon the queſtions he had moved and maintained. Wherein he ſo ſet out the agreement of the Church of *Rome* with us, and their diſagreement from us, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt Points, and differed only in certain ſmaller matters. Which agreement noted by him in two Chief Points, is not ſuch as he would have made men believe: The one, in that he ſaid they acknowledge all men Sinners, even the bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them freed her from Sin: For the Councel of *Trent* holdeth, that ſhe was free from Sin: Another, in that he ſaid, They teach Chriſt's Righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious Cauſe of taking away Sin, and differ from us only in the applying of it. For *Thomas Aquinas*, their chief Schoolman, and Archbiſhop *Catharinus*, teach, That Chriſt took away only Original Sin, and that the reſt are to be taken away by our ſelves: yea, the Councel of *Trent* teacheth, That the Righteouſneſs whereby we are righteous in God's ſight, is inherent righteouſneſs, which muſt needs be of our own works, and cannot be underſtood of the righteouſneſs inherent only in Chriſt's Perſon, and accounted unto us.

13. Yea, but our Agreement is not ſuch in two of the chiefeſt Points, as I would have men believe it is? And what are they? The one is, I ſaid, *They acknowledge all men ſinners, even the Bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them free her from ſin.* Put the caſe I had affirmed, That only ſome of them free her from ſin, and had delivered it as the moſt current opinion amongſt them, that ſhe was conceived in ſin; doth not *Bonaventure* ſay plainly, *Omnes fere*, in a manner all men do hold this? Doth he not bring many reaſons wherefore all men ſhould hold it? Were their voices ſince that time ever counted, and their number found ſmaller which hold it, than theirs that hold the contrary? Let the queſtion then be, Whether I might ſay, The moſt of them *acknowledged all men ſinners, even the Bleſſed Virgin her ſelf.* To ſhew, that their generally received opinion is the contrary, the *Tridentine* Councel is alledged, peradventure not altogether ſo conſiderately. For if that Councel have by reſolute determination freed her, it it hold, as Mr. *Travers* ſaith it doth, that ſhe was free from ſin; then muſt the Church of *Rome* needs condemn them that hold the contrary: For what that Councel holdeth, the ſame they all do and muſt hold. But in the Church of *Rome*, who knoweth not that it is a thing indifferent to think and defend the one or the other? So that, by this Argument, the Councel of *Trent* holdeth the Virgin free from ſin; *ergo*, it is plain that none of them may, and therefore untrue, that moſt of them do, acknowledge her a Sinner, were forcible to overthrow my ſuppoſed Aſſertion, if it were true that the Councel did hold this. But to the end it may clearly appear, how it neither holdeth this nor the contrary, I will open what many do conceive of the Canon that concerneth this matter. The Fathers of *Trent* perceived, that if they ſhould define of this matter, it would be dangerous howſoever it were determined. If they had freed her from her Original ſin, the reaſons againſt them are unanſwerable, which *Bonaventure* and others do alledge, but eſpecially *Thomas*, whoſe line, as much as may be, they follow. Again, if they did reſolve the other way, they ſhould controul themſelves in another thing, which in no caſe might be altered. For they profeſs to keep no day holy in the honour of an unholy thing; and the Virgin-Conception they honour with a * Feaſt, which they could not abrogate without cancelling a Conſtitution of *Xyſtus Quartus*. And, that which is worſt, the World might perhaps ſuſpect, that if the Church of *Rome* did amiſs before in this, it is not impoſſible for her to fail in other things. In the end, they did wiſely cut out their Canon by a middle thread, eſtabliſhing the Feaſt of the Virgin's Conception, and leaving the other queſtion doubtful as they found it; giving only a Caveat, that no man ſhould take the Decree, which pronounceth all Mankind originally ſinful, for a definitive Sentence concerning the bleſſed Virgin. This in my ſight is plain by their own words, *Declarat hæc ipſa ſancta Synodus, &c.* Wherefore our Country-men at *Rhemes*, mentioning this Point, are marvellous wary how they ſpeak; they touch it as though it were a hot coal: *Many godly devout men judge, that our bleſſed Lady was neither born nor conceived in ſin.* Is it their wont to ſpeak nicely of things definitively ſet down in that Councel?

Annot. in *Rom.* 5. ſect. 9.

In like ſort, we find that the reſt, which have ſince the time of the *Tridentine* Synod written of Original ſin, are in this Point, for the moſt part, either ſilent, or very ſparing in ſpeech; and, when they ſpeak, either doubtful what to think, or whatſoever they think themſelves, fearful to ſet down any certain Determination. If I be thought to take the Canon of that Councel otherwiſe than they themſelves do, let him expound it, whoſe Sentence was neither laſt asked, nor his Pen leaſt occupied in ſetting it down; I mean *Andradius*, whom *Gregory* the thirteenth hath allowed plainly to confeſs, that it is a matter which neither expreſs evidence of Scripture, nor the Tradition of the Fathers, nor the Sentence of the Church hath determined; that they are too ſurly and ſelf-willed, which defending their opinion, are diſpleaſed with them by whom the other is maintained. Finally, that the Fathers of *Trent* have not ſet down any certainty about this Queſtion, but left it doubtful and indifferent.

Lib. 5. defenſ. fidei.

Now whereas my words, which I had ſet down in writing before I uttered them, were indeed theſe, *Although they imagine that the Mother of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were, for his honour and by his ſpecial protection, preſerved clean from all ſin; yet concerning the reſt they teach as we do, that all have ſinned.* Againſt my words they might, with more pretence, take exception, becauſe ſo many of them think ſhe had ſin; which exception notwithſtanding, the Propoſition being indefinite, and the matter contingent, they cannot take, becauſe they grant, That many whom they account grave and devout amongſt them think, that ſhe was clear from all ſin. But whether Mr. *Travers* did note my words himſelf, or take them upon the credit of ſome other man's noting, the Tables were faulty wherein it was noted: *All men ſinners, even the Bleſſed Virgin.* When my Speech was rather, *All men, except the Bleſſed Virgin.* To leave this; another fault he findeth, that I ſaid, *They teach Chriſt's Righteouſneſs to be the only meritorious cauſe of taking away ſin, and differ from us only in the applying of it.* I did ſay, and do, *They teach as we do, that although Chriſt be the only meritorious cauſe of our Juſtice, yet as a medicine which is made for Health doth not heal by being made, but by being applyed: So by the merits of Chriſt there can be no Life nor Juſtification, without the application of his merits: But about the manner of applying*

---

* This doth much trouble *Thomas* holding her Conception ſtained with the natural blemiſh inherent in mortal ſeed. And therefore he putteth it off with two Anſwers; the one, That the Church of *Rome* doth not allow, but tolerate the Feaſt; which anſwer now will not ſerve: The other, that being ſure ſhe was ſanctified before birth, but unſure how long a while after her Conception, therefore under the name of her Conception-day they honour the time of her Sanctification. So that beſides this, they have now no ſoder to make the certain allowance of their Feaſt, and their uncertain ſentence concerning her ſin, to cleave together, *Tom.* 3. *part. queſt.* 27. *art.* 2. *ad.* 2. & 3.

Chriſt, about the number and power of means whereby he is applied, we diſſent from them, This of our diſſenting from them is acknowledged.

14. Our agreement in the former is denied to be ſuch as I pretend. Let their own words therefore and mine concerning them be compared. Doth not *Andradius* plainly confeſs, *Our ſins do ſhut, and only the merits of Chriſt open the entring unto bleſſedneſs?* And *Soto, It is put for a good ground, that all, ſince the fall of* Adam, *obtained Salvation only by the Paſſion of Chriſt: Howbeit, as no cauſe can be effectual without applying, ſo neither can any man be ſaved, to whom the ſuffering of Chriſt is not applied.* In a word, who not? When the Councel of *Trent*, reckoning up the cauſes of our firſt Juſtification, doth name no end, but God's Glory, and our Felicity; no efficient, but his Mercy; no inſtrumental, but Baptiſm; no meritorious, but Chriſt; whom to have merited the taking away of no ſin but Original, is not their opinion: which himſelf will find, when he hath well examined his Witneſſes, *Catharinus* and *Thomas*. Their Jeſuits are marvellous angry with the men, out of whoſe gleanings Mr. *Travers* ſeemeth to have taken this; they openly diſclaim it; they ſay plainly, *Of all the Catholicks there is not one that did ever ſo teach*; they make ſolemn proteſtation, *We believe and profeſs, That Chriſt upon the Croſs hath altogether ſatisfied for all ſins, as well Original as Actual.* Indeed they teach, that the merit of Chriſt doth not take away Actual ſin, in ſuch ſort as it doth Original; wherein, if their Doctrine had been underſtood, I for my ſpeech had never been accuſed. As for the Councel of *Trent* concerning inherent Righteouſneſs, what doth it here? No man doubteth, but they make another formal cauſe of Juſtification than we do. In reſpect whereof, I have ſhewed already, that we diſagree about the very eſſence of that which cureth our Spiritual diſeaſe. Moſt true it is, which the grand Philoſopher hath, *Every man judgeth well of that which he knoweth*; and therefore till we know the things throughly, whereof we judge, it is a point of judgment to ſtay our judgment.

Orthod. lib. 3.

In Sent. diſt. 1. quæſt. 4. art. 6.

Bellarm. Judic. de lib. Concor. Mendac. 18. Nemo Catholicorum unquam ſic docuit; ſed credimus & profitemur Chriſtum in Cruce pro omnibus omnino peccatis ſatisfeciſſe, tam originalibus quàm Actualibus.

15. Thus much labour being ſpent in diſcovering the unſoundneſs of my Doctrine, ſome pains he taketh further to open faults in the manner of my teaching, as that, *I beſtowed my whole hour and more, my time, and more than my time, in diſcourſes utterly impertinent to my Text.* Which if I had done, it might have paſt without complaining of to the Privy-Council.

16. But I did worſe, as he ſaith, *I left the expounding of the Scriptures, and my ordinary Calling, and diſcourſed upon School-points and queſtions, neither of edification, nor of truth.* I read no Lecture in the Law, nor in Phyſick. And except the bounds of ordinary Calling may be drawn like a Purſe, how are they ſo much wider unto him than to me, that he in the limits of his ordinary Calling, ſhould reprove that in me which he underſtood not; and I labouring that both he and others might underſtand, could not do this without forſaking my Calling? The matter whereof I ſpeak was ſuch, as being at firſt by me but lightly touched, he had in that place openly contradicted, and ſolemnly taken upon him to diſprove. If therefore it were a School-queſtion, and unfit to be diſcourſed of there, that which was in me but a Propoſition only at the firſt, wherefore made he a Problem of it? Why took he firſt upon him to maintain the negative of that, which I had affirmatively ſpoken, only to ſhew mine own opinion, little thinking that ever it would have been a Queſtion? Of what nature ſoever the Queſtion were, I could do no leſs than there explain my ſelf to them, unto whom I was accuſed of unſound Doctrine; wherein if to ſhew, what had been through ambiguity miſtaken in my words, or miſapplied by him in this Cauſe againſt me, I uſed the diſtinctions and helps of Schools; I truſt that herein I have committed no unlawful thing. Theſe School-implements are acknowledged by * grave and wiſe men not unprofitable to have been invented. The moſt approved for Learning and Judgment do uſe them without blame; the uſe of them hath been well liked in ſome that have taught even in this very place before me: The quality of my Hearers is ſuch, that I could not but think them of capacity very ſufficient, for the moſt part, to conceive harder than I uſed any; the cauſe I had in hand did in my judgment neceſſarily require them which were then uſed; when my words, ſpoken generally without diſtinctions, had been perverted, what other way was there for me, but by diſtinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appear to all men, whether they were conſonant to truth or no? And although Mr. *Travers* be ſo inured with the City, that he thinketh it unmeet to uſe any ſpeech which ſavoureth of the School, yet his Opinion is no Canon; though unto him, his mind being troubled, my ſpeech did ſeem like Fetters and Manacles, yet there might be ſome more calmly affected, which thought otherwiſe; his private judgment will hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I ſpake, *were neither of edification nor truth.* They might edify ſome other for any thing he knoweth, and be true for any thing he proveth to the contrary. For it is no proof to cry, *Abſurdities, the like whereunto have not been heard in publick places within this Land ſince Queen* Mary's *days!* If this came in earneſt from him, I am ſorry to ſee him ſo much offended without cauſe; more ſorry, that his fit ſhould be ſo extream, to make him ſpeak he knoweth not what. That I neither *affect the truth of God, nor the peace of the Church; Mihi pro minimo eſt*, it doth not much move me, when Mr. *Travers* doth ſay that, which I truſt a greater than Mr. *Travers* will gainſay.

* Calv. Inſt. l. 1. c. 6. ſect. 9.

17. Now let all this which hitherto he hath ſaid be granted him, let it be as he would have it, let my Doctrine and Manner of teaching be as much diſallowed by all men's Judgments as by his, what is all this to his purpoſe? He alledgeth this to be the cauſe why he bringeth it in, The High Commiſſioners *charge him with an indiſcretion and want of duty, in that he inveighed againſt certain Points of Doctrine taught by me, as erroneous, not confer-*

ring firſt with me, nor complaining of it to them. Which faults, a ſea of ſuch matter as he hath hitherto waded in, will never be able to ſcour from him. For the avoiding Schiſm and diſturbance in the Church, which muſt needs grow, if all men might think what they liſt, and ſpeak openly what they think; therefore by a * Decree agreed upon by the Biſhops, and confirmed by her Majeſty's Authority, it was ordered, That erroneous Doctrine, if it were taught publickly, ſhould not be publickly refuted; but that notice thereof ſhould be given unto ſuch as are by her Highneſs appointed to hear, and to determine ſuch Cauſes. For breach of which Orders, when he is charged with lack of Duty, all the faults that can be heaped upon me, will make but a weak defence for him: As ſurely his defence is not much ſtronger, when he alledges for himſelf, That *he was in ſome hope his ſpeech in proving the truth, and clearing thoſe ſcruples which I had in my ſelf, might cauſe me either to embrace ſound Doctrine, or ſuffer it to be embraced of others; which, if I did, he ſhould not need to complain*; that *it was meet he ſhould diſcover firſt what I had ſown, and make it manifeſt to be tares, and then deſire their Sithe to cut it down*; that *Conſcience did bind him to do otherwiſe, than the foreſaid Order requireth*; that, *He was unwilling to deal in that publick manner, and wiſhed a more convenient way were taken for it*; that, *He had reſolved to have proteſted the next Sabbath-day, that he would ſome other way ſatisfy ſuch as ſhould require it, and not deal more in that place.* Be it imagined, (let me not be taken as if I did compare the Offenders, when I do not, but their Anſwers only) that a Libeller did make this Apology for himſelf, I am not ignorant, that if I have juſt matter againſt any man, the Law is open, there are Judges to hear it, and Courts where it ought to be complained of; I have taken another courſe againſt ſuch or ſuch a man, yet without breach of Duty; foraſmuch as I am able to yield a reaſon of my doing, I conceive ſome hope, that a little diſcredit amongſt men would make him aſhamed of himſelf, and that his ſhame would work his amendment; which if it did, other accuſation there ſhould not need; could his anſwer be thought ſufficient, could it in the judgment of diſcreet men, free him from all blame? No more can the hope Mr. *Travers* conceived, to reclaim me by publick ſpeech, juſtify his fault againſt the eſtabliſhed Order of the Church.

* *In the Advertiſements publiſhed in the ſeventh year of her Majeſty's Reign*; It any Preacher, or Parſon, Vicar, or Curate ſo licenſed, ſhall fortune to preach any matter tending to diſſention, or to derogation of the Religion and Doctrine received, that the Hearers denounce the ſame to the Ordinary, or to the next Biſhop of the ſame place, but not openly to contrary, or to impugn the ſame ſpeech ſo diſorderly uttered, whereby may grow Offence, and Diſquiet of the People, but ſhall be convinced and reproved by the Ordinary, after ſuch agreeable order as ſhall beſeem to him, according to the gravity of the Offence: And that it be preſented within one month after the words ſpoken.

18. His thinking it meet, *he ſhould firſt openly diſcover to the People the Tares that had been ſown amongſt them, and then require the hand of Authority to mow them down,* doth only make it a Queſtion, Whether his opinion that this was meet, may be a priviledge or protection againſt the lawful Conſtitution which had before determined of it as of a thing unmeet. Which queſtion I leave for them to diſcuſs whom it moſt concerneth. If the Order be ſuch that it cannot be kept without hazarding a thing ſo precious as a good Conſcience, the peril whereof could be no greater to him, than it needs muſt be to all others whom it toucheth in like Cauſes; then it is evident, it will be an effectual motive, not only for *England*, but alſo for other Reformed Churches, even *Geneva* it ſelf for they have the like) to change or take that away, which cannot but with great inconvenience be obſerved. In the mean while the breach of it may, in ſuch conſideration, be pardoned (which truly I wiſh, howſoever it be) yet hardly defended, as long as it ſtandeth in force uncancelled.

19. Now, whereas he confeſſeth another *way had been more convenient*, and that he found in himſelf ſecret unwillingneſs to do that which he did, doth he not ſay plainly, in effect, that the light of his own Underſtanding proved the way that he took perverſe and crooked; Reaſon was ſo plain and pregnant againſt it, that his Mind was alienated, his Will averted to another courſe? yet ſomewhat there was that ſo far over-ruled, that it muſt needs be done even againſt the very ſtream, what doth it bewray? Finally his purpoſed Proteſtation, whereby he meant openly to make it known, that he did not allow this kind of proceeding, and therefore would ſatisfy men otherwiſe, *and deal no more in this Place*, ſheweth his good mind in this, that he meant to ſtay himſelf from further offending; but it ſerveth not his turn. He is blamed becauſe the thing he hath done was amiſs, and his Anſwer is, That which I would have done afterwards had been well, if ſo be I had done it.

20. But as in this he ſtandeth perſwaded, that he hath done nothing beſides duty, ſo he taketh it hardly, that the High-Commiſſioners ſhould charge him with indiſcretion. Wherefore, as if he cou'd ſo waſh his hands, he maketh a long and a large declaration concerning the carriage of himſelf; how he waded in *matters of ſmaller weight*, and how in things of *greater moment*; how warily he dealt; how *naturally he took his things riſing from the Text*; how *cloſely he kept himſelf to the Scriptures he took in hand*; how *much pains he took to confirm the neceſſity of believing Juſtification by Chriſt only*, and to ſhew how *the Church of* Rome *denyeth that a man is ſaved by Faith alone, without works of the Law*; what *the Sons of Thunder would have done*, if they had been in his caſe; that his *Anſwer was very temperate, without immodeſt or reproachful ſpeech*; that when he might *before all have reproved me*, he did not, *but contented himſelf with exhorting* me before all, *to follow* Nathan*'s example, and reviſit my Doctrine*; when he might have followed St. *Paul*'s example in *reproving Peter*, he did not, but exhorted me with *Peter*, *to endure to be withſtood*. This Teſtimony of his diſcreet carrying himſelf in the handling of his matter, being more agreeably framed and given him by another than by himſelf, might make ſomewhat for the praiſe of his Perſon; but for defence of his action

unto them by whom he is thought undiſcreet, for not conferring privately before he ſpake, will it ſerve to anſwer, that when he ſpake, he did it conſiderately? He perceiveth it will not, and therefore addeth reaſons ſuch as they are; as namely, how he purpoſed at the firſt to take another courſe, and that was this, *Publickly to deliver the truth of ſuch Doctrine as I had otherwiſe taught, and at convenient opportunity to confer with me upon ſuch points.* Is this the rule of Chriſt, if thy Brother offend openly in his ſpeech, controul it firſt with contrary ſpeech openly, and confer with him afterwards upon it, when convenient opportunity ſerveth? Is there any Law of God or Man, whereupon to ground ſuch a Reſolution? Any Church extant in the World, where Teachers are allowed thus to do, or to be done unto? He cannot but ſee how weak an allegation it is, when he bringeth in his following this courſe, firſt in one matter, and ſo afterwards in another, to approve himſelf now following it again. For if the very purpoſe of doing of a thing ſo uncharitable be a fault, the deed is a greater fault; and doth the doing of it twice, make it the third time fit and allowable to be done? The weight of the Cauſe, which is his third defence, relieveth him as little. The weightier it was, the more it required conſiderate advice and conſultation, the more it ſtood him upon to take good heed, that nothing were raſhly done or ſpoken in it. But he meaneth weighty, in regard of the wonderful danger, except he had preſently withſtood me without expecting a time of Conference. *This Cauſe being of ſuch moment that might prejudice the Faith of Chriſt, encourage the ill-affected to continue ſtill in their damnable ways, and other weak in Faith, to ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced, to the deſtruction of their ſouls, he thought it his bounden duty to ſpeak before he talked with me.* A man that ſhould read this, and not know what I had ſpoken, might imagine that I had at leaſt denied the Divinity of Chriſt. But they which were preſent at my ſpeech, and can teſtify that nothing paſſed my lips more than is contained in their Writings, whom, for ſoundneſs of Doctrine, Learning, and Judgment, Mr. *Travers* himſelf doth, I dare ſay, not only allow, but honour; they which heard and do know that the Doctrine here ſignified in ſo fearful manner, the Doctrine that was ſo dangerous to the Faith of Chriſt, that was ſo likely *to encourage ill-affected men to continue ſtill in damnable ways*; that gave ſo great cauſe to tremble for fear of the preſent *deſtruction of Souls*, was only this, *I doubt not but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers, living heretofore in Popiſh Superſtitions, in as much as they ſinned ignorantly*; and this ſpoken in a Sermon, the greateſt part whereof was againſt Popery, they will hardly be able to diſcern how CHRISTIANITY ſhould herewith be ſo grievouſly ſhaken.

21. Whereby his fourth excuſe is alſo taken from him. For what doth it boot him to ſay, *The time was ſhort wherein he was to preach after me*, when his preaching of this matter perhaps ought, ſurely might have been either very well omitted, or at leaſt more conveniently for a while deferred; even by their Judgments that caſt the moſt favourable aſpect towards theſe his haſty proceedings? The poiſon which men had taken at my hands, was not ſo quick and ſtrong in operation, as in eight days to make them paſt cure; by eight days delay there was no likelihood that the force and power of his Speech could dye; longer meditation might bring better and ſtronger proofs to mind, than extemporal dexterity could furniſh him with: And who doth know whether *Time*, the only Mother of ſound Judgment and diſcreet dealing, might have given that action of his ſome better ripeneſs, which, by ſo great feſtination hath, as a thing born out of time, brought ſmall joy unto him that begat it? Doth he think it had not been better, that neither my ſpeech had ſeemed in his eyes as an Arrow ſticking in a thigh of Fleſh, nor his own as a Child whereof he muſt needs be delivered by an hour? His laſt way of diſburthening himſelf is, by caſting his Load upon my Back, as if I had brought him by former Conferences out of hope, that any fruit would ever come of conferring with me. Loth I am to rip up thoſe Conferences, whereof he maketh but a ſlippery and looſe relation. In one of them the queſtion between us was, Whether the perſwaſion of Faith concerning remiſſion of ſins, eternal life, and whatſoever God doth promiſe unto man, be as free from doubting, as the perſwaſion which we have by ſenſe concerning things taſted, felt, and ſeen? For the Negative, I mentioned their example, whoſe Faith in Scripture is moſt commended, and the experience which all faithful men have continually had of themſelves. For proof of the Affirmative, which he held, I deſiring to have ſome reaſon, heard nothing but *all good Writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length, upon requeſt to ſee ſome one of them, *Peter Martyr*'s Common places were brought, where the leaves were turned down, at a place ſounding to this effect, *That the Goſpel doth make Chriſtians more vertuous, than moral Philoſophy doth make Heathens*; which came not near the queſtion by many miles.

22. In the other Conference he queſtioned about the matter of Reprobation, miſliking firſt, that I had termed God a permiſſive, and no poſitive cauſe of the evil, which the School-men do call *malum culpæ*. Secondly, that to their Objection, who ſay, *If I be elected, do what I will, I ſhall be ſaved*, I had anſwered, that the will of God in this thing is not abſolute, but conditional, to ſave his Elect believing, fearing, and obediently ſerving him. Thirdly, that to ſtop the mouths of ſuch as grudge and repine againſt God for rejecting Caſt-aways, I had taught that they are not rejected, no not in the purpoſe and counſel of God, without a foreſeen worthineſs of rejection going, though not in time, yet in order, before. For if God's electing do in order (as needs it muſt) preſuppoſe the foreſight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be; nor only the poſitive foreſight of their being, but alſo the permiſſive of their being miſerable, becauſe Election is through mercy, and mer-

cy doth always preſuppoſe miſery; it followeth, that the very Choſen of God acknowledge, to the praiſe of the riches of his exceeding free compaſſion, that when he in his ſecret determination ſet it down, *Thoſe ſhall live and not dye*, they lay as ugly ſpectacles before him, as Lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrified in their Fathers Loyns, miſerable, worthy to be had in deteſtation; and ſhall any forſaken Creature be able to ſay unto God, Thou didſt plunge me into the depth, and aſſign me unto endleſs torments, only to ſatisfy thine own will, finding nothing in me, for which I could ſeem in thy ſight ſo well worthy to feel everlaſting flames?

23. When I ſaw that Mr. *Travers* carped at theſe things, only becauſe they lay not open, I promiſed at ſome convenient time to make them clear as light, both to him and all others. Which, if they that reprove me will not grant me leave to do, they muſt think that they are for ſome cauſe or other more deſirous to have me reputed an unſound man, than willing that my ſincere meaning ſhould appear and be approved. When I was further asked, what my grounds were? I anſwered, that St. *Paul*'s words concerning this Cauſe were my grounds. His next Demand, What Author I did follow in expounding St. *Paul*, and gathering the Doctrine out of his words, againſt the judgment (he ſaith) *of all Churches, and all good Writers.* I was well aſſured, that to controul this over-reaching ſpeech, the ſentences which I might have cited out of Church-Confeſſions, together with the beſt learned Monuments of former times, and not the meaneſt of our own, were more in number than perhaps he would willingly have heard of; but what had this booted me? For although he himſelf in generality do much uſe thoſe formal ſpeeches, *All Churches* and *all good Writers*, yet, as he holdeth it in Pulpit, lawful to ſay in general, the *Paynims* think this, or the *Heathens* that, but utterly unlawful to cite any ſentence of theirs that ſay it: So he gave me at that time great cauſe to think, that my particular alledging of other mens words, to ſhew their agreement with mine, would as much have diſpleaſed his mind, as the thing it ſelf for which it had been alledged; for he knoweth how often he hath in publick places bitten me for this, although I did never in any Sermon uſe many of the Sentences of other Writers, and do make moſt without any; having always thought it meeteſt, neither to affect nor contemn the uſe of them.

24. He is not ignorant, that in the very entrance to the talk, which we had privately at that time, to prove it unlawful altogether in preaching, either for confirmation, declaration, or otherwiſe, to cite any thing but mere Canonical Scripture, he brought in, *The Scripture is given by inſpiration, and is profitable to teach, reprove, &c.* urging much the vigour of theſe two Clauſes, *The man of God*, and *every good work.* If therefore the work were good which he required at my hands, if privately to ſhew why I thought the Doctrine I had delivered to be according to St. *Paul*'s meaning, were a good work, can they which take the place before alledged for a law, condemning every man of God, who, in doing the work of preaching, any way uſeth human Authority, like it in me, if, in the work of ſtrengthening that which I had preached, I ſhould bring forth the teſtimonies and the ſayings of mortal men? I alledged therefore that which might under no pretence in the world be diſallowed, namely reaſons, not meaning thereby mine own reaſon, as now it is reported, but true, ſound, divine reaſon; reaſon, whereby thoſe Concluſions might be out of St. *Paul* demonſtrated, and not probably diſcourſed of only; reaſon, proper to that ſcience whereby the things of God are known; Theological reaſon, without Principles in Scripture that are plain, ſoundly deduced more doubtful inferences, in ſuch ſort that being heard they cannot be denied, nor any thing repugnant unto them received, but whatſoever was before otherwiſe by miſcollecting gathered out of dark places, is thereby forced to yield it ſelf, and the true conſonant meaning of Sentences not underſtood, is brought to light. This is the reaſon which I intended. If it were poſſible for me to eſcape the Ferula in any thing I do or ſpeak, I had undoubtedly eſcaped it in this. In this I did that which by ſome is enjoined as the only allowable, but granted by all as the moſt ſure and ſafe way, whereby to reſolve things doubted of in matters appertaining to Faith and Chriſtian Religion. So that Mr. *Travers* had here ſmall cauſe given him to be weary of conferring, unleſs it were in other reſpects, than that poor one which is here pretended, that is to ſay, the little hope he had of doing me any good by conference.

25. Yet behold his firſt reaſon of not complaining to the High-Commiſſion, is *That ſith I offended only through an over-charitable inclination, he conceived good hope, when I ſhould ſee the truth cleared, and ſome ſcruples, which were in my mind, removed by his diligence, I would yield.* But what experience ſoever he had of former Conferences, how ſmall ſoever his hope was, that fruit would come of it, if he ſhould have conferred, will any man judge this a Cauſe ſufficient, why to open his mouth in publick, without any one word privately ſpoken? He might have conſidered that men do ſometimes reap, where they ſow but with ſmall hope; he might have conſidered, that although unto me (whereof he was not certain neither) but if to me his labour ſhould be as water ſpilt or poured into a torn diſh, yet to him it could not be fruitleſs to do that, which Order in Chriſtian Churches, that which Charity amongſt Chriſtian men, that which at many men's hands, even common humanity it ſelf, at his, many other things beſides, did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in ſo great haſte, with ſo ſmall advice, but ſuch as muſt needs be unpleaſant, and mingled with much acerbity? Surely, he which will take upon him to defend, that in this there was no over-ſight, muſt beware, leſt, by ſuch defences, he leave

an opinion dwelling in the minds of men, that he is more ſtiff to maintain what he hath done, than careful to do nothing but that which may juſtly be maintained.

26. Thus have I, as near as I could, ſeriouſly anſwered things of weight: with ſmaller I have dealt, as I thought their quality did require. I take no joy in ſtriving, I have not been nuzled or trained up in it. I would to Chriſt they which have at this preſent enforced me hereunto, had ſo ruled their hands in any reaſonable time, that I might never have been conſtrained to ſtrike, ſo much as in mine own defence. Wherefore to proſecute this long and tedious contention no further, I ſhall wiſh that your Grace and their Honours (unto whoſe intelligence, the dutiful regard, which I have of their Judgments, maketh me deſirous, that as accuſations have been brought againſt me, ſo that this my anſwer thereunto may likewiſe come) did both with the one and the other, as *Conſtantine* with Books containing querulous matter. Whether this be convenient to be wiſhed or no, I cannot tell: But ſith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutual waſte of the Parties contending, till a common enemy dance in the aſhes of them both, I do wiſh heartily, that the grave advice which *Conſtantine* gave for the re-uniting of his Clergy ſo many times, upon ſome ſmall occaſions, in ſo lamentable ſort divided; or rather the ſtrict Commandment of Chriſt unto his, that they ſhould not be divided at all; may at the length, if it be his bleſſed will, prevail ſo far at leaſt in this corner of the Chriſtian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of ſtrife, together with the Cauſes that have either bred it, or brought it up, that things of ſmall moment never disjoin them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptiſm, bands of ſo great force have linked; that a reſpective eye towards things wherewith we ſhould not be diſquieted, make us not, as through infirmity the very Patriarchs themſelves ſometimes were, full gorged, unable to ſpeak peaceably to their own Brother. Finally, that no ſtrife may ever be heard of again, but this, Who ſhall hate ſtrife moſt, who ſhall purſue peace and unity with ſwifteſt paces.

TO THE

Chriſtian Reader.

WHereas many, deſirous of reſolution in ſome Points handled in this learned Diſcourſe, were earneſt to have it copied out; to eaſe ſo many labours, it hath been thought moſt worthy and very neceſſary to be printed; that not only they might be ſatisfied, but the whole Church alſo hereby edified. The rather, becauſe it will free the Author from the ſuſpition of ſome Errors, which he hath been thought to have favoured. Who might well have anſwered with Cremutius *in* Tacitus, Verba mea arguuntur, adeò factorum innocens ſum. Lib. 4. Ann. *Certainly, the event of that time wherein he lived, ſhewed that to be true, which the ſame Author ſpake of a worſe,* Cui deerat inimicus, per amicos oppreſſus; *and that there is not* Lib. 1. Hiſt. minus periculum ex magna fama, quàm ex mala. *But he hath ſo quit himſelf, that all may ſee how, as it was ſaid of* Agricola, Simul ſuis virtutibus, ſimul vitiis aliorum, in In vita Agricolæ. ipſam gloriam præceps agebatur. *Touching whom I will ſay no more, but that which my Author ſaid of the ſame man,* Integritatem, &c. in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum Lib. 2. fuerit. *But as of all other his Writings, ſo of this I will add that which* Velleius *ſpake in commendation of* Piſo, Nemo fuit, qui magis quæ agenda erant curaret, ſine ulla oſtentatione agendi, *So not doubting, good Chriſtian Reader, of thy aſſent herein, but wiſhing thy favourable acceptance of this Work (which will be an inducement to ſet forth others of his* Learned *Labours) I take my leave, from* Corpus-Chriſti-Colledge *in* Oxford, *the ſixth of* July, 1612.

Thine in Chriſt Jeſus,

HENRY JACKSON.

A LEARNED

DISCOURSE

OF

Juſtification, Works,

And how the

FOUNDATION of FAITH is overthrown.

HABAK. I. 4.

The wicked doth compaſs about the righteous : therefore perverſe Judgment doth proceed.

1. FOR the better manifeſtation of the Prophets meaning in this place, we are Firſt
2. to conſider *the wicked*, of whom he ſaith, that *They compaſs about the righteous*:
3. Secondly, *the righteous*, that are compaſſed about by them : and Thirdly, That

which is inferred ; *Therefore perverſe judgment proceedeth.* Touching the firſt. There are two kinds of wicked men, of whom, in the fifth of the former to the *Corinthians*, the bleſſed Apoſtle ſpeaketh thus : *Do ye not judge them that are within ? But God judgeth them that are without.* There are wicked therefore, whom the Church may judge, and there are wicked, whom God only judgeth : wicked within, and wicked without the walls of the Church. If within the Church particular perſons be apparently ſuch, as cannot otherwiſe be reformed ; the rule of the Apoſtolical judgment is this, *Separate them from among you* : if whole Aſſemblies, this : *Separate your ſelves from among them : For what ſociety hath light with darkneſs ?* But the wicked, whom the Prophet meaneth, were *Babylonians*, and therefore without. For which cauſe we have heard at large heretofore, in what ſort he urgeth God to judge them.

1 Cor. 5. 13.

2 Cor. 6. 7.

2. Now concerning the Righteous, there neither is, nor ever was, any meer natural man abſolutely righteous in himſelf, that is to ſay, void of all unrighteouſneſs, of all ſin. We dare not except, no not the bleſſed Virgin her-ſelf, of whom although we ſay with S. *Auguſtine*, for the honour's ſake which we owe to our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, we are not willing in this cauſe to move any queſtion of his Mother : yet foraſmuch as the Schools of *Rome* have made it a queſtion ; we may anſwer with * *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, who ſpeaketh of her and to her in this effect : *Thou didſt, by ſpecial Prerogative, nine months together entertain within the Cloſet of thy Fleſh, the hope of all the ends of the Earth, the honour of the World, the common joy of Men. He, from whom all things had their beginning, had his beginning from thee ; of thy body he took the blood, which was to be ſhed for the life of the World ; of thee he took that, which even for thee he payed. A peccati enim veteris nexu per ſe non eſt immunis ipſa genitrix Redemptoris* : The Mother of the Redeemer, her-ſelf, is not otherwiſe looſed from the bond of ancient ſin, than by Redemption : if Chriſt have paid a ranſom for all, even for her, it followeth, that all, without exception, were Captives. If one have died for all, then all were dead in ſin ; all ſinful therefore, none abſolutely righteous in themſelves ; but we are abſolutely righteous in Chriſt. The World then muſt ſhew a righteous man, otherwiſe it is not able to ſhew a man that is perfectly righteous : *Chriſt is made to us Wiſdom, Juſtice, Sanctification, and Redemption* : *Wiſdom*, becauſe he hath revealed his Fathers will : *Juſtice*, becauſe he hath offered up himſelf a Sacrifice for ſin : *Sanctification*, becauſe he hath given us his Spirit ; *Redemption*, becauſe he hath appointed a day to vindicate his Children out of the bands of Corruption into liberty, which is glorious. How Chriſt is made *Wiſdom*, and how *Redemption*, it may be declared, when occaſion ſerveth. But how Chriſt is made the *Righteouſneſs* of men, we are now to declare.

* Or whoſoever it be, that was the author of thoſe Homilies that go under his name.

Knowing how the Schoolmen hold this queſtion, ſome Critical wits may perhaps half ſuſpect that theſe two words, *Per ſe*, are Inmates. But if the place which they have, be their own, their ſenſe can be none other than that which I have given them by a paraphraſtical interpretation.

3. There is a glorifying righteouſneſs of men in the World to come : as there is a juſtifying and ſanctifying Righteouſneſs here. The Righteouſneſs, wherewith we ſhall be cloathed in the World to come, is both perfect and inherent. That whereby here we are

juſtified, is perfect, but not inherent. That whereby we are Sanctified, is inherent, but not perfect. This openeth a way to the underſtanding of that grand queſtion, which hangeth yet in controverſy between us and the Church of *Rome*, about the matter of juſtifying Righteouſneſs.

4. Firſt, although they imagine that the Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt were, for his honour, and by his ſpecial protection, preſerved clean from all ſin: yet touching the reſt they teach as we do, That Infants that never did actually offend, have their Natures defiled, deſtitute of Juſtice, averted from God; That in making man righteous, none do efficiently work with God, but God. They teach as we do, That unto Juſtice no man ever attained, but by the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt. They teach as we do, That although Chriſt as God, be the efficient; as Man, the meritorious cauſe of our Juſtice: yet in us alſo there is ſomething required. God is the cauſe of our natural life, in him we live: but he quickneth not the Body without the Soul in the Body. Chriſt hath merited to make us juſt: but as a medicine, which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applyed; ſo, by the merits of Chriſt there can be no Juſtification, without the application of his Merits. Thus far we join hands with the Church of *Rome*.

They teach as we do, that God doth juſtify the Soul of man alone, without any co-effective cauſe of Juſtice.

Deus ſine medio co-effectivo animam juſtificat, *Caſal.* de quadripart. juſt. l. 1. c. 8. Idem. l. 3. c. 5.

The difference between the Papiſt and us about Juſtification.

5. Wherein then do we diſagree? We diſagree about the nature and eſſence of the Medicine, whereby Chriſt cureth our Diſeaſe; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of means, which God requireth in us for the effectual applying thereof to our Souls comfort. When they are required to ſhew, what the righteouſneſs is, whereby a Chriſtian man is juſtified: they * anſwer, that it is a Divine, Spiritual, quality; which quality received into the Soul, doth firſt make it to be one of them, who are born of God: and ſecondly, indue it with power to bring forth ſuch works, as they do that are born of him; even as the Soul of Man being joined to his Body, doth firſt make him to be of the number of reaſonable Creatures, and ſecondly, enable him to perform the natural Functions which are proper to his kind; That it maketh the Soul amiable and gracious in the ſight of God, in regard whereof it is termed Grace; That it purgeth, purifieth, and waſheth out all the ſtains and pollutions of ſin, that by it, through the merit of Chriſt, we are delivered, as from ſin, ſo from eternal death and condemnation, the reward of ſin. This Grace they will have to be applied by infuſion; to the end, that as the Body is warm by the heat which is in the Body, ſo the Soul might be righteous by inherent Grace: which Grace they make capable of increaſe; as the Body may be more and more warm, ſo the Soul more and more juſtified, according as Grace ſhall be augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good Works, as good Works are made meritorious by it. Wherefore, the firſt receit of Grace, in their Divinity, is the firſt Juſtification; the increaſe thereof, the ſecond Juſtification. As Grace may be increaſed by the merit of good Works: ſo it may be diminiſhed by the demerit of ſins venial, it may be loſt by mortal ſin. In as much therefore as it is needful, in the one caſe to repair, in the other to recover the loſs which is made: the infuſion of Grace hath her ſundry after-meals; for the which cauſe, they make many ways to apply the infuſion of Grace It is applied to Infants, through Baptiſm, without either Faith or Works, and in them really it taketh away Original ſin, and the puniſhment due unto it; It is applied to Infidels and Wicked men in the firſt Juſtification, through Baptiſm, without Works, yet not without Faith; and it taketh away both Sins Actual and Original together, with all whatſoever puniſhment, eternal or temporal, thereby deſerved. Unto ſuch as have attained the firſt Juſtification, that is to ſay, the firſt receit of Grace, it is applied farther by good Works to the increaſe of former Grace, which is the ſecond Juſtification. If they work more and more, Grace doth more and more increaſe, and they are more and more juſtified. To ſuch as diminiſhed it by venial ſins, it is applied by Holy-water, *Ave Maries*, Croſſings, Papal Salutations, and ſuch like, which ſerve for reparations of Grace decayed. To ſuch as have loſt it through mortal ſin, it is applied by the Sacrament (as they term it) of Penance: which Sacrament hath force to confer Grace anew, yet in ſuch ſort, that being ſo conferred, it hath not altogether ſo much power, as at the firſt. For it only cleanſeth out the ſtain or guilt of ſin committed; and changeth the puniſhment eternal into a temporal, ſatisfactory, puniſhment here, if time do ſerve; if not, hereafter to be endured, except it be lightned by Maſſes, Works of Charity, Pilgrimages, Faſts, and ſuch like; or elſe ſhortned by pardon for term, or by plenary pardon quite removed, and taken away. This is the Myſtery of the Man of ſin. This maze the Church of *Rome* doth cauſe her Followers to tread, when they ask her the way of Juſtification. I cannot ſtand now to unrip this Building, and to ſift it piece by piece; only I will paſs by it in few words, that that may befal *Babylon* in the preſence of that which God hath builded, as hapned unto *Dagon* before the Ark.

6. Doubtleſs, ſaith the Apoſtle, *I have counted all things loſs, and judge them to be dung, that I may win Chriſt; and to be found in him, not having my own righteouſneſs, but that which is through the Faith of Chriſt, the righteouſneſs which is of God through Faith.* Whether they ſpeak of the firſt or ſecond Juſtification, they make it the eſſence of a Divine quality inherent, they make it Righteouſneſs, which is in us. If it be in us, then it is ours, as our Souls

Phil. 3. 8.

---

* *Tho. Aquin.* 1. 2. quæſt. 100. Gratia gratum faciens, id eſt, juſtificans, eſt in anima quiddam reale & poſitivum, qualitas quædam (art. 2. concl.) ſupernaturalis, non eadem cum virtute infuſa, ut Magiſter; ſed aliquid (art. 3.) præter virtutes infuſas, fidem, ſpem, charitatem; habitudo quædam (art. 3. ad 3.) quæ præſupponitur in virtutibus iſtis ſicut earum principium & radix, eſſentiam animæ tanquam ſubjectum occupat, non potentias; ſed ab ipſa (art. 4. ad. 1.) effluunt virtutes in potentias animæ, per quas potentiæ moventur ad actus, plura vid. quæſt. 113. de Juſtificatione.

are ours though we have them from God, and can hold them no longer than pleaſeth him; for if he withdraw the breath of our noſtrils, we fall to duſt: but the Righteouſneſs wherein we muſt be found, if we will be juſtified, is not our own; therefore we cannot be juſtified by any inherent quality. Chriſt hath merited righteouſneſs for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth us, if we be faithful, for by Faith we are incorporated into Chriſt. Then although in our ſelves we be altogether ſinful and unrighteous; yet even the man which is impious in himſelf, full of iniquity, full of ſin; him being found in Chriſt through Faith, and having his ſin remitted through Repentance; him God upholdeth with a gracious eye, putteth away his ſin by not imputing it, taketh quite away the puniſhment due thereunto by pardoning it, and accepteth him in Jeſus Chriſt, as perfectly righteous, as if he had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the Law: ſhall I ſay more perfectly righteous, than if himſelf had fulfilled the whole Law? I muſt take heed what I ſay: but the Apoſtle ſaith, *God made him to be ſin for us, who knew no ſin: that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him.* Such we are in the ſight of God the Father, as is the very Son of God himſelf. Let it be counted folly or frenſy, or fury, whatſoever; it is our comfort, and our wiſdom; we care for no knowledge in the World but this, That man hath ſinned, and God hath ſuffered; That God hath made himſelf the Son of Man, and that men are made the righteouſneſs of God. You ſee therefore that the Church of *Rome*, in teaching Juſtification by inherent Grace, doth pervert the truth of Chriſt, and that by the hands of the Apoſtles we have received otherwiſe than ſhe teacheth. Now concerning the righteouſneſs of Sanctification, we deny it not to be inherent: we grant, that unleſs we work, we have it not: only we diſtinguiſh it as a thing different in nature from the righteouſneſs of Juſtification: we are righteous the one way, by the faith of *Abraham*, the other way, except we do the works of *Abraham*, we are not righteous. Of the one St. *Paul*, *To him that worketh not, but believeth, Faith is counted for Righteouſneſs.* Of the other, St. *John*, *Qui facit Juſtitiam, juſtus eſt*; He is righteous which worketh Righteouſneſs. Of the one, St. *Paul* doth prove by *Abraham*'s Example, that we have it of Faith without Works. Of the other, St. *James* by *Abraham*'s Example, that by Works we have it, and not only by Faith. St. *Paul* doth plainly ſever theſe two parts of Chriſtian righteouſneſs, one from the other. For in the ſixth of the *Romans* thus he writeth, *Being freed from ſin, and made Servants to God, ye have your fruit in Holineſs, and the end everlaſting life. Ye are made free from ſin, and made Servants to God*; this is the righteouſneſs of *Juſtification*: *ye have your Fruit in Holineſs*; this is the righteouſneſs of Sanctification. By the one we are intereſſed in the right of inheriting; by the other we are brought to the actual poſſeſſion of eternal bliſs, and ſo the end of both is everlaſting life.

2 Cor. 5. 21.
Rom. 4. 6.
Rom. 6.

7. The Prophet *Habakkuk* doth here term the Jews *Righteous men*, not only becauſe being juſtified by Faith they were free from ſin: but alſo becauſe they had their meaſure of fruits in Holineſs. According to whoſe example of charitable Judgment, which leaveth it to God to diſcern what we are, and ſpeaketh of them according to that which they do profeſs themſelves to be, although they be not holy men, whom men do think, but whom God doth know indeed, to be ſuch, yet let every Chriſtian man know, that in Chriſtian equity he ſtandeth bound for to think and ſpeak of his Brethren, as of men that have a meaſure in the fruit of Holineſs, and a right unto the Title, wherewith God, in token of ſpecial favour and mercy, vouchſafeth to honour his choſen Servants. So we ſee the Apoſtles of our Saviour Chriſt, do uſe every where the name of *Saints*, ſo the Prophet the name of *Righteous*. But let us all be ſuch as we deſire to be termed: *Reatus impii eſt pium nomen*, ſaith *Salvianus*; Godly names do not juſtify godleſs men. We are but upbraided, when we are honoured with Names and Titles, whereunto our lives and manners are not ſuitable. If indeed we have our fruit in Holineſs, notwithſtanding we muſt note, that the more we abound therein, the more need we have to crave that we may be ſtrengthned and ſupported; Our very virtues may be ſnares unto us. The enemy, that waiteth for all occaſions to work our ruin, hath found it harder to overthrow an humble Sinner, than a proud Saint. There is no man's caſe ſo dangerous, as his whom Satan hath perſwaded, that his own righteouſneſs ſhall preſent him pure and blameleſs in the ſight of God. If we could ſay, we were not guilty of any thing at all in our Conſciences (we know our ſelves far from this innocency; we cannot ſay, we know nothing by our ſelves; but if we could) ſhould we therefore plead not guilty before the preſence of our Judge, that ſees further into our hearts than we our ſelves can do? If our hands did never offer violence to our Brethren, a bloody thought doth prove us Murtherers before him: If we had never opened our mouth to utter any ſcandalous, offenſive, or hurtful word, the cry of our ſecret cogitations is heard in the ears of God. If we did not commit the ſins, which daily and hourly either in deed, word, or thought we do commit; yet in the good things which we do, how many defects are there intermingled! God, in that which is done, reſpecteth the mind and intention of the doer. Cut off then all thoſe things wherein we have regarded our own glory, thoſe things which men do to pleaſe men, and to ſatisfy our own liking, thoſe things which we do for any by-reſpect, not ſincerely and purely for the love of God: and a ſmall ſcore will ſerve for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holieſt and beſt things which we do be conſidered: we are never better affected unto God than when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times diſtracted! how little reverence do we ſhew unto the grand Majeſty of God, unto whom we ſpeak! How little remorſe of our own miſeries!

How little taſte of the ſweet influence of his tender mercies do we feel! Are we not as unwilling many times to begin, and as glad to make an end; as if in ſaying, *Call upon me*, he had ſet us a very burthenſome task? It may ſeem ſomewhat extream, which I will ſpeak; therefore let every one judge of it, even as his own heart ſhall tell him, and no otherwiſe; I will but only make a demand: If God ſhould yield unto us, not as unto *Abraham*, If fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good Perſons could be found in a City, for their ſakes that City ſhould not be deſtroyed: but, and if he ſhould make us an offer thus large; Search all the Generations of men, ſithence the Fall of our Father *Adam*, find one man, that hath done one Action, which hath paſt from him pure, without any ſtrain or blemiſh at all; and for that one man's only action, neither Man nor Angel ſhall feel the torments which are prepared for both, Do you think that this ranſom, to deliver Men and Angels, could be found to be among the Sons of men? The beſt things which we do, have ſomewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we do any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed, God doth liberally promiſe whatſoever appertaineth to a bleſſed life, to as many as ſincerely keep his Law, though they be not exactly able to keep it. Wherefore we acknowledge a dutiful neceſſity of doing well; but the meritorious dignity of doing well, we utterly renounce. We ſee how far we are from the perfect righteouſneſs of the Law; the little fruit which we have in holineſs, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and unſound: we put no confidence at all in it, we challenge nothing in the world for it, we dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our Debt-books: our continual ſuit to him, is, and muſt be, to bear with our infirmities, and pardon our offences.

8. But the People of whom the Prophet ſpeaketh, were they all, or were they moſt part of them ſuch as had care to walk uprightly? Did they thirſt after righteouſneſs? Did they wiſh? Did they long with the righteous Prophet? *Oh that our ways were ſo direct, that we might keep thy Statutes*? Did they lament with the righteous Apoſtle? *Oh miſerable men, the good which we wiſh and purpoſe, and ſtrive to do, we cannot*? No, the words of the other Prophet concerning this People, do ſhew the contrary. How grievouſly hath *Eſay* mourned over them! *O ſinful Nation, laden with Iniquity, wicked Seed, corrupt Children*! All which notwithſtanding, ſo wide are the bowels of his Compaſſion enlarged, that he denyeth us not, no not when we were laden with Iniquity, leave to commune familiarly with him, liberty to crave and intreat that what Plagues ſoever we have deſerved, we may not be in worſe caſe than Unbelievers, that we may not be hemmed in by Pagans and Infidels. *Jeruſalem* is a ſinful polluted City: but *Jeruſalem* compared with *Babylon*, is righteous. And ſhall the Righteous be overborn? ſhall they be compaſs'd about by the Wicked? But the Prophet doth not only complain; Lord how cometh it to paſs, that thou handleſt us ſo hardly, of whom thy Name is called, and beareſt with the Heathen Nations, that deſpiſe thee? No, he breaketh out through extremity of grief, and inferreth violently: This *proceeding is perverſe*, the Righteous are ſo handled; *therefore perverſe Judgment doth proceed.*

Rom. 7. 19.

9. Which illation containeth many things, whereof it were better much both for you to hear, and me to ſpeak, if neceſſity did not draw me to another task. *Paul* and *Barnabas* being requeſted to preach the ſame things again which once they had preached, thought it their Duty to ſatisfie the godly deſires of men, ſincerely affected to the truth. Nor may it ſeem burdenous for me, nor for you unprofitable, that I follow their example, the like occaſion unto theirs being offered to me. When we had laſt the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* in hand, and of that Epiſtle theſe words: *In theſe laſt days he hath ſpoken unto us by his Son*: After we had thence collected the nature of the viſible Church of Chriſt; and had defined it to be a community of men ſanctified through the poſſeſſion of the Truth, which God hath taught the World by his Son; and had declared, That the Scope of Chriſtian Doctrine is the comfort of them whoſe hearts are over-charged with the burden of ſin; and had proved that the Doctrine profeſſed in the Church of *Rome*, doth bereave men of comfort, both in their lives, and in their deaths: The concluſion in the end, whereunto we came, was this, The Church of *Rome* being in Faith ſo corrupted, as ſhe is, and refuſing to be reformed, as ſhe doth, we are to ſever our ſelves from her; the example of our Fathers may not retain us in communion with that Church, under hope that we ſo continuing, may be ſaved as well as they. God, I doubt not, was merciful to ſave thouſands of them, though they lived in Popiſh Superſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly: but the Truth is now laid before our Eyes. The former part of this laſt Sentence, namely, theſe words: *I doubt not, but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers living in Popiſh Superſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly*: This Sentence, I beſeech you to mark, and to ſift it with the ſeverity of auſtere Judgment, that if it be found to be gold, it may be ſuitable to the precious foundation whereon it was then laid; for I proteſt, that if it be hay or ſtubble, my own hand ſhall ſet fire on it. Two queſtions have riſen by this Speech before alledged: The one, *Whether our Fathers, infected with Popiſh Errors and Superſtitions, may be ſaved*? The other, *Whether their Ignorance be a reaſonable inducement to make us think they might*? We are then to examine, firſt, what poſſibility; then, what probability there is, that God might be merciful unto ſo many of our Fathers.

Acts 13. 41. 44.

Heb. 1. 2.

By Sanctification, I mean a ſeparation from others not profeſſing as they do: For true Holineſs conſiſteth not in profeſſing, but in obeying the truth of Chriſt.

10. So many of our Fathers living in Popiſh Superſtitions, yet by the mercy of God to be ſaved? No; this could not be: God hath ſpoken by his Angel from Heaven, unto his People concerning *Babylon*, (by *Babylon* we underſtand the Church of *Rome*;) *Go out of her my People, that ye be not Partakers of her Plagues.* For anſwer whereunto; firſt, I do not take

Apoc. 18. 4.

take the words to be meant only of Temporal Plagues, of the Corporal death, ſorrow, famine and fire, whereunto God in his wrath had condemned *Babylon*; and that to ſave his choſen People from theſe Plagues, he ſaith, *Go out*, with like intent, as in the Goſpel, Matth. 24. 16. ſpeaking of *Jeruſalem's* deſolations, he ſaith, *Let them that are in* Judea, *fly unto the* Gen. 19. 15. *Mountains, and them that are in the midſt thereof depart out*; or, as in the former times to *Lot, Ariſe, take thy Wife and thy Daughters which are there, leſt thou be deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the City*: but foraſmuch as here it is ſaid, *Go out of Babylon*; we doubt, their everlaſting deſtruction, which are Partakers therein, is either principally meant, or neceſſarily imployed in this Sentence. How then was it poſſible for ſo many of our Fathers to be ſaved, ſince they were ſo far from departing out of *Babylon*, that they took her for their Mother, and in her boſom yielded up the Ghoſt?

11. Firſt, for the Plagues being threatned unto them that are Partakers in the ſins of *Babylon*, we can define nothing concerning our Fathers, out of this Sentence: unleſs we ſhew what the ſins of *Babylon* be; and what they be which are ſuch Partakers of them that their everlaſting Plagues are inevitable. The ſins which may be common both to them of the Church of *Rome*, and to others departed thence, muſt be ſevered from this queſtion. He which ſaith, *Depart out of* Babylon, *leſt ye be partakers of her ſins*: ſheweth plainly, that he meaneth ſuch ſins, as, except we ſeparate our ſelves, we have no power in the World to avoid; ſuch impieties, as by their Law they have eſtabliſhed, and whereunto all that are among them, either do indeed aſſent, or elſe are, by powerful means, forced in ſhew and appearance, to ſubject themſelves. As for example, in the Church of *Rome*, it is maintained, That the ſame credit and reverence that we give to the Scriptures of God, ought alſo to be given to unwritten verities, That the Pope is Supream head miniſterial over the Univerſal Church-militant; That the Bread in the Euchariſt is tranſubſtantiated into Chriſt; That it is to be adored, and to be offered up unto God, as a Sacrifice propitiatory for quick and dead; That images are to be worſhipped: Saints to be called upon as Interceſſors, and ſuch like. Now, becauſe ſome Hereſies do concern things only believed, as, the Tranſubſtantiation of the Sacramental Elements in the Euchariſt; ſome concern things which are practiſed and put in ure, as the adoration of the Elements tranſubſtantiated: we muſt note, that *erroneouſly* the practice of that is ſometime received, whereof the Doctrine, that teacheth it, is not *heretically* maintained. They are all partakers of the maintenance of Hereſies, who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, although not knowing them to be Hereſies; as alſo they, and that moſt dangerouſly of all others, who knowing Hereſie to be Hereſie, do notwithſtanding in worldly reſpects, make ſemblance of allowing that, which in heart and judgment they condemn: But Hereſy is heretically maintained, by ſuch as obſtinately hold it, after wholſome admonition. Of the laſt ſort, as of the next before, I make no doubt but that their condemnation, without an actual repentance, is inevitable. Leſt any man therefore ſhould think, that in ſpeaking of our Fathers, I ſhould ſpeak indifferently of them alſo: let my words, I beſeech you, be well marked: *I doubt not but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers*: which thing, I will now, by God's aſſiſtance, ſet more plainly before your eyes.

12. Many are partakers of the error, which are not of the hereſy of the Church of *Rome*. The People following the conduct of their guides, and obſerving as they did, exactly, that which was preſcribed, thought they did God good ſervice, when indeed they did diſhonour him. This was their error: but the Hereſy of the Church of *Rome*, their dogmatical Poſitions oppoſite unto Chriſtian truth, what one man amongſt ten thouſand did ever underſtand? Of them, which underſtand *Roman* Hereſies, and allow them, all are not alike partakers in the action of allowing. Some allow them as the firſt Founders and Eſtabliſhers of them: which crime toucheth none but their Popes and Councels; the People are clear and free from this. Of them which maintain Popiſh Hereſies, not as Authors, but receivers of them from others, all maintain them not as Maſters. In this are not the people partakers neither, but only the Predicants and Schoolmen. Of them which have been partakers in this ſin of teaching Popiſh Hereſy, there is alſo a difference; for they have not all been Teachers of all Popiſh Hereſy. *Put a difference*, ſaith St *Jude*, *have* Verſe 22. *compaſſion upon ſome*. Shall we lap up all in one condition? Shall we caſt them all headlong? Shall we plunge them all into that infernal and everlaſting flaming lake? Them that have been partakers of the errors of *Babylon*, together with them which are in the Hereſy? them which have been the Authors of Hereſy, with them that by terror and violence have been forced to receive it? Them who have taught it, with them whoſe ſimplicity hath by ſlights and conveyances of falſe Teachers, been ſeduced to believe it? Them which have been partakers in one, with them which have been partakers in many? Them which in many, with them which in all?

13. Notwithſtanding I grant, that although the condemnation of them be more tolerable then of theſe: yet from the man that laboureth at the plough, to him that ſitteth in the Vatican; to all partakers in the ſins of *Babylon*; to our Fathers, though they did but erroneouſly practiſe that which the guide heretically taught; to all without exception, plagues were due. The Pit is ordinarily the end, as well of the guide, as of the guided in blindneſs. But wo worth the hour wherein we were born except we might promiſe our ſelves better things; things which accompany mans ſalvation, even where we know that

worſe, and ſuch as accompany condemnation are due. Then muſt we ſhew ſome way how poſſibly they might eſcape. What way is there that ſinners can find to eſcape the judgment of God, but only by appealing to the ſeat of his ſaving mercy? Which mercy, with *Origen*, we do no extend to Devils and damned ſpirits. God hath mercy upon thouſands, but there be thouſands alſo which he hardneth. Chriſt hath therefore ſet the bounds, he hath fixed the limits of his ſaving mercy within the compaſs of theſe terms: *God ſent not his own Son to condemn the World, but that the World through him might be ſaved.* In the third of St. *John*'s Goſpel, mercy is reſtrained to believers: *He that believeth ſhall not be condemned; He that believeth not, is condemned already, becauſe he believeth not in the Son of God.* In the ſecond of the Revelation, mercy is reſtrained to the penitent. For of *Jezabel* and her Sectaries, thus he ſpeaketh: *I gave her ſpace to repent, and ſhe repented not. Behold, I will caſt her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her into great affliction, except they repent them of their works, and I will kill her children with death.* Our hope therefore of the Fathers is, if they were not altogether faithleſs and impenitent, that they are ſaved.

John. 3. 17.

Rev. 2. 22.

14. They are not all faithleſs that are weak in aſſenting to the Truth, or ſtiff in maintaining things oppoſite to the Truth of Chiſtian Doctrine. But as many as hold the Foundation which is precious, though they hold it but weakly, and as it were with a ſlender thred, although they frame many baſe and unſuitable things upon it, things that cannot abide the tryal of the fire; yet ſhall they paſs the fiery tryal and be ſaved, which indeed have builded themſelves upon the Rock, which is the foundation of the Church. If then our Fathers did not hold the foundation of Faith, there is no doubt but they were faithleſs. If many of them held it, then is therein no impediment, but many of them might be ſaved. Then let us ſee what the foundation of Faith is, and whether we may think that thouſands of our Fathers, being in Popiſh Superſtitions, did notwithſtanding hold the foundation.

15. If the Foundation of Faith do import the general ground whereupon we reſt when we do believe, the Writings of the Evangeliſts and the Apoſtles are the Foundation of the Chriſtian Faith: *Credimus quia legimus*, ſaith St. *Jerome*: Oh that the Church of *Rome* did as (*a*) ſoundly interpret theſe fundamental Writings whereupon we build our Faith, as ſhe doth willingly hold and imbrace them.

16. But if the name of *Foundation* do note the principal thing which is believed: then is that the Foundation of our Faith which St. *Paul* hath to *Timothy*: (*b*) *God manifeſted in the Fleſh, juſtified in the Spirit, &c.* that of *Nathaniel*, (*c*) *Thou art the Son of the living God: thou art the King of Iſrael*: that of the Inhabitants of *Samaria*, (*d*) *This is Chriſt the Saviour of the world*: he that directly denieth this, doth utterly raze the Foundation of our Faith. I have proved heretofore, that although the Church of *Rome* hath plaid the Harlot worſe than ever did *Iſrael*, yet are they not, as now the Synagogue of the *Jews*, which plainly deny Chriſt Jeſus, quite and clean excluded from the new Covenant. But as *Samaria* compared with *Jeruſalem* is termed *Aholath*, a Church or Tabernacle of her own; contrariwiſe *Jeruſalem Aholibath*, the reſting place of the Lord: ſo, whatſoever we term the Church of *Rome*, when we compare her with Reformed Churches, ſtill we put a difference. as then between *Babylon* and *Samaria*, ſo now between *Rome* and the Heatheniſh Aſſemblies: Which Opinion I muſt and will recall; I muſt grant and will, that the Church of *Rome*, together with all her Children, is clean excluded. There is no difference in the World between our Fathers and *Saracens, Turks*, and *Painims*, if they did directly deny Chriſt crucified for the ſalvation of the World.

a They miſinterpret, not only by making falſe and corrupt gloſſes upon the Scripture, but alſo by forcing the old vulgar Tranſlation as the only Authentical: Howbeit, they refuſe no Book which is Canonical, though they admit ſundry which are not.

b 1 Tim. 3. 16.

c John 1. 49.

d John 4. 42.

17. But how many millions of them were known ſo to have ended their lives that the drawing of their breath hath ceaſed with the uttering of this Faith, *Chriſt my Saviour, my Redeemer Jeſus*? Anſwer is made, That this they might unfeignedly confeſs, and yet be far enough from Salvation. For behold, ſaith the Apoſtle, *I Paul ſay unto you, that if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing.* Chriſt in the work of mans ſalvation is alone: the *Galatians* were caſt away by joining Circumciſion and the other Rites of the Law with Chriſt: the Church of *Rome* doth teach her Children to join other things likewiſe with him; therefore their Faith, their Belief doth not profit them any thing at all. It is true that they do indeed join other things with Chriſt: but how: Not in the work of Redemption it ſelf, which they grant, that Chriſt alone hath performed ſufficiently for the ſalvation of the whole World; but in the application of this ineſtimable treaſure, that it may be effectual to their ſalvation: how demurely ſoever they confeſs, that they ſeek remiſſion of ſins no otherwiſe than by the blood of Chriſt, uſing humbly the means appointed by him to apply the benefit of his holy Blood; they teach indeed, ſo many things pernicious in Chriſtian Faith, in ſetting down the means whereof they ſpeak, that the very Foundation of Faith which they hold, is thereby (*e*) plainly overthrown, and the force of the blood of Jeſus Chriſt extinguiſhed. We may therefore diſputing with them, urge them even with as dangerous ſequels, as the Apoſtle doth the *Galatians*. But I demand, If ſome of thoſe *Galatians* heartily embracing the Goſpel of Chriſt, ſincere and ſound in Faith (this one only error excepted) had ended their lives before they were ever taught how perillous an opinion they held, ſhall we think that the danger of this error did ſo overweigh the benefit of their faith, that the mercy of God might not ſave them? I grant they overthrew

Gal. 5. 2.

e Plainly in all mens ſight whoſe eyes God hath inlightned to behold his truth. For they which are in error, are in darkneſs, and ſee not that which in light is plain in that which they teach concerning the natures of Chriſt, they held the ſame with *Neſtorius* fully the ſame with *Eutiches* about the proprieties of his nature.

threw the Foundation of Faith by conſequent; doth not that ſo likewiſe which the (*f*) *Lutheran* Churches do at this day ſo ſtifly and ſo firmly maintain? For mine own part, I dare not here deny the poſſibility of their ſalvation which have been the chiefeſt inſtruments of ours, albeit they carried to their grave a perſwaſion ſo greatly repugnant to the Truth. Forasmuch therefore as it may be ſaid of the Church of *Rome*, ſhe hath yet a little ſtrength, ſhe doth not directly deny the Foundation of Chriſtianity: I may, I truſt without offence, perſwade my ſelf that thouſands of our Fathers in former times living and dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God.

18. What, although they repented not of their Errors? God forbid that I ſhould open my mouth to gain-ſay that which Chriſt himſelf hath ſpoken: *Except ye repent, ye ſhall all periſh.* And if they did not repent they periſhed. But withal note, That we have the benefit of a double Repentance: the leaſt ſin which we commit in Deed, Thought, or Words, is death without Repentance. Yet how many things do eſcape us in every of theſe, which we do not know? How many, which we do not obſerve to be ſins? And without the knowledge, without the obſervation of ſin, there is no actual Repentance. It cannot then be choſen, but that for as many as hold the Foundation, and have holden all Sins and Errors in hatred, the bleſſing of Repentance for unknown Sins and Errors is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, for ſuch ſuiters as cry with the Prophet *Daniel*: *Purge me, O Lord, from my ſecret ſins.*

19. But we waſh a wall of lome, we labour in vain, all this is nothing; it doth not prove; it cannot juſtifie that which we go about to maintain. Infidels and Heathen men are not ſo godleſs, but that they may no doubt, cry God mercy, and deſire in general to have their ſins forgiven them. To ſuch as deny the Foundation of Faith, there can be no Salvation (according to the ordinary courſe which God doth uſe in ſaving men) without a particular repentance of that Error. The *Galatians* thinking that unleſs they were circumciſed, they could not be ſaved, overthrew the Foundation of Faith directly: therefore if any of them did die ſo perſwaded, whether before or after they were told of their Errors, their end is dreadful; there is no way with them but one, death and condemnation. For the Apoſtle ſpeaketh nothing of men departed, but ſaith generally of all, *If ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. Ye are aboliſhed from Chriſt, whoſoever are juſtified by the Law, ye are fallen from Grace, Gal.* 5. Of them in the Church of *Rome* the reaſon is the ſame. For whom Antichriſt hath ſeduced, concerning them did not S. *Paul* ſpeak long before, they received not the word of truth, that they might not be ſaved? 2 Theſ. 2. 11. therefore God would *ſend them ſtrong deluſions to believe lies, that all they might be damned which believe not the truth, but had pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs.* And S. *John, All that dwell upon the earth ſhall worſhip him, whoſe names are not written in the book of life, Apoc.* 13. Apoc. 13. v. 8. Indeed many in former times, as their Books and Writings do yet ſhew, held the Foundation, to wit, Salvation by Chriſt alone, and therefore might be ſaved. God hath always had a Church amongſt them, which firmly kept his ſaving truth. As for ſuch as hold with the Church of *Rome*, that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt alone without works; they do not only by a circle of conſequence, but directly deny the foundation of Faith; they hold it not, no not ſo much as by a thred.

20. This to my remembrance, being all that hath been oppoſed with any countenance or ſhew of reaſon, I hope, if this be anſwered, the cauſe in queſtion is at an end. Concerning general Repentance therefore: what? a Murtherer, a Blaſphemer, an unclean perſon, a *Turk*, a *Jew*, any ſinner to eſcape the wrath of God by a general Repentance, *God forgive me*? Truly, it never came within my heart, that a general Repentance doth ſerve for all ſins: it ſerveth only for the common over-ſights of our ſinful life, and for the faults which either we do not mark, or do not know that they are faults. Our Fathers were actually penitent for ſins, wherein they knew they diſpleaſed God; or elſe they fall not within the compaſs of my firſt ſpeech. Again, that otherwiſe they could not be ſaved, than holding the Foundation of Chriſtian Faith, we have not only affirmed, but proved. Why is it not then confeſſed, that thouſands of our Fathers which lived in Popiſh Superſtitions, might yet by the mercy of God be ſaved? Firſt, if they had directly denyed the very Foundations of Chriſtianity, without repenting them particularly of that ſin, he which ſaith, There could be no ſalvation for them, according to the ordinary courſe which God doth uſe in ſaving men, granteth plainly, or at the leaſt cloſely inſinuateth, That an extraordinary priviledge of mercy might deliver their ſouls from Hell, which is more than I required. Secondly, if the Foundation be denied, it is denied for fear of ſome Hereſy which the Chuch of *Rome* maintaineth. But how many were there amongſt our Fathers, who being ſeduced by the common Error of that Church, never knew the meaning of her Hereſies? So that although all Popiſh Hereticks did periſh; thouſands of them which lived in Popiſh Superſtitions might be ſaved. Thirdly, ſeeing all that held Popiſh Hereſies, did not hold all the Hereſies of the Pope: why might not thouſands which were infected with other leaven, live and die unſowred with this, and ſo be ſaved? Fourthly, if they all held this Hereſy, many there were that held it, no doubt, but only in a general form of Words, which a favourable Interpretation might expound in a ſenſe differing far enough

from

---

[f] The opinion of the *Lutherans*, though it be no direct denial of the Foundation, may notwithſtanding be damnable unto ſome; and I do not think but that in many reſpects it is leſs damnable, as at this day ſome maintain it, than it was in them which held it at firſt; as *Luther* and others, whom I had an eye unto in this ſpeech. The Queſtion is not, Whether an error with ſuch and ſuch circumſtances: but ſimply, Whether an error overthrowing the Foundation, do exclude all poſſibility of ſalvation, if it be not recanted, and expreſly repented of.

from the poyſoned conceit of Hereſy. As for example; Did they hold, that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt without good works? we our ſelves do, I think, all ſay as much, with this Conſtruction, Salvation being taken as in that ſentence, *Corde creditur ad juſtitiam, Ore fit confeſſio ad ſalutem*, except Infants and Men, cut off upon the point of their Converſion; of the reſt none ſhall ſee God, but ſuch as ſeek peace and holineſs, though not as a Cauſe of their ſalvation, yet as a Way which they muſt walk which will be ſaved. Did they hold, that without Works we are not juſtified? Take Juſtification ſo as it may alſo imply ſanctification, and St. *James* doth ſay as much. For except there be an ambiguity in the ſame term, St. *Paul* and St. *James* doth contradict each the other: which cannot be. Now there is no ambiguity in the name either of Faith, or of Works, being meant by them both in one and the ſame ſenſe. Finding therefore, that Juſtification is ſpoken of by St. *Paul*, without implying Sanctification, when he proveth that a man is juſtified by Faith without Works; finding likewiſe, that Juſtification doth ſometime imply Sanctification alſo with it: I ſuppoſe nothing to be more ſound, than ſo to interpret St. *James*, ſpeaking not in that ſenſe, but in this.

For this is the only thing alledged to prove the impoſſibility of their ſalvation: The Church of *Rome* joyneth works with Chriſt, which is a denial of the foundation, and unleſs we hold the foundation, we cannot be ſaved.

21. We have already ſhewed, that there be two kinds of Chriſtian righteouſneſs: the one without us, which we have by imputation; the other in us, which conſiſteth of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and other Chriſtian Vertues: and St. *James* doth prove that *Abraham* had not only the one, becauſe the thing believed was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs; but alſo the other, becauſe he offered up his Son. God giveth us both the one juſtice and the other; the one by accepting us for righteous in Chriſt; the other by working Chriſtian righteouſneſs in us. The proper and moſt immediate efficient cauſe in us of this later, is the Spirit of Adoption we have received into our hearts. That whereof it conſiſteth, whereof it is really and formally made, are thoſe infuſed Vertues, proper and peculiar unto Saints, which the Spirit in the very moment when firſt it is given of God, bringeth with it: the effects whereof are ſuch actions as the Apoſtle doth call the fruits of works, the operations of the Spirit: The difference of the which operations from the root whereof they ſpring, maketh it needful to put two kinds likewiſe of ſanctifying righteouſneſs, *Habitual*, and *Actual*. *Habitual*, that holineſs, wherewith our ſouls are inwardly indued, the ſame inſtant, when firſt we begin to be the Temples of the Holy Ghoſt. *Actual*, that holineſs, which afterwards beautifieth all the parts and actions of our life, the holineſs for which *Enoch*, *Job*, *Zachary*, *Elizabeth*, and other Saints, are in the Scriptures ſo highly commended. If here it be demanded, which of theſe we do firſt receive: I anſwer, that the Spirit, the vertue of the Spirit, the habitual juſtice, which is ingrafted, the external juſtice of Jeſus Chriſt, which is imputed; theſe we receive all at one and the ſame time; whenſoever we have any of theſe, we have all; they go together: Yet ſith no man is juſtified except he believe, and no man believeth except he hath Faith, and no man except he hath received the ſpirit of Adoption, hath Faith: foraſmuch as they do neceſſarily infer Juſtification, and Juſtification doth of neceſſity preſuppoſe them: we muſt needs hold that imputed righteouſneſs, in dignity being the chiefeſt, is notwithſtanding in order to the laſt of all theſe? but *Actual righteouſneſs*, which is the righteouſneſs of good works ſucceedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time. Which being attentively marked, ſheweth plainly how the faith of true Believers cannot be divorced from hope and love; how faith is a part of ſanctification, and yet unto juſtification neceſſary; how faith is perfected by good works, and not works of ours without faith: Finally, how our Fathers might hold, that we are juſtified by Faith alone, and yet hold truly that without Works we are not juſtified. Did they think that men do merit rewards in Heaven, by the Works they perform in Earth? The Antients uſe *meriting* for *obtaining*, and in that ſenſe they of *Wittenberg* have it in their Confeſſion, *We teach that good works commanded of God, are neceſſary to be done, and by the free kindneſs of God they merit their certain rewards.* Therefore ſpeaking as our Fathers did, and we taking their ſpeech, in a ſound meaning, as we may take our Fathers, and might for as much as their meaning is doubtful, and charity doth always interpret doubtful things favourably: what ſhould induce us to think that rather the damage of the worſt conſtruction did light upon them all, than that the bleſſing of the better was granted unto thouſands? Fifthly, if in the worſt conſtruction that may be made, they had generally all imbraced it living, might not many of them dying utterly renounce it? Howſoever men when they ſit at eaſe, do vainly tickle their hearts with the vain conceit of I know not what proportionable correſpondence, between their merits and their rewards, which in the trance of their high ſpeculations they dream that God hath meaſured, weighed, and laid up, as it were in bundles for them: notwithſtanding we ſee by daily experience, in a number even of them, that when the hour of death approacheth, when they ſecretly hear themſelves ſummoned forthwith to appear, and ſtand at the Bar of that Judge, whoſe brightneſs cauſeth the eyes of the Angels themſelves to dazle, as theſe idle imaginations do then begin to hide their faces; to name merits then, is to lay their ſouls upon the rack, the memory of their own deeds is loathſome unto them, they forſake all things, wherein they have put any truſt or confidence; no ſtaff to lean upon, no eaſe, no reſt, no comfort then, but only in Jeſus Chriſt.

22. Wherefore if this propoſition were true: *To hold in ſuch wiſe, as the Church of*

They may ceaſe to put any confidence in works, and yet never think, living in Popiſh ſuperſtition, they did amiſs. *Pighius* dyed Popiſh, and yet denied Popery in the Article of Juſtification by works long before his death.

Rome *doth, that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt alone without works, is directly to deny the foundation of Faith*; I ſay, that if this propoſition were true: nevertheleſs ſo many ways I have ſhewed, whereby we may hope that thouſands of our Fathers which lived in Popiſh Superſtition might be ſaved. But what if it be not true? What if neither that of the *Galatians*, concerning Circumciſion; nor this of the Church of *Rome* by Works be any direct denial of the Foundation, as it is affirmed, that both are? I need not wade ſo far as to diſcuſs this Controverſy, the matter which firſt was brought into queſtion being ſo clear, as I hope it is. Howbeit, becauſe I deſire that the truth even in that alſo ſhould receive light, I will do mine endeavour to ſet down ſomewhat more plainly; Firſt, the Foundation of Faith, what it is; Secondly, what it is directly to deny the Foundation: Thirdly, whether they whom God hath choſen to be heirs of life, may fall ſo far as directly to deny it: Fourthly, whether the *Galatians* did ſo by admitting the error about *Circumciſion* and the *Law*; Laſt of all, whether the Church of *Rome* for this one opinion of Works, may be thought to do the like, and thereupon to be no more a Chriſtian Church, than are the Aſſemblies of Turks and Jews.

What the foundation of faith is: *Vocata ad concionem multitudine, quæ coaleſcere in populi, unius corpus nulla re præterquam legibus poterat*, Liv. de Rom. lib. 1.

Epheſ. 1. 23. & 4. 15.

Epheſ. 2. 20.

John 6. 63.

2 Tim. 3, 15.

23. This word Foundation being figuratively uſed, hath always referrence to ſomewhat which reſembleth a material building, as both that Doctrine of *Laws* and the Community of Chriſtians do. By the Maſters of Civil Policy nothing is ſo much incultated, as that *Common-wealths are founded upon Laws*; for that a multitude cannot be compacted into one body otherwiſe than by a common acception of Laws, whereby they are to be kept in order. The ground of all Civil Laws is this: *No man ought to be hurt or injured by another*: Take away this perſwaſion, and ye take away all the Laws: take away Laws, and what ſhall become of Common-weals? So it is in our ſpiritual Chriſtian Community: I do not mean that Body Myſtical, whereof Chriſt is only the Head, that Building undiſcernable by mortal eyes, wherein Chriſt is the chief Corner-ſtone; but I ſpeak of the viſible Church; the Foundation whereof is the Doctrine which the Prophets and the Apoſtles profeſt. The mark whereunto their Doctrine tendeth, is pointed at in theſe words of *Peter* unto Chriſt, *Thou haſt the words of eternal life*: In thoſe words of *Paul* to *Timothy*, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation.* It is the demand of Nature it ſelf, *What ſhall we do to have eternal life*? The deſire of immortality, and the knowledge of that, whereby it may be obtained, is ſo natural unto all men, that even they who are not perſwaded, that they ſhall, do notwithſtanding wiſh, that they might, know a way how to ſee no end of life. And becauſe natural means are not able ſtill to reſiſt the force of Death, there is no people in the earth ſo ſavage, which hath not deviſed ſome ſupernatural help or other, to fly for aid and ſuccour in extremities, againſt the enemies of the Laws. A longing therefore to be ſaved, without underſtanding the true way how, hath been the cauſe of all the Superſtitions in the World. O that the miſerable ſtate of others, which wander in darkneſs, and wot not whither they go, could give us underſtanding heats, worthily to eſteem the riches of the mercy of God towards us, before whoſe eyes the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven are ſet wide open! ſhould we offer violence unto it? it offereth violence unto us, and we gather ſtrength to withſtand it. But I am beſides my purpoſe, when I fall to bewail the cold affection which we bear towards that whereby we ſhould be ſaved: my purpoſe being only to ſet down, what the ground of ſalvation is. The doctrine of the Goſpel propoſeth ſalvation as the end: And doth it not teach the way of attaining thereunto? Yet the Damoſel poſſeſt with a ſpirit of divination, ſpake the truth: *Theſe men are the Servants of the moſt high God, which ſhew unto us the way of Salvation*: *A new and living way which Chriſt hath prepared for us, through the vail, that is, his fleſh*; Salvation purchaſed by the death of Chriſt. By this foundation the Children of God before the written Law were diſtinguiſhed from the ſons of men; the reverend Patriarchs both poſſeſt it living, and ſpake expreſly of it at the hour of their death. It comforted *Job* in the midſt of grief: as it was afterwards the anchor-hold of all the righteous in *Iſrael*, from the writing of the Law, to the time of Grace. Every Prophet making mention of it. It was famouſly ſpoken of about the time, when the coming of Chriſt to accompliſh the promiſes, which were made long before it, drew near, that the ſound thereof was heard even amongſt the Gentiles. When he was come, as many as were his, acknowledged that he was their Salvation; he, that long expected hope of *Iſrael*; he, that *Seed, in whom all the Nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed.* So that now he is a name of ruine, a name of death and condemnation, unto ſuch as dream of a new *Meſſias*, to as many as look for ſalvation by any other but by him. *For amongſt men there is given no other name under heaven whereby we muſt be ſaved.* Thus much St. *Mark* doth intimate by that which he doth put in the front of this book, making his entrance with theſe words: *The beginning of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God.* His Doctrine he termeth the Goſpel, becauſe he teacheth Salvation; the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, becauſe it teacheth Salvation by him. This is then the Foundation, whereupon the frame of the Goſpel is erected; that very Jeſus whom the *Virgin* conceived of the holy Ghoſt, whom *Simeon* imbraced in his arms, whom *Pilate* condemned, whom the *Jews* crucified, whom the *Apoſtles* preached, he is Chriſt, the Lord, the only Saviour of the World: *Other foundation can no man lay.* Thus I have briefly opened that principle in Chriſtianity, which we call the Foundation of our Faith. It followeth now that I declare unto you, what it is directly to overthrow it. This will be better opened, if we underſtand, what it is to hold the Foundation of Faith.

Acts 16. 17.

Heb. 10. 20.

Gen. 49.

Job 19.

Acts 3. 12.

Luke 1. 11.

1 Cor. 3.

24. There are which defend, that many of the Gentiles, who never heard the Name of Chriſt, held the Foundation of Chriſtianity, and why? they acknowledged many of them, the Providence of God, his infinite wiſdom, ſtrength, power; his Goodneſs, and his mercy towards the Children of men; that God hath judgment in ſtore for the wicked, but for the righteous, which ſerve him, rewards, *&c.* In this which they confeſſed, that lyeth covered which we believe; in the Rudiments of their knowledge concerning God, the Foundation of our Faith concerning Chriſt, lyeth ſecretly wrapt up, and is vertually contained: therefore they held the Foundation of Faith, though they never had it. Might we not with as good a colour of Reaſon defend, that every Plowman hath all the Sciences, wherein Philoſophers have excelled? For no man is ignorant of their firſt principles, which do vertually contain, whatſoever by natural means is or can be known. Yea, might we not with as great reaſon affirm, that a man might put three mighty Oaks whereſoever three Acorns may be put? For vertually an Acorn is an Oak. To avoid ſuch Paradoxes, we teach plainly, that, To hold the Foundation, is, in expreſs terms to acknowledge it.

25. Now, becauſe the Foundation is an affirmative Propoſition, they all overthrow it, who deny it; they directly overthrow it, who deny it directly; and they overthrow it by conſequent, or indirectly, which hold any one aſſertion whatſoever, whereupon the direct denial thereof may be neceſſarily concluded. What is the Queſtion between the Gentiles and Us, but this, *Whether ſalvation be by Chriſt?* What between the *Jews* and Us, but this, *Whether by this Jeſus, whom we call Chriſt, yea or no?* This is to be the main point whereupon Chriſtianity ſtandeth, it is clear by that one ſentence of *Feſtus* concerning *Paul's* accuſers: *They brought no crime of ſuch things as I ſuppoſed, but had certain queſtions againſt him of their ſuperſtition, and of one Jeſus, which was dead, whom* Paul *affirmed to be alive.* Where we ſee that Jeſus, dead, and raiſed for the Salvation of the World, is by *Jews* denied, deſpiſed by a Gentile, by a Chriſtian Apoſtle maintained. The Fathers therefore in the Primitive Church when they wrote; *Tertullian,* the book which he called *Apologeticus*; *Minutius Fœlix,* the book which he intitleth *Octavius*; *Arnobius,* the ſeven books againſt the Gentiles; *Chryſoſtom,* his Orations againſt the *Jews*; *Euſebius,* his ten books of *Evangelical demonſtration*; they ſtand in defence of Chriſtianity againſt them, by whom the Foundation thereof was directly denied. But the writings of the Fathers againſt *Novatians, Pelagians,* and other Hereticks of the like note, refel Poſitions, whereby the Foundation of Chiſtian Faith was overthrown by conſequent only. In the former ſort of Writings the Foundation is proved; in the latter, it is alledged as a proof, which to men that had been known directly to deny, muſt needs have ſeemed a very beggerly kind of diſputing. All Infidels therefore deny the Foundation of Faith directly; by conſequent, many a Chriſtian man, yea whole Chriſtian Churches have denied it, and do deny it at this preſent day. Chriſtian Churches, the Foundation of Chriſtianty: not directly, for then they ceaſe to be Chriſtian Churches; but by conſequent, in reſpect whereof we condemn them as erroneous, although for holding the Foundation we do and muſt hold them Chriſtians.

26. We ſee what it is to hold the Foundation; what directly, and what by conſequent to deny it. The next thing which followeth, is whether they whom God hath choſen to obtain the glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, may, once effectually called, and through Faith juſtified truly, afterwards fall ſo far, as directly to deny the Foundation, which their hearts have before embraced with joy and comfort in the holy Ghoſt; for ſuch is the Faith, which indeed doth juſtifie. Devils know the ſame things which we believe, and the minds of the moſt ungodly may be fully perſwaded of the Truth; which knowledge in the one, and in the other, is ſometimes termed Faith, but equivocally, being indeed no ſuch Faith as that, whereby a Chriſtian man is juſtified. It is the Spirit of Adoption, which worketh Faith in us, in them not: the things which we believe, are by us apprehended, not only as true, but alſo as good, and that to us: as good, they are not by them apprehended; as true, they are. Whereupon followeth the third difference; the Chriſtian man the more he encreaſeth in Faith the more his joy and comfort aboundeth: but they, the more ſure they are of the truth, the more they quake and tremble at it. This begetteth another effect, where the hearts of the one ſort have a different diſpoſition from the other. *Non ignoro pleroſque conſcientia meritorum, nihil ſe eſſe per mortem magis optare quam credere, Malunt enim extengui penitus, quàm ad ſimplicia reparari.* I am not ignorant, ſaith *Minutius,* that there be many, who being conſcious what they are to look for, do rather wiſh that they might, than think that they ſhall ceaſe, when they ceaſe to live; becauſe they hold it better that death ſhould conſume them unto nothing, than God revive them unto puniſhment. So it is in other Articles of Faith, whereof wicked men think, no doubt, many times they are too true: On the contrary ſide, to the other, there is no grief or torment greater, than to feel their perſwaſion weak in things, whereof when they are perſwaded, they reap ſuch comfort and joy of ſpirit: ſuch is the Faith whereby we are juſtified; ſuch, I mean, in reſpect of the quality. For touching the principal object of Faith, longer than it holdeth the Foundation whereof we have ſpoken, it neither juſtifieth, nor is, but ceaſeth to be faith; when it ceaſeth to believe, that Jeſus Chriſt is the only Saviour of the World. The cauſe of life ſpiritual in us, is Chriſt, not carnally or corporally inhabiting, but dwelling in the ſoul of man, as a thing which (when the mind apprehendeth it) is ſaid to inhabit or poſſeſs the mind. The mind conceiveth Chriſt by hearing the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, as the light of Nature doth the mind to apprehend thoſe

truths which are meerly rational, ſo that ſaving truth, which is far above the reach of Human Reaſon, cannot otherwiſe, than by the Spirit of the Almighty, be conceived. All theſe are implied, whereſoever any of them is mentioned as the cauſe of the ſpiritual life. Wherefore if we have read, that (*a*) *The Spirit is our life*; or, (*b*) *the Word our life*; or, (*c*) *Chriſt our life*: We are in every of theſe to underſtand, that our life is Chriſt, by the hearing of the Goſpel, apprehended as a Saviour, and aſſented unto through the power of the Holy Ghoſt. The firſt intellectual conceit and comprehenſion of Chriſt ſo imbraced, St. *Peter* calleth *the ſeed whereof we be new born*: our firſt imbracing of Chriſt, is our firſt reviving from the ſtate of death and condemnation. *He that hath the Son, hath life*, ſaith St. *John*, *and he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life*. If therefore he which once hath the Son, may ceaſe to have the Son, though it be for a moment, he ceaſeth for that moment to have life. But the life of them which have the Son of God, is everlaſting *in the world to come*. But becauſe as Chriſt being raiſed from the dead dyed no more, death hath no more power over him: ſo juſtified man, being allied to God in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, doth as neceſſarily from that time forward always live, as Chriſt, by whom he hath life, liveth always. I might, if I had not otherwhere largely done it already, ſhew by many and ſundry manifeſt and clear proofs, how the motions and operations of life are ſometime ſo indiſcernable, and ſo ſecret, that they ſeem ſtone-dead, who notwithſtanding are ſtill alive unto God in Chriſt.

a Rom. 8. 10.
b Phil. 2. 15.
c Col. 3. 4.
1 Pet. 1.
Epheſ. 2. 5.
John 5. 11.
1 John 5. 13.
Perpetuity of Faith.
Rom. 6. 10.
John 14. 19.

For as long as that abideth in us, which animateth, quickneth, and giveth life, ſo long we live. and we know that the cauſe of our Faith abideth in us for ever. If Chriſt, the Fountain of Life, may flit and leave the Habitation, where once he dwelleth, What ſhall become of his Promiſe, *I am with you to the Worlds end*? If the Seed of God, which containeth Chriſt, may be firſt conceived, and then caſt out: how doth St. *Peter* term it *immortal*? How doth St. *John* affirm, *It abideth*? If the Spirit, which is given to cheriſh, and preſerve the Seed of Life, may be given and taken away, how is it the earneſt of our inheritance until Redemption; how doth it continue with us for ever? If therefore the man which is once juſt by Faith, ſhall live by Faith, and live for ever, it followeth, that he which once doth believe the Foundation, muſt needs believe the Foundation for ever. If he believe it for ever, how can he ever directly deny it? Faith holding the direct affirmation; the direct negation, ſo long as Faith continueth, is excluded.

1 Pet. 1. 1.
1 John 3. 9.
Epheſ. 1. 4, 5.
John 4. 14.

Object. But you will ſay, *That as he that is to day holy, may to morrow forſake his holineſs, and become impure, as a friend may change his mind, and be made an enemy; as hope may wither: ſo faith may dye in the heart of man, the Spirit may be quenched, Grace may be extinguiſhed, they which believe may be quite turned away from the Truth.*

Sol. The caſe is clear, long experience hath made this manifeſt, it needs no proof. I grant we are apt, prone, and ready to forſake God; but is God as ready to forſake us? Our minds are changeable; is His ſo likewiſe? Whom God hath juſtified hath not Chriſt aſſured, that it is *his Fathers will to give them a Kingdom*? Notwithſtanding, it ſhall not be otherwiſe given them, than if they continue grounded and ſtabliſhed in the Faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpel; *if they abide in love and holineſs*. Our Saviour therefore, when he ſpake of the ſheep effectually called, and truly gathered into his fold, *I give unto them eternal life, and they ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any pluck them out of my hands*; in promiſing to ſave them, he promiſed, no doubt, to preſerve them in that, without which there can be no ſalvation, as alſo from that whereby it is irrecoverably loſt. Every error in things appertaining unto God, is repugnant unto Faith; every fearful cogitation, unto hope; unto love, every ſtragling inordinate deſire; unto holineſs, every blemiſh wherewith either the inward thoughts of our minds, or the outward actions of our lives are ſtained. But hereſy, ſuch as that of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, and others, againſt whom the Apoſtles were forced to bend themſelves, both by word, and alſo by writing; that repining diſcouragement of heart, which tempteth God, whereof we have *Iſrael* in the Deſart for a pattern; coldneſs, ſuch as that in the Angels of *Epheſus*; foul ſins, known to be expreſly againſt the firſt or ſecond Table of the Law, ſuch as *Noah*, *Manaſſes*, *David*, *Solomon*, and *Peter* committed: Theſe are each in their kind ſo oppoſite to the former vertues, that they leave no place for ſalvation without an actual repentance. But Infidelity, extream deſpair, hatred of God and all goodneſs, obduration in Sin cannot ſtand where there is but the leaſt ſpark of Faith, Hope, Love and Sanctity; even as cold in the loweſt degree cannot be, where heat in the higheſt degree is found. Whereupon I conclude, that although in the firſt kind, no man liveth, which ſinneth not; and in the ſecond, as perfect as any do live, may ſin: yet ſith the man which is born of God, hath a promiſe, That in him *the Seed of God ſhall abide*; which ſeed is a ſure Preſervative againſt the ſins that are of the third ſuit: Greater and clearer aſſurance we cannot have of any thing, than of this, that from ſuch ſins God ſhall preſerve the Righteous, as the apple of his eye for ever. Directly to deny the Foundation of Faith, is plain Infidelity; where Faith is entred, there Infidelity is for ever excluded: Therefore by him which hath once ſincerely believed in Chriſt, the Foundation of Chriſtian Faith can never be directly denied? Did not *Peter*? Did not *Marcellinus*? Did not others both directly deny Chriſt, after that they had believed; and again believe, after they had denied? No doubt, as they confeſs in words, whoſe Condemnation is nevertheleſs their not believing: (for example we have *Judas*:) So likewiſe, they may believe in Heart, whoſe Condemnation, without

Col. 1. 23.
1 Tim. 2. 15.
John 10.
1 John 3. 9.

Repentance, is their not Confeſſing. Although therefore, *Peter* and the reſt, for whoſe Faith Chriſt hath prayed, that it might not fail, did not by denial, ſin the Sin of Infidelity, which is an inward abnegation of Chriſt; (for if they had done this, their Faith had clearly failed:) Yet, becauſe they ſinned notoriouſly and grievouſly, committing that which they knew to be expreſly forbidden by the Law, which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve*; neceſſary it was, that he who purpoſed to ſave their Souls, ſhould, as he did touch their Hearts with true unfeigned repentance, that his mercy might reſtore them again to life, whom Sin had made the children of Death and Condemnation. Touching the point therefore, I hope I may ſavely ſet down, that if the Juſtified err, as he may, and never come to underſtand his error, God doth ſave him through general repentance; but if he fall into Hereſie, he calleth him at one time or other by actual repentance; but from Infidelity, which is an inward direct denial of the Foundation, he preſerveth him by ſpecial providence for ever. Whereby we may eaſily know, what to think of thoſe *Galatians*, whoſe hearts were ſo poſſeſt with the love of the Truth, that, if it had been poſſible, they would have pluckt out their eyes to beſtow upon their Teachers. It is true, that they were greatly * changed, both in perſwaſion and affection: ſo that the *Galatians*, when St. *Paul* wrote unto them, were not now the *Galatians* which they had been in former time, for that through error they wandred, although they were his Sheep. I do not deny, but that I ſhould deny, that they were his Sheep, if I ſhould grant, that through error they periſhed. It was a perilous opinion that they held; perilous even in them that held it only as an Error, becauſe it overthroweth the Foundation by conſequent. But in them which obſtinately maintain it, I cannot think it leſs than a damnable Hereſie. We muſt therefore put a difference between them which err of ignorance, retaining nevertheleſs a mind deſirous to be inſtructed in Truth, and them, which after the Truth is laid open, perſiſt in the ſtubborn defence of their blindneſs. Heretical defenders, froward and ſtiff-necked Teachers of Circumciſion, the bleſſed Apoſtle calls Doggs: Silly men, who were ſeduced to think they taught the Truth, he pitieth, he taketh up in his arms, he lovingly imbraceth, he kiſſeth, and with more than fatherly tenderneſs doth ſo temper, qualifie, and correct the ſpeech he uſeth towards them, that a man cannot eaſily diſcern, whether did moſt abound, the love which he bear to their godly Affection, or the grief which the danger of their Opinion bred him. Their Opinion was dangerous; was not theirs alſo, who thought the Kingdom of Chriſt ſhould be Earthly? Was not theirs, which thought the Goſpel only ſhould be preached to the Jews? What more oppoſite to Prophetical Doctrine, concerning the coming of Chriſt, than the one? Concerning the Catholick Church, than the other? Yet they which had theſe Fancies, even when they had them, were not the worſt men in the World. The Hereſie of *Free-will* was a milſtone about the *Pelagians* neck, ſhall we therefore give Sentence of Death inevitable againſt all thoſe Fathers in the Greek Church, which being miſ-perſwaded, died in the Error of *Free-will*? Of theſe *Galatians* therefore, which firſt were juſtified, and then deceived, as I can ſee no cauſe, why as many as died before admonition, might not by mercy be received, even in error; ſo I make no doubt, but as many as lived till they were admoniſhed, found the mercy of God effectual in converting them from their (*a*) error, leſt any one that is Chriſt's ſhould periſh. Of this I take it, there is no Controverſy: Only againſt the Salvation of them that died, though before admonition, yet in error, it is objected, that their opinion was a very plain direct denial of the Foundation. If *Paul* and *Barnabas* had been ſo perſwaded, they would haply have uſed the terms otherwiſe, ſpeaking of the Maſters themſelves, who did firſt ſet that error abroach, (*b*) Certain of the Sect of the Phariſees which believed. What difference was there between theſe Phariſees, and other Phariſees, from whom, by a ſpecial deſcription they are diſtinguiſhed, but this? Theſe which came to *Antioch*, teaching the neceſſity of Circumciſion, were Chriſtians; the other, enemies of Chriſtianity. Why then ſhould theſe be termed ſo diſtinctly Believers, if they did directly deny the foundation of our Belief; beſides which, there was no other thing, that made the reſt to be no Believers? We need go no farther than St. *Paul*'s very reaſoning againſt them, for proof of this matter; Seeing you know God, or rather are known of God? How turn you again to impotent rudiments? The (*c*) Law engendreth Servants, her Children are in bondage: (*d*) They which are begotten by the Goſpel, are free. (*e*) Brethren, we are not Children of the Servant, but of the free-woman, and will ye yet be under the Law? That they thought it unto Salvation neceſſary, for the Church of Chriſt to (*f*) obſerve days, and months, and times, and years to keep the Ceremonies and Sacraments of the Law, this was their error. Yet he which condemneth their error, confeſſeth, that, notwithſtanding, they knew God, and were known of him; he taketh not the honour from them to be termed Sons, begotten of the immortal ſeed of the Goſpel. Let the heavieſt words which he uſeth, be weighed; conſider the drift of thoſe dreadful Concluſions: *If ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing: As many as are juſtified by the Law, are fallen from Grace.* It had been to no purpoſe in the World ſo to urge them, had not the Apoſtle been perſwaded, that at the hearing of ſuch Sequels, *No benefit by Chriſt, a defection of Grace,* their hearts would tremble

and

---

* Howſoever men be changed (for changed they may be, even the beſt amongſt men) if they that have received, as it ſeemeth ſome of the *Galatians* which fell into error, had received the Gifts and Graces of God, which are called ἀμεταμέλητα, ſuch as Faith, Hope, and Charity are, which God doth never take away from him, to whom they are given, as if it repented him to have given them; if ſuch might be ſo far changed by error, as that the very root of Faith ſhould be quite extinguiſhed in them, and ſo their Salvation utterly loſt: It would ſhake the hearts of the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt of us all. See the contrary in *Beza* his obſervations upon the harmony of Confeſſions.

a Error convicted, and afterwards maintained, is more than error; for although opinion be the ſame it was, in which reſpect I ſtill call it error, yet they are not now the ſame they were when they are taught what the Truth is, and plainly taught.

b Acts 15. 5.

c Gal. 4. 14, 15.

d Verſ. 18.

e Verſ. 31.

f Verſ. 21.

and quake within them: And why? Becauſe that they knew, that in Chriſt, and in Grace their Salvation lay, which is a plain direct acknowledgment of the Foundation. Leſt I ſhould herein ſeem to hold that which no one learned or godly hath done, let theſe words be conſidered, which import as much as I affirm. Surely theſe Brethren, which in Saint *Paul*'s time, thought that God did lay a neceſſity upon them to make choice of days and meats, ſpake as they believed, and could not but in words condemn the liberty, which they ſuppoſed to be brought in againſt the Authority of Divine Scripture. Otherwiſe it were needleſs for Saint *Paul* to admoniſh them, not to condemn ſuch as eat without ſcrupuloſity, whatſoever was ſet before them. This error, if you weigh what it is of it ſelf, did at once overthrow all Scriptures, whereby we are taught Salvation by Faith in Chriſt, all that ever the Prophets did foretel, all that ever the Apoſtles did preach of Chriſt, it drew with it the denial of Chriſt utterly: inſomuch, that Saint *Paul* complaineth, that his labour was loſt upon the *Galatians*, unto whom this error was obtruded, affirming, that Chriſt, if ſo be they were circumciſed, ſhould not profit them any thing at all. Yet ſo far was Saint *Paul* from ſtriking their names out of Chriſt's book, that he commandeth others to entertain them, to accept them with ſingular humanity, to uſe them like Brethren; he knew man's imbecility, he had a feeling of our blindneſs which are mortal men, how great it is, and being ſure that they are the Sons of God, whoſoever be endued with his fear, would not have them counted Enemies of that whereunto they could not as yet frame themſelves to be Friends, but did ever upon a very Religious affection to the Truth, willingly reject the Truth. They acknowledged Chriſt to be their only and perfect Saviour, but ſaw not how repugnant their believing the neceſſity of Moſaical Ceremonies was to their Faith in Jeſus Chriſt. Hereupon a reply is made, that if they had not directly denied the Foundation, they might have been ſaved; but ſaved they could not be, therefore their opinion was, not only by conſequent, but directly, a denial of the Foundation. When the queſtion was about the poſſibility of their Salvation, their denying of the Foundation was brought to prove, that they could not be ſaved: now, that the Queſtion is about their denial of the Foundation, the impoſſibility of their Salvation is alledged to prove they denied the Foundation. Is there nothing which excludeth men from Salvation, but only the Foundation of Faith denied? I ſhould have thought, that, beſides this, many other things are death unto as many as underſtanding, that to cleave thereunto, was to fall from Chriſt, did notwithſtanding cleave unto them. But of this enough. Wherefore I come to the laſt Queſtion. *Whether that the Doctrine of the Church of* Rome, *concerning the neceſſity of Works unto Salvation, be a direct denial of our Faith?*

Bucer. de Unit. Eccleſ. ſervand.

27. I ſeek not to obtrude unto you any private Opinion of my own. The beſt learned in our profeſſion are of this Judgment, That all the corruptions of the Church of *Rome* do not prove her to deny the Foundation directly; if they did, they ſhould grant her ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. *But, I ſuppoſe*, ſaith one, *that in the Papacy ſome Church remaineth, a Church crazed, or, if you will, broken quite in pieces, forlorn, miſſhapen, yet ſome Church*: his reaſon is this, *Antichriſt muſt ſit in the Temple of God.* Leſt any man ſhould think ſuch ſentences as theſe to be true, only in regard of them, whom that Church is ſuppoſed to have kept by the ſpecial providence of God, as it were, in the ſecret corners of his Boſom, free from infection, and as ſound in the Faith, as we truſt, by his mercy, we our ſelves are; I permit it to your wiſe conſiderations, whether it be more likely, that as frenzy, though it take away the uſe of reaſon, doth notwithſtanding prove them reaſonable Creatures which have it, becauſe none can be frantick but they: So Antichriſtianity being the bane and overthrow of Chriſtianity, may nevertheleſs argue the Church where Antichriſt ſitteth to be Chriſtian. Neither have I ever hitherto heard or read any one word alledged of force to warrant that God doth otherwiſe, than ſo as in the two next Queſtions before hath been declared, bind himſelf to keep his Elect from worſhipping the Beaſt, and from receiving his mark in their foreheads: but he hath preſerved, and will preſerve them from receiving any deadly wound at the hands of the Man of Sin, whoſe deceit hath prevailed over none unto death, but only unto ſuch as never loved the Truth, ſuch as took pleaſure in unrighteouſneſs: They in all Ages, whoſe hearts have delighted in the principal Truth, and whoſe Souls have thirſted after righteouſneſs, if they received the mark of Error, the mercy of God, even erring, and dangerouſly erring, might ſave them; if they receive the mark of Hereſie, the ſame mercy did, I doubt not, convert them. How far Romiſh Hereſies may prevail over God's Elect, how many God hath kept falling into them, how many have been converted from them, is not the queſtion now in hand: for if Heaven had not received any one of that coat for theſe thouſand years, it may ſtill be true, that the Doctrine which this day they do profeſs, doth not directly deny the Foundation, and ſo prove them ſimply to be no Chriſtian Church. One I have alledged, whoſe words, in my ears, ſound that way: ſhall I add another, whoſe ſpeech is plain? *I deny her not the name of a Church*, ſaith another, *no more than to a man the name of a man, as long as he liveth, what ſickneſs ſoever he hath.* His Reaſon is this, *Salvation in Jeſus Chriſt, which is the mark which joineth the Head with the Body, Jeſus Chriſt with the Church, is ſo cut off by many merits, by the merits of Saints, by the Pope's Pardons, and ſuch other wickedneſs, that the life of the Church holdeth by a very thred,* yet ſtill the life of the Church holdeth. A third hath theſe words, *I acknowledge the Church of* Rome, *even at this preſent day, for a Church of Chriſt, ſuch a Church*

Calv. Ep. 104.

Morn. de Eccleſ.

Zanch. præfat. de Relig.

as Iſrael did Joroboam, *yet a Church.* His Reaſon is this, *Every man ſeeth, except he willingly hoodwink himſelf, that as always, ſo now, the Church of* Rome *holdeth firmly and ſtedfaſtly the Doctrine of the Truth concerning Chriſt; and baptizeth in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; confeſſeth and avoucheth Chriſt for the only Redeemer of the World, and the Judge that ſhall ſit upon quick and dead, receiving true Believers into endleſs joy, faithleſs and godleſs men being caſt with Satan and his Angels into flames unquenchable.*

28. I may, and will, rein the queſtion ſhorter than they do. Let the Pope take down his top, and captivate no more mens Souls by his Papal Juriſdiction; let him no longer count himſelf *Lord Paramount* over the Princes of the World, no longer hold Kings as his Servants *Paravaile*; Let his ſtately Senate ſubmit their Necks to the yoke of Chriſt, and ceaſe to die their Garments, like *Edom*, in Blood; Let them from the higheſt to the loweſt hate and forſake their Idolatry, abjure all their Errors and Hereſies, wherewith they have any way perverted the Truth; Let them ſtrip their Churches, till they leave no polluted ragg, but only this one about her, *By Chriſt alone without works we cannot be ſaved*: It is enough for me, if I ſhew, that the holding of this one thing doth not prove the foundation of Faith directly denied in the Church of *Rome*.

29. Works are an addition: Be it ſo, what then? the foundation is not ſubverted by every kind of addition: Simply to add unto thoſe fundamental words is not to mingle Wine with Water, Heaven and Earth, things polluted with the ſanctified blood of Chriſt: Of which Crime indict them, which attribute thoſe operations in whole or in part to any Creature, which in the work of our Salvation wholly are peculiar unto Chriſt; and if I open my mouth to ſpeak in their defence; if I hold my peace, and plead not againſt them as long as breath is within my Body, let me be guilty of all the diſhonour that ever hath been done to the Son of God. But the more dreadful a thing it is to deny ſalvation by Chriſt alone, the more ſlow and fearful I am, except it be too manifeſt, to lay a thing ſo grievous to any man's charge. Let us beware, leſt, if we make too many ways of denying Chriſt, we ſcarce leave any way for our ſelves truly and ſoundly to confeſs him. Salvation only by Chriſt is the true foundation whereupon indeed Chriſtianity ſtandeth. But what if I ſay, You cannot be ſaved only by Chriſt without this addition, Chriſt believed in heart, confeſſed with mouth, obeyed in life and converſation? Becauſe I add, do I therefore deny that which I did directly affirm? There may be an additament of explication, which overthroweth not, but proveth and concludeth the Propoſition, whereunto it is annexed. He which ſaith, *Peter* was a Chief Apoſtle, doth prove that *Peter* was an Apoſtle: He which ſaith, our Salvation is of the Lord through Sanctification of the Spirit, and Faith of the Truth, proveth that our Salvation is of the Lord. But if that which is added be ſuch a privation, as taketh away the very eſſence of that whereunto it is added, then by the ſequel it overthroweth it. He which ſaith, *Judas* is a dead man, though in a word he granteth *Judas* to be a man, yet in effect he proveth him by that very ſpeech no man, becauſe death depriveth him of being. In like ſort, he that ſhould ſay, our Election is of Grace for our works ſake, ſhould grant in ſound of words, but indeed by conſequent deny, that our Election is of Grace; for the Grace which electeth us is no Grace, if it elect us for our Works ſake.

1 Theſ. 1. 13.

Rom. 11. 6.

30. Now whereas the Church of *Rome* addeth Works, we muſt note further, that the adding of * Works is not like the adding of Circumciſion unto Chriſt. Chriſt came not to abrogate and put away good Works: he did to change Circumciſion; for we ſee that in place thereof he hath ſubſtitued holy Baptiſm. To ſay, Ye cannot be ſaved by Chriſt, except ye be circumciſed, is to add a thing excluded, a thing not only not neceſſary to be kept, but neceſſary not to be kept by them that will be ſaved. On the other ſide, to ſay, Ye cannot be ſaved by Chriſt without Works, is to add things not only not excluded, but commanded, as being in their place and in their kind neceſſary, and therefore ſubordinated, unto Chriſt by Chriſt himſelf, by whom the web of Salvation is ſpun: (*a*) *Except your Righteouſneſs exceed the Righteouſneſs of the Scibes and Phariſees, ye ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* They were (*b*) rigorous exacters of things not utterly to be neglected, and left undone, waſhing and tithing, *&c.* As they were in theſe, ſo muſt we be in judgment and the love of God. Chriſt in Works Ceremonial giveth more liberty, in (*c*) moral much leſs, than they did. Works of Righteouſneſs therefore are added in the one Propoſition, as in the other, Circumciſion is.

* I deny not but that the Church of *Rome* requireth ſome kinds of works which ſhe ought not to require at mens hands. But our queſtion is general about the adding of good works, not whether ſuch or ſuch Works be good. In this compariſon it is enough to touch ſo much of the matter in queſtion between St. *Paul* and the *Galatians*, as inferreth thoſe Concluſions, *Ye are fallen from Grace, Chriſt can profit you nothing*: which Concluſions will follow Circumciſion and Rites of the Law Ceremonial, if they be required as things neceſſary to Salvation. This only was alledged againſt me: and need I touch more than was alledged? *a* Mat. 5. 20. *b* Luke 11. 39. *c* Mat. 5. 21.

31. But we ſay, our Salvation is by Chriſt alone; therefore howſoever, or whatſoever we add unto Chriſt in the matter of Salvation, we overthrow Chriſt. Our Caſe were very hard, if this Argument, ſo univerſally meant as it is ſuppoſed, were ſound and good. We our ſelves do not teach Chriſt alone, excluding our own Faith, unto Juſtification; Chriſt alone, excluding our own Works, unto Sanctification; Chriſt alone, excluding the one or the other unneceſſary unto Salvation. It is a childiſh Cavil, wherewith in the matter of Juſtification, our Adverſaries do ſo greatly pleaſe themſelves, exclaiming, that we tread all Chriſtian vertues under our feet, and require nothing in Chriſtians but Faith, becauſe we teach that Faith alone juſtifieth: whereas by this ſpeech we never meant to

exclude either Hope or Charity from being always joined as inſeparable Mates with Faith in the man that is juſtified; or Works from being added as neceſſary Duties, required at the hands of every juſtified man: But to ſhew that Faith is the only hand which putteth on Chriſt unto Juſtification; and Chriſt the only Garment, which, being ſo put on, covereth the ſhame of our defiled nature, hideth the imperfection of our Works, preſerveth us blameleſs in the ſight of God, before whom otherwiſe, the weakneſs of our Faith were cauſe ſufficient to make us culpable, yea, to ſhut us from the Kingdom of Heaven, where nothing that is not abſolute can enter. That our dealing with them be not as childiſh as theirs with us: when we hear of Salvation by Chriſt alone, conſidering that [*alone*] as an excluſive Particle, we are to note what it doth exclude, and where. If I ſay, *Such a Judge only ought to determine ſuch a caſe*, all things incident to the determination thereof, beſides the Perſon of the Judge, as Laws, Depoſitions, Evidences, *&c.* are not hereby excluded; Perſons are not excluded from witneſſing herein, or aſſiſting, but only from determining and giving Sentence. How then is our Salvation wrought by Chriſt alone? Is it our meaning, that nothing is requiſite to man's Salvation, but Chriſt to ſave, and he to be ſaved quietly without any more ado? No, we acknowledge no ſuch Foundation. As we have received, ſo we teach, that beſides the bare and naked work, wherein Chriſt without any other Aſſociate finiſhed all the parts of our Redemption, and purchaſed Salvation himſelf alone; for conveyance of this eminent bleſſing unto us, many things are of neceſſity required, as, to be known and choſen of God before the foundation of the World; in the World to be called, juſtified, ſanctified; after we have left the World, to be received unto Glory; Chriſt in every of theſe hath ſomewhat which he worketh alone. Through him, according to the eternal purpoſe of God before the foundation of the World, Born, Crucified, Buried, Raiſed, *&c.* we were in a gracious acceptation known unto God, long before we were ſeen of men: God knew us, loved us, was kind to us in Jeſus Chriſt, in him we were elected to be Heirs of Life. Thus far God through Chriſt hath wrought in ſuch ſort alone, that our ſelves are mere patients, working no more than dead and ſenſleſs Matter, Wood, Stone, or Iron, doth in the Artificer's hands; no more than Clay, when the Potter appointeth it to be framed for an honourable uſe; nay, not ſo much: for the matter whereupon the Crafts-man worketh he chuſeth, being moved by the fitneſs which is in it to ſerve his turn; in us no ſuch thing. Touching the reſt which is laid for the foundation of our Faith, it importeth farther, That (*a*) by him we are called, that we have (*b*) Redemption, (*c*) Remiſſion of ſins through his (*d*) blood, Health by his (*e*) ſtripes, Juſtice by him; that (*f*) he doth ſanctify his Church, and make it glorious to himſelf, that (*g*) entrance into joy ſhall be given us by Him; yea, all things by him alone. Howbeit, not ſo by him alone, as if in us to our (*h*) Vocation, the hearing of the Goſpel; to our Juſtification, Faith; to our Sanctification, the fruits of the Spirit; to our entrance into reſt, perſeverance in Hope, in Faith, in Holineſs, were not neceſſary.

Epheſ. 27. 16.

a Gal. 5. 8.
b 1 Pet. 2. 9. & 5. 3.
c Epheſ. 1. 7.
d Iſa. 53. 11. Jer. 23. 6.
e Eph. 3. 26.
f Mat. 15. 23.
g 2 Theſ. 2. 14.
h Gal. 2. 16. and 5. 23.
2 Theſſ. 2. 15.

32. Then what is the fault of the Church of *Rome*? Not that ſhe requireth Works at their hands which will be ſaved: but that ſhe attributeth unto Works a power of ſatisfying God for Sin; yea, a vertue to merit both Grace here, and in Heaven Glory. That this overthroweth the foundation of Faith, I grant willingly; that it is a direct denial thereof, I utterly deny: What it is to hold, and what directly to deny the foundation of Faith, I have already opened. Apply it particularly to this Cauſe, and there needs no more ado. The thing which is handled, if the form under which it is handled be added thereunto, it ſheweth the foundation of any Doctrine whatſoever. Chriſt is the Matter whereof the Doctrine of the Goſpel treateth; and it treateth of Chriſt as of a Saviour. Salvation therefore by Chriſt is the foundation of Chriſtianity: As for Works, they are a thing ſubordinate, no otherwiſe than becauſe our Sanctification cannot be accompliſhed without them: The Doctrine concerning them is a thing builded upon the foundation; therefore the Doctrine which addeth unto them the power of ſatisfying, or of meriting, addeth unto a thing ſubordinated, builded upon the foundation, not to the very foundation it ſelf; yet is the foundation by this addition conſequently overthrown, foraſmuch as out of this addition it may be negatively concluded, He which maketh any work good, and acceptable in the ſight of God, to proceed from the natural freedom of our will; he which giveth to any good Works of ours the force of ſatisfying the wrath of God for Sin, the power of meriting either earthly or heavenly rewards; he which holdeth Works going before our Vocation, in congruity to merit our Vocation; Works following our firſt, to merit our ſecond Juſtification, and by condignity our laſt Reward in the Kingdom of Heaven, pulleth up the Doctrine of Faith by the roots; for out of every of theſe the plain direct denial thereof may be neceſſarily concluded. Not this only, but what other Hereſie is there, that doth not raze the very foundation of Faith by conſequent? Howbeit, we make a difference of Hereſies; accounting them in the next degree to infidelity, which directly deny any one thing to be, which is expreſly acknowledged in the Articles of our Belief; for out of any one Article ſo denied the very foundation it ſelf is ſtraightway inferred. As for Example, if a man ſhould ſay, * *There is no Catholick Church*, it followeth immediately thereupon, that this *Jeſus*, whom we call the Saviour,

* Hæc ratio Eccleſiaſtici Sacramenti & Catholicæ Fidei eſt, ut qui partem divini Sacramenti negat, partem non valeat confiteri. Ita enim ſibi connexa & concorporata ſunt omnia, ut aliud ſine alio ſtare non poſſit, & qui unum ex omnibus denigaverit, alia ei omnia credidiſſe non proſit. *Caſſian* lib. 6. de Incarnat. Dom. If he obſtinately ſtand in denial. pag. 193.

is not the Saviour of the World; becauſe all the Prophets bear witneſs, that the true *Meſſias* ſhould *ſhew light unto the Gentiles*; that is to ſay, gather ſuch a Church as is Catholick, not reſtrained any longer unto one circumciſed Nation. In the ſecond rank we place them, out of whoſe Poſitions the denial of any the foreſaid Articles may be with like facility concluded: ſuch as are they which have denied, with *Hebion*, or with *Marcion*, his Humanity; an example whereof may be that of *Caſſianus* defending the Incarnation of the Son of God againſt *Neſtorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, which held, That the Virgin, when ſhe brought forth Chriſt, did not bring forth the Son of God, but a ſole and mere man: out of which Hereſie the denial of the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith he deduceth thus, *If thou doſt deny our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in denying the Son, thou canſt not chooſe but deny the Father; for, according to the voice of the Father himſelf,* He that hath not the Son, hath not the Father. *Wherefore denying him which is begotten, thou denieſt him which doth beget. Again, denying the Son of God to have been born in the Fleſh, how canſt thou believe him to have ſuffered? believing not his Paſſion, what remaineth, but that thou deny his Reſurrection? For we believe him not raiſed, except we firſt believe him dead: Neither can the reaſon of his riſing from the dead ſtand, without the Faith of his death going before. The denial of his Death and Paſſion inferreth the denial of his Riſing from the Depth. Whereupon it followeth, that thou alſo deny his Aſcenſion into Heaven. The Apoſtle affirmeth,* That he which aſcended, did firſt deſcend; *ſo that, as much as lieth in thee, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath neither riſen from the Depth, nor is aſcended into Heaven, nor ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, neither ſhall he come at the day of the final account which is looked for, nor ſhall judge the Quick and the Dead. And dareſt thou yet ſet foot in the Church? Canſt thou think thy ſelf a Biſhop, when thou haſt denied all thoſe things whereby thou doſt obtain a Biſhoply Calling?* *Neſtorius* confeſſed all the Articles of the Creed, but his opinion did imply the denial of every part of his Confeſſion. Hereſies there are of the third ſort, ſuch as the Church of *Rome* maintaineth, which be removed by a greater diſtance from the foundation, although indeed they overthrow it. Yet becauſe of that weakneſs, which the Philoſopher noteth in mens capacities, when he ſaith, That the common ſort cannot ſee things which follow in reaſon, when they follow, as it were, afar off by many deductions; therefore the repugnancy of ſuch Hereſie and the foundation is not ſo quickly, or ſo eaſily found, but that an Heretick of this, ſooner than of the former kind, may directly grant, and conſequently nevertheleſs deny the foundation of Faith.

Acts 26. 23.

Lib. 6. de in-car. Dom. cap. 16.

33. If reaſon be ſuſpected, trial will ſhew that the Church of *Rome* doth not otherwiſe, by teaching the Doctrine ſhe doth teach concerning good works. Offer them the very fundamental words, and what man is there that will refuſe to ſubſcribe unto them? Can they directly grant, and directly deny one and the very ſelf-ſame thing? Our own proceedings in diſputing againſt their works, ſatisfactory and meritorious, do ſhew, not only that they hold, but that we ackowledge them to hold the foundation, notwithſtanding their opinion. For are not theſe our Arguments againſt them? *Chriſt alone hath ſatisfied and appeaſed his Fathers wrath: Chriſt hath merited Salvation alone.* We ſhould do fondly to uſe ſuch Diſputes, neither could we think to prevail by them, if that whereupon we ground, were a thing which we know they do not hold, which we are aſſured they would not grant. Their very Anſwers to all ſuch Reaſons, as are in this Controverſie brought againſt them, will not permit us to doubt, whether they hold the foundation or no. Can any man, that hath read their Books concerning this matter, be ignorant how they draw all their Anſwers unto theſe heads? *That the remiſſion of all our ſins, the pardon of all whatſoever puniſhments thereby deſerved, the rewards which God hath laid up in Heaven, are by the Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt purchaſed, and obtained ſufficiently for all men: but for no man effectually for his benefit in particular, except the blood of Chriſt be apply'd particularly to him by ſuch means as God hath appointed that to work by. That thoſe means of themſelves, being but dead things, only the blood of Chriſt is that which putteth life, force, and efficacy in them to work, and to be available, each in his kind, to our Salvation. Finally, that Grace being purchaſed for us by the blood of Chriſt, and freely without any merit or deſert at the firſt beſtowed upon us, the good things which we do, after Grace received, be thereby made ſatisfactory and meritorious.* Some of their Sentences to this effect I muſt alledge for mine own warrant. If we deſire to hear foreign Judgments, we find in one this Confeſſion, *He that could reckon how many the vertues and merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt have been, might likewiſe underſtand how many the benefits have been that are to come to us by him, foraſmuch as men are made Partakers of them all by means of his Paſſion: By him is given unto us remiſſion of our Sins, Grace, Glory, Liberty, Praiſe, Salvation, Redemption, Juſtification, Juſtice, Satisfaction, Sacraments, Merits, and all other things which we had, and were behoveful for our Salvation.* In another we have theſe Oppoſitions and Anſwers made unto them: *All Grace is given by Chriſt Jeſus. True, but not except Chriſt Jeſus be applied. He is the propitiation for our ſin; by his ſtripes we are healed, he hath offered himſelf up for us: all this is true, but apply it. We put all ſatisfaction in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt; but we hold, that the means, which Chriſt hath appointed for us in the Caſe to apply it, are our penal works.* Our Country-men in *Rhemes* make the like anſwer, That they ſeek Salvation no other way than by the Blood of Chriſt; and that humbly they do uſe Prayers, Faſtings, Alms, Faith, Charity, Sacrifice, Sacraments, Prieſts, only as the

Lewis of Granad. Med. cap. laſt. 3.

Paulgarolo let. 11.

Annot. in 1 John 1.

means appointed by Chriſt, to apply the benefit of his holy Blood unto them: touching our good Works, that in their own natures they are not meritorious, nor anſwerable to the joys of Heaven: it cometh by the Grace of Chriſt, and not of the Work it ſelf, that we have by well doing a right to Heaven, and deſerve it worthily. If any man think that I ſeek to varniſh their Opinions, to ſet the better foot of a lame Cauſe foremoſt; Let him know, that ſince I began throughly to underſtand their meaning, I have found their halting greater than perhaps it ſeemeth to them which know not the deepneſs of Satan, as the bleſſed Divine ſpeaketh. For, although this be proof ſufficient, that they do not directly deny the foundation of Faith; yet, if there were no other leaven in the lump of their Doctrine but this, this were ſufficient to prove, that their Doctrine is not agreeable to the foundation of Chriſtian Faith. The *Pelagians* being over-great friends unto Nature, made themſelves Enemies unto Grace, for all their confeſſing, that men have their Souls, and all the faculties thereof, their wills, and all the ability of their wills from God. And is not the Church of *Rome* ſtill an Adverſary unto Chriſt's Merits, becauſe of her acknowledging, that we have received the power of meriting by the blood of Chriſt? Sir *Thomas Moor* ſetteth down the odds between us and the Church of *Rome* in the matter of Works thus. *Like as we grant them, that no good work of man is rewardable in Heaven of its own nature, but through the mere goodneſs of God, that liſts to ſet ſo high a price upon ſo poor a thing; and that this price God ſetteth through Chriſt's Paſſion, and for that alſo they be his own Works with us; for good Works to God-ward worketh no man, without God work in him: and as we grant them alſo, that no man may be proud of his works, for his imperfect working; and for that in all that man may do, he can do God no good, but is a Servant unprofitable, and doth but his bare duty: as we, I ſay, grant unto them theſe things, ſo this one thing or twain do they grant us again, That men are bound to work good works, if they have time and power; and that whoſo worketh in true Faith moſt, ſhall be moſt rewarded: but then ſet they thereto, That all his Rewards ſhall be given him for his Faith alone, and nothing for his Works at all, becauſe his Faith is the thing, they ſay, that forceth him to work well.* I ſee by this of Sir *Thomas Moor*, how eaſy it is for men of the greateſt capacity to miſtake things written or ſpoken as well on the one ſide as one the other. Their Doctrine as he thought, maketh the work of man rewardable in the world to come through the goodneſs of God, whom it pleaſed to ſet ſo high a price upon ſo poor a thing: and ours, that a man doth receive that eternal and high reward, not for his Works, but for his Faith's ſake, by which he worketh; whereas in truth our Doctrine is no other than that we have learned at the feet of Chriſt; namely, That God doth juſtifie the believing man, yet not for the worthineſs of his belief, but for the worthineſs of him which is believed; God rewardeth abundantly every one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignity which is, or can be in the Work, but through his mere mercy, by whoſe commandment he worketh. Contrariwiſe, their Doctrine is, That as pure Water of it ſelf hath no ſavour, but if it paſs through a ſweet Pipe, it taketh a pleaſant ſmell of the Pipe through which it paſſeth: ſo, although before Grace received, our Works do neither ſatisfie nor merit; yet after, they do both the one and the other. Every vertuous Action hath then power in ſuch to ſatisfy; that if we our ſelves commit no mortal ſin, no hainous crime, whereupon to ſpend this treaſure of ſatisfaction in our own behalf, it turneth to the benefit of other mens releaſe, on whom it ſhall pleaſe the Steward of the Houſe of God to beſtow it; ſo that we may ſatisfy for our ſelves and others; but merit only for our ſelves. In meriting, our Actions do work with two hands; with one they get their morning ſtipend, the encreaſe of Grace; with the other their evening hire, the everlaſting Crown of Glory. Indeed they teach, that our good Works do not theſe things as they come from us, but as they come from Grace in us; which Grace in us is another thing in their Divinity, than is the mere goodneſs of God's mercy towards us in Chriſt Jeſus.

In his Book of Conſolation.

Works of Supererogation.

34. If it were not a ſtong deluding Spirit, which hath poſſeſſion of their Hearts; were it poſſible but that they ſhould ſee how plainly they do herein gain-ſay the very ground of Apoſtolick Faith? Is this that Salvation by Grace, whereof ſo plentiful mention is made in the Scriptures of God? Was this their meaning, which firſt taught the World to look for Salvation only by Chriſt? By Grace, the Apoſtle ſaith, and by Grace in ſuch ſort as a Gift: A thing that cometh not of our ſelves, nor of our Works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt, and ſay, *I have wrought out my own Salvation.* By Grace they confeſs; but by Grace in ſuch ſort, that as many as wear the Diadem of Bliſs, they wear nothing but what they have won. The Apoſtle, as if he had foreſeen how the Church of *Rome* would abuſe the World in time by ambiguous terms, to declare in what ſenſe the name of Grace muſt be taken, when we make it the cauſe of our Salvation, ſaith, *He ſaved us according to his mercy*: which mercy, although it exclude not the waſhing of our new birth, the renewing of our Hearts by the Holy Ghoſt, the Means, the Vertues, the Duties which God requireth of our hands which ſhall be ſaved; yet it is ſo repugnant unto Merits, that to ſay we are ſaved for the worthineſs of any thing which is ours, is to deny we are ſaved by Grace. Grace beſtoweth freely; and therefore juſtly requireth the glory of that which is beſtowed. We deny the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; we abuſe, diſanul, annihilate the benefit of his bitter paſſion, if we reſt in theſe proud imaginations, that life is deſervedly ours, that we merit it, and that we are worthy of it.

35. Howbeit, conſidering how many vertuous and juſt men, how many Saints, how many Martyrs, how many of the Ancient Fathers of the Church, have had their ſundry perilous Opinions; and amongſt ſundry of their Opinions, this, that they hoped to make God ſome part of amends for their ſins by the voluntary puniſhment which they laid upon themſelves, becauſe by a Conſequent it may follow hereupon, that they were injurious unto Chriſt: ſhall we therefore make ſuch deadly Epitaphs, and ſet them upon their Graves, *They denied the foundation of Faith directly, they are damned, there is no Salvation for them*? Saint *Auſtin* ſaith of himſelf, *Errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe nolo.* And except we put a difference between them that err, and them that obſtinately perſiſt in Errour, how is it poſſible that ever any man ſhould hope to be ſaved? Surely, in this Caſe, I have no reſpect of any Perſon either alive or dead. Give me a man, of what eſtate or condition ſoever, yea, a *Cardiual* or a *Pope*, whom in the extreme point of his life affliction hath made to know himſelf, whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with love towards the Goſpel of Chriſt, whoſe eyes are opened to ſee the Truth, and his mouth to renounce all Hereſie and Error any wiſe oppoſite thereunto: This one opinion of Merits excepted, he thinketh God will require at his hands, and becauſe he wanteth, therefore trembleth, and is diſcouraged; it may be I am forgetful, and unskilful, not furniſhed with things new and old, as a wiſe and learned Scribe ſhould be, nor able to alledge that, whereunto, if it were alledged, he doth bear a mind moſt willing to yield, and ſo to be recalled, as well from this, as from other Errors: And ſhall I think, becauſe of this only Errour, that ſuch a man toucheth not ſo much as the hem of Chriſt's Garment? If he do, Wherefore ſhould not I have hope, that vertue may proceed from Chriſt to ſave him? Becauſe his Errour doth by conſequent overthrow his Fath, ſhall I therefore caſt him off, as one that hath utterly caſt off Chriſt? one that holdeth not ſo much as by a ſlender thred? No, I will not be afraid to ſay unto a *Pope* or a *Carrinal* in this plight, Be of good comfort, we have to do with a merciful God, ready to make the beſt of a little which we hold well, and not with a captious Sophiſter, which gathereth the worſt out of every thing wherein we err. Is there any Reaſon, that I ſhould be ſuſpected, or you offended for this ſpeech? Is it a dangerous thing to imagine that ſuch men may find mercy? The hour may come, when we ſhall think a bleſſed thing to hear, that if our ſins were the ſins of the *Pope* and *Cardinals*, the bowels of the mercy of God are larger. I do not propoſe unto you a *Pope* with the neck of an Emperor under his feet; a *Cardinal*, riding his Horſe to the bridle in the blood of Saints: but a *Pope* or a *Cardinal* ſorrowful, penitent, diſrobed, ſtript, not only of uſurped power, but alſo delivered and recalled from Error and Antichriſt, converted and lying proſtrate at the foot of Chriſt: and ſhall I think that Chriſt ſhall ſpurn at him? and ſhall I croſs and gain-ſay the merciful promiſes of God, generally made unto penitent ſinners, by oppoſing the name of a *Pope* or *Cardinal*? What difference is there in the World between a *Pope* and a *Cardinal*, and *John a Style* in this Caſe? If we think it impoſſible for them, if they be once come within that rank, to be afterwards touched with any ſuch remorſe, let that be granted. The Apoſtle ſaith, *If I, or an Angel from Heaven preach unto*, &c. Let it be as likely, that St. *Paul*, or an Angel from Heaven ſhould preach Hereſie, as that a *Pope* or *Cardinal* ſhould be brought ſo far forth to ackowledge the Truth: yet if a *Pope* or *Cardinal* ſhould, what find we in their perſons why they might not be ſaved? It is not the Perſons you will ſay, but the Error wherein I ſuppoſe them to die, which excludeth them from the hope of mercy; the Opinion of Merits doth take away all poſſibility of Salvation from them. What if they hold it only as an Error? Although they hold the Truth truly and ſincerely in all other parts of Chriſtian Faith? Although they have in ſome meaſure all the Vertues and Graces of the Spirit, all other tokens of God's Elect Children in them? Although they be far from having any proud preſumptuous opinion, that they ſhall be ſaved by the worthineſs of their deeds? Although the only thing which troubleth and moleſteth them, be but a little too much dejection, ſomewhat too great a fear, riſing from an erroneous conceit, that God would require a worthineſs in them, which they are grieved to find wanting in themſelves? Although they be not obſtinate in this perſwaſion? Although they be willing, and would be glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſprove it? Although the only lett, why they do not forſake it ere they die, be the ignorance of the means, by which it might be diſproved? Although the cauſe, why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not, to remove it? Let me die, if ever it be proved, that ſimply an Error doth exclude a *Pope* or a *Cardinal* in ſuch a caſe, utterly from hope of life. Surely, I muſt confeſs unto you, if it be an Error, that God may be merciful to ſave men even when they err, my greateſt comfort is my Error; were it not for the love I bear unto this Error, I would never wiſh to ſpeak, nor to live.

Let all Affection be laid aſide; Let the Matter indifferently be conſidered.

36. Wherefore to reſume that Mother ſentence, whereof I little thought that ſo much trouble would have grown, *I doubt not but that God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers, living in Popiſh Superſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly.* Alas! what bloody matter is there contained in this Sentence, that it ſhould be an occaſion of ſo many hard Cenſures? Did I ſay, That *thouſands of our Fathers might be ſaved*?

I have ſhewed which way it cannot be denied. Did I ſay, *I doubt not but that they were ſaved*? I ſee no impiety in this perſwaſion, though I have no reaſon for it. Did I ſay, *Their ignorance did make me hope they did find mercy, and ſo were ſaved*? What hindreth Salvation but Sin? Sins are not equal; and ignorance, though it doth not make Sin to be no Sin, but ſeeing it did make their ſin the leſs, why ſhould it not make our hope concerning their life the greater? We pity the moſt, and doubt not but God hath moſt compaſſion over them that ſin for want of underſtanding. As much is confeſſed by ſundry others, almoſt in the ſelf-ſame words which I have uſed. It is but only my evil hap, that the ſame Sentences, which ſavour Verity in other mens Books, ſhould ſeem to bolſter Hereſie, when they are once by me recited. If I be deceived in this point, not they, but the bleſſed Apoſtle hath deceived me. What I ſay of others, the ſame he ſaid of himſelf, *I obtained mercy, for I did it ignorantly.* Conſtrue his words, and you cannot miſconſtrue mine. I ſpeak no otherwiſe, I mean no otherwiſe, than he did.

37. Thus have I brought the queſtion concerning our Fathers at length unto an end. Of whoſe eſtate, upon ſo fit an occaſion as was offered me, handling the weighty cauſes of ſeparation between the Church of *Rome* and us, and the weak motives which are commonly brought to retain men in that Society; amongſt which motives the examples of our Fathers deceaſed is one; although I ſaw it convenient to utter the Sentence which I did, to the end that all men might thereby underſtand, how untruly we are ſaid to condemn as many as have been before us otherwiſe perſwaded than we our ſelves are; yet more than that one Sentence, I did not think it expedient to utter, judging it a great deal meeter for us to have regard to our one eſtate, than to ſift over-curiouſly what is become of other men. And fearing, leſt that ſuch queſtions as theſe, if voluntarily they ſhould be too far waded in, might ſeem worthy of that rebuke, which our Saviour thought needful in a caſe not unlike, *What is this unto thee*? When I was forced, much beſide my expectation, to render a reaſon of my ſpeech, I could not but yield at the Call of others, and proceed ſo far as Duty bound me, for the fuller ſatisfying of minds Wherein I have walked as with Reverence, ſo with Fear: With Reverence, in regard of our Fathers, which lived in former times; not without Fear, conſidering them that are alive.

38. I am not ignorant, how ready men are to feed and ſooth up themſelves in evil. Shall I (will the man ſay, that loveth the preſent World, more than he loveth Chriſt) ſhall I incurr the high diſpleaſure of the mightieſt upon Earth? Shall I hazard my Goods, endanger my Eſtate, put my ſelf into jeopardy, rather than to yield to that which ſo many of my Fathers imbraced, and yet found favour in the ſight of God? *Curſe ye Meroz*, ſaith the Lord, *curſe her Inhabitants, becauſe they helped not the Lord, they helped him not againſt the Mighty.* If I ſhould not only not help the Lord againſt the Mighty, but help to ſtrengthen them that are mighty againſt the Lord; worthily might I fall under the burthen of that Curſe, worthy I were to bear my own Judgment: But, if the Doctrine which I teach, be a flower gathered in the Garden of the Lord; a part of the ſaving Truth of the Goſpel, from whence notwithſtanding poyſonous Creatures do ſuck venom; I can but wiſh it were otherwiſe, and content my ſelf with the lot that hath befallen me, the rather, becauſe it hath not befallen me alone. Saint *Paul* taught a Truth, and a comfortable truth, when he taught, that the greater our miſery is, in reſpect of our Iniquities, the readier is the mercy of God for our releaſe, if we ſeek unto him; the more we have ſinned, the more praiſe, and glory, and honour unto him that pardoneth our ſin. But mark what lewd Collections were made hereupon by ſome: *Why then am I condemned for a Sinner*? And the Apoſtle (as we are blamed, and as ſome affirm that we ſay, *Why do we not evil that good may come of it*?) he was accuſed to teach that which ill-diſpoſed People did gather by his teaching, though it were clean not only beſides, but againſt his meaning. The Apoſtle addeth, *Their Condemnation* (which thus do) *is juſt.* I am not haſty to apply Sentences of Condemnation. I wiſh from my heart their Converſion, whoſoever are thus perverſly affected. For I muſt needs ſay, Their Caſe is fearful, their Eſtate dangerous, which harden themſelves, preſuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true, that God is merciful, but let us beware of preſumtuous ſins. God delivered *Jonah* from the bottom of the Sea; will you therefore caſt your ſelves head-long from the tops of Rocks, and ſay in your Hearts, God ſhall deliver us? He pitieth the Blind that would gladly ſee; but will he pity him that may ſee, and hardeneth himſelf in blindneſs? No, Chriſt hath ſpoken too much unto you, to claim the priviledge of your Fathers.

39. As for us that have handled this Cauſe concerning the condition of our Fathers, whether it be this thing or any other, which we bring unto you, the Council is good which the Wiſe man giveth, *Stand thou faſt in thy ſure underſtanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the word of peace and righteouſneſs.* As a looſe tooth is a grief to him that eateth: ſo doth a wavering and unſtable word in ſpeech, that tendeth to inſtruction, offend. *Shall a wiſe man ſpeak words of the wind*, ſaith *Eliphaz*, light, unconſtant, unſtable words? Surely the wiſeſt may ſpeak words of the wind: ſuch is the untoward Conſtitution of our nature, that we do neither ſo perfectly underſtand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor ſo ſtedfaſtly imbrace it when it is underſtood; nor ſo graciouſly utter it, when it is imbraced; nor ſo peaceably maintain it, when it is uttered; but that the

beſt of us are over-taken ſometime through blindneſs, ſometime through haſtineſs, ſometime through impatience, ſometime through other paſſions of the mind, whereunto (God doth know) we are too ſubject. We muſt therefore be contented both to pardon others, and to crave that others may pardon us for ſuch things. Let no man, that ſpeaketh as a man, think himſelf, while he liveth, always freed from ſcapes and over-ſights in his ſpeech. The things themſelves which I have ſpoken unto you are ſound, howſoever they have ſeemed otherwiſe unto ſome: at whoſe hands I have, in that reſpect, received Injury, I willingly forget it: although indeed, conſidering the benefit which I have reaped by this neceſſary ſpeech of Truth, I rather incline to that of the Apoſtle, *They have not injured me at all.* I have cauſe to wiſh them as many Bleſſings in the Kingdom of Heaven, as they have forced me to utter words and ſyllables in this Cauſe; wherein I could not be more ſparing of ſpeech than I have been. *It becometh no man,* ſaith St. *Jerom, to be patient in the crime of Hereſie.* Patient, as I take it, we ſhould be always, though the crime of Hereſie were intended; but ſilent in a thing of ſo great Conſequence I could not, beloved, I durſt not be; eſpecially the love, which I bear to the truth of Chriſt Jeſus, being hereby ſomewhat called in queſtion. Whereof I beſeech them in the meekneſs of Chriſt, that have been the firſt original cauſe, to conſider that a Watch-man may cry (*an Enemy,*) when indeed a Friend cometh. In which Cauſe, as I deem ſuch a Watch-man more worthy to be loved for his Care, than miſ-liked for his Error: So I have judged it my own part in this, as much as in me lyeth, to take away all ſuſpicion of any unfriendly intent or meaning againſt the Truth, from which, God doth know, my heart is free.

40. Now to you, Beloved, which have heard theſe things, I will uſe no other words of admonition, than thoſe that are offered me by St. *James, My Brethren, have not the Faith of our glorious Lord Jeſus in reſpect of perſons.* Ye are not now to learn, that as of it ſelf it is not hurtful, ſo neither ſhould it be to any ſcandalous and offenſive in doubtful caſes, to hear the different judgments of men. Be it that *Cephas* hath one interpretation, and *Apollos* hath another; that *Paul* is of this mind, and *Barnabas* of that; if this offend you, the fault is yours. Carry peaceable minds, and you may have comfort by this variety.

Now the God of Peace, give you peaceable minds, and turn it to your everlaſting comfort.

A LEARNED
SERMON
OF THE
NATURE
OF
PRIDE.

HABAK. 2. 4.

His mind ſwelleth, and is not right in him: But the Juſt by his Faith ſhall live.

THe nature of Man being much more delighted to be led than drawn, doth many times ſtubbornly reſiſt Authority, when to Perſwaſion it eaſily yieldeth. Whereupon the wiſeſt Law-makers have endeavoured always that thoſe Laws might ſeem moſt reaſonable, which they would have moſt inviolably kept. A Law ſimply commanding or forbidding, is but dead in compariſon of that which expreſſeth the reaſon wherefore it doth the one or the other. And ſurely, even in the Laws of God, although that he hath given Commandment, be in it ſelf a reaſon ſufficient to exact all obedience at the hands of men; yet a forcible inducement it is to obey with greater alacrity and chearfulneſs of mind, when we ſee plainly, that nothing is impoſed more than we muſt needs yield unto, except we will be unreaſonable. In a word, whatſoever be taught, be it Precept for direction of our Manners; or Articles for inſtruction of our Faith; or document any way for information of our minds, it then taketh root and abideth, when we conceive not only what God doth ſpeak, but why. Neither is it a ſmall thing, which we derogate as well from the honour of his Truth, as from the comfort, joy and delight which we our ſelves ſhould take by it, when we looſely ſlide over his ſpeech, as though it were as our own is, commonly vulgar and trivial: Whereas he uttereth nothing but it hath, beſides the ſubſtance of Doctrine delivered, a depth of wiſdom, in the very choice and frame of words to deliver it in: The reaſon whereof being not perceived, but by greater intention of brain, than our nice minds for the moſt part can well away with, fain we would bring the World, if we might, to think it but a needleſs curioſity, to rip up any thing further than extemporal readineſs of wit doth ſerve to reach unto. Which courſe, if here we did liſt to follow, we might tell you, that in the firſt branch of this Sentence, God doth condemn the *Babylonian*'s pride; and in the ſecond teach, what happineſs of ſtate ſhall grow to the righteous by the conſtancy of their Faith, notwithſtanding the troubles which now they ſuffer; and after certain notes of wholſom inſtruction hereupon collected, paſs over without detaining your minds in any further removed ſpeculation. But, as I take it, there is a difference between the talk that beſeemeth Nurſes among Children, and that which men of Capacity and Judgment do, or ſhould receive inſtruction by.

The mind of the Prophet being erected with that which hath been hitherto ſpoken, receiveth here for full ſatisfaction a ſhort abridgment of that which is afterwards more particularly unfolded. Wherefore as the queſtion before diſputed of doth concern two ſorts of men, the Wicked flouriſhing as the Bay, and the Righteous like the withered Graſs; the one full of pride, the other caſt down with utter diſcouragement: ſo the anſwer which God doth make for reſolution of doubts hereupon ariſen, hath reference unto both ſorts, and this preſent Sentence containing a brief Abſtract thereof, comprehendeth ſummarily as well the fearful eſtate of iniquity over-exalted, as the hope laid up for righteouſneſs oppreſt. In the former branch of which Sentence, let us firſt examine what this rectitude or ſtreitneſs importeth, which God denieth to be in the mind of the *Babylonian*. All things which God did create, he made them at the firſt true, good, and right. True, in reſpect of correſpondence unto that pattern of their Being, which was eternally drawn in the Counſel of God's fore-knowledge; Good, in regard of the uſe and benefit which each thing yieldeth unto other; Right, by an apt conformity of all parts with that end which is outwardly propoſed for each thing to tend unto. Other things have ends propoſed, but have not the faculty to know, judge, and eſteem of them, and therefore as they tend thereunto unwittingly, ſo likewiſe in the means whereby they acquire their appointed ends, they are by neceſſity ſo held, that they cannot divert from them. The ends why the Heavens do move, the Heavens themſelves know not, and their motions they cannot but continue. Only men in all their actions know what it is which they ſeek for, neither are they by any ſuch neceſſity tied naturally unto any certain determinate mean to obtain their end by, but that they may, if they will, forſake it. And therefore in the whole World, no Creature but only man, which hath the laſt end of his actions propoſed as a recompence and reward, whereunto his mind directly bending it ſelf, is termed right or ſtreight, otherwiſe perverſe.

To make this ſomewhat more plain, we muſt note, that as they which travel from City to City, enquire ever for the ſtreighteſt way, becauſe the ſtreighteſt is that which ſooneſt bringeth them unto their journeys end: So we having here, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, no abiding City, but being always in travel towards that place of joy, immortality, and reſt, cannot but in every of our deeds, words, and thoughts, think that to be beſt, which with moſt expedition leadeth us thereunto, and is for that very cauſe termed right. The Soveraign good, which is the eternal fruition of all good, being our laſt and chieſt felicity, there is no deſperate deſpiſer of God and godlineſs living, which doth not wiſh for. The difference between right and crooked minds, is in the means which the one or the other eſchew or follow. Certain it is, that all particular things which are naturally deſired in the world, as Food, Rayment, Honor, Wealth, Pleaſure, Knowledge, they are ſubordinated in ſuch wiſe unto that future Good which we look for in the World to come, that even in them there lyeth a direct way tending unto this. Otherwiſe we muſt think, that God making promiſes of good things in this life, did ſeek to pervert men, and to lead them from their right minds. Where is then the obliquity of the mind of man? his mind is perverſe, cam, and crooked, not when it bendeth it ſelf unto any of theſe things, but when it bendeth ſo, that it ſwerveth either to the right hand or to the left, by exceſs or defect, from that exact rule whereby Human actions are meaſured. The rule to meaſure and judge them by, is the Law of God. For this cauſe the Prophet doth make ſo often and ſo earneſt ſuit, *O direct me in the way of thy Commandments: As long as I have reſpect to thy Statutes, I am ſure not to tread amiſs.* Under the name of the *Law*, we muſt comprehend not only that which God hath written in Tables and Leaves, but that which Nature alſo hath engraven in the hearts of men. Elſe how ſhould thoſe Heathens which never had Books, but Heaven and Earth to look upon, be convicted of Perverſneſs? *But the Gentiles which had not the Law in Books, had*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *the effect of the Law written in their hearts.*

Then ſeeing that the heart of man is not right exactly, unleſs it be found in all parts ſuch, that God examining and calling it unto account with all ſeverity of rigour, be not able once to charge it with declining or ſwerving aſide (which abſolute perfection when did God ever find in the ſons of mere mortal men?) Doth it not follow, that all Fleſh muſt of Neceſſity fall down and confeſs, We are not duſt and aſhes, but worſe, our minds from the higheſt to the loweſt are not right? If not right, then undoubtedly not capable of that bleſſedneſs which we naturally ſeek, but ſubject unto that which we moſt abhor, Anguiſh, Tribulation, Death, Woe, endleſs Miſery. For whatſoever miſſeth the way of Life, the iſſue thereof cannot be put Perdition. By which reaſon, all being wrapped up in ſin, and made thereby the Children of Death, the minds of all men being plainly convicted not to be right; ſhall we think that God hath induced them with ſo many excellencies more, not only than any, but than all the Creatures in the World beſides, to leave them in ſuch eſtate, that they had been happier if they had never been? Here cometh neceſſarily in a new way unto Salvation, ſo that they which were in the other perverſe, may in this be found ſtreight and righteous. That the way of Nature, this the way of Grace The end of that way, Salvation merited, preſuppoſing the righteouſneſs of mens works; their Righteouſneſs, a natural hability to do them; that hability, the Goodneſs of God which created them in ſuch perfections: But the end of this way, Salvation beſtowed upon men as a Gift, preſuppoſing not their righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of their unrighteouſneſs, Juſtification; their Juſtification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty ſorrow for their not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whoſe ſake not-doers are accepted, which is their Vocation; their Vocation, the Election of God, taking them out from the number of loſt Children; their Election, a Mediator in whom to be elect, this Mediation, inexplicable Mercy; his Mercy, their Miſery, for whom he vouchſafed to make himſelf a Mediator. The want of exact diſtinguiſhing between theſe two ways, and obſerving what they have common, what peculiar, hath been the cauſe of the greateſt part of that confuſion whereof Chriſtianity at this day laboureth. The lack of diligence in ſearching, laying down, and inuring mens minds with thoſe hidden grounds of Reaſon, whereupon the leaſt particular in each of theſe are moſt firmly and ſtrongly builded, is the only reaſon of all thoſe ſcruples and uncertainties, wherewith we are in ſuch ſort intangled, that a number deſpair of ever diſcerning what is right or wrong in any thing. But we will let this matter reſt, whereinto we ſtepped to ſearch out a way, how ſome minds may be, and are right truly, even in the ſight of God, though they be ſimply in themſelves not right.

Howbeit, there is not only this difference between the juſt and impious, that the mind of the one is right in the ſight of God, becauſe his obliquity is not imputed; the other perverſe, becauſe his ſin is unrepented of: but even as lines that are drawn with a trembling hand, but yet to the point which they ſhould, are thought ragged and uneven, nevertheleſs direct in compariſon of them which run clean another way; ſo there is no incongruity in terming them right-minded men, whom though God may charge with many things amiſs, yet they are not as thoſe hideous and ugly Monſters, in whom, becauſe there is nothing but wilful oppoſition of mind againſt God, a more than tolerable deformity is noted in them, by ſaying, that their minds are not right. The Angel of the Church of *Thyatyra*, unto whom the Son of God ſendeth this greeting, *I know thy works, and thy love, and ſervice, and faith, notwithſtanding, I have a few things againſt thee,* was not as he, unto whom St. *Peter*, *Thou haſt no fellowſhip in this buſineſs; for thy heart is not right in the ſight of God.* So that whereas the orderly diſpoſition of the mind of man ſhould be this, Perturbation and ſenſual Appetites all kept in awe by a moderate and ſober will, in all things framed by Reaſon; Reaſon directed by the Law of God and Nature; this *Babylonian* had his mind, as it were, turned upſide down: In him unreaſonable cecity and blindneſs trampled all Laws, both of God and Nature, under feet; Wilfulneſs tyrannized over Reaſon; and Brutiſh Senſuality over Will: An evident token that his out-rage would work his overthrow, and procure his ſpeedy ruin. The Mother whereof was that which the Prophet in theſe words ſignified, *His mind doth ſwell.*

Immoderate ſwelling, a token of very eminent breach, and of inevitable deſtruction: Pride, a vice which cleaveth ſo faſt unto the hearts of men, that if we were to ſtrip our ſelves of all faults one by one, we ſhould undoubtedly find it the very laſt and hardeſt to put off. But I am not here to touch the ſecret itching humour of vanity wherewith men are generally touched. It was a thing more than meanly inordinate, wherewith the *Babylonian* did ſwell. Which that we may both the better conceive, and the more eaſily reap profit by the nature of this vice, which ſetteth the whole World out of courſe, and hath put ſo many even of the wiſeſt beſides themſelves, is firſt of all to be inquired into Secondly, the dangers to be diſcovered, which it draweth inevitably after it, being not cured. And laſt of all, the ways to cure it.

Whether we look upon the gifts of Nature, or of Grace, or whatſoever is in the World admired as a part of man's excellency, adorning his Body, beautifying his Mind, or externally any way commending him in the account and opinion of men, there is in every kind ſomewhat poſſible which no man hath, and ſomewhat had which few men can attain unto. By occaſion whereof, there groweth diſparagement neceſſarily; and by occaſion of diſparagement, Pride through mens ignorance. Firſt therefore, although men be not proud of any thing which is not, at leaſt in opinion, good; yet every good thing they are not proud of, but only of that which neither is common unto many, and being deſired of all, cauſeth them which have it to be honoured above the reſt. Now there is no man ſo void of brain, as to ſuppoſe that Pride conſiſteth in the bare poſſeſſion of ſuch things; for then to have Vertue were a Vice, and they ſhould be the happieſt men who are moſt wretched, becauſe they have leaſt of that which they would have. And though in ſpeech we do intimate a kind of vanity to be in them of whom we ſay, *They are Wiſe men and they know it*; yet this doth not prove, that every Wiſe man is proud, which doth not think himſelf to be blockiſh. What we may have, and know that we have it without offence, do we then make offenſive, when we take joy and delight in having it? What difference between men enriched with all abundance of earthly and heavenly Bleſſings, and Idols gorgeouſly attired, but this, *The one takes pleaſure in that which they have, the other none*? If we may be poſſeſt with Beauty, Strength, Riches, Power, Knowledge, if we may be privy to what we are every way, if glad and joyful for our own well-fare, and in all this remain unblameable; nevertheleſs ſome there are, who granting thus much, doubt whether it may ſtand with humility to accept thoſe teſtimonies of Praiſe and Commendation, thoſe Titles, Rooms, and other Honours which the world yieldeth, as acknowledgments of ſome mens excellencies above others. For, inaſmuch as Chriſt hath ſaid unto thoſe that are his, *The Kings of the Gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them, are called Gracious Lords; Be ye not ſo*? The Anabaptiſt hereupon urgeth equality amongſt Chriſtians, as if all exerciſe of Authority were nothing elſe but Heatheniſh Pride. Our Lord and Saviour had no ſuch meaning. But his Diſciples feeding themſelves with a vain imagination for the time, that the Meſſias of the World ſhould in *Jeruſalem* erect his Throne, and exerciſe Dominion with great pomp and outward ſtatelineſs, advanced in honour and terrene power above all the Princes of the Earth, began to think, how with their Lord's condition their own would alſo riſe; that having left and forſaken all to follow him, their Place about him ſhould not be mean: and becauſe they were many, it troubled them much, which of them ſhould be the greateſt man. When ſuit was made for two by name, that of them one might ſit at his right hand, and the other at his left, the reſt began to ſtomach, each taking it grievouſly, that any ſhould have what all did affect; their Lord and Maſter, to correct this humour, turneth aſide their cogitations from theſe vain and fanciful conceits, giving them plainly to underſtand, that they did but deceive themſelves: His coming was not to purchaſe an earthly, but to beſtow an heavenly Kingdom, wherein they (if any) ſhall be greateſt, whom unfeigned Humility maketh in this World loweſt, and leaſt amongſt others: *Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, therefore I leave unto you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed me, that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdom, and ſit on Seats, and judge the twelve Tribes of Iſrael.* But my Kingdom is no ſuch Kingdom as ye dream of. And therefore theſe hungry ambitious contentions are ſeemlier in Heathens, than in you. Wherefore from Chriſt's intent and purpoſe nothing is further removed, than diſlike of diſtinction in Titles and Callings annexed for Order's ſake unto Authority, whether it be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil. And when we have examined throughly, what the nature of this Vice is, no man knowing it can be ſo ſimple, as not to ſee an ugly ſhape thereof apparent many times in rejecting Honours offered, more than in the very exacting of them at the hands of men: For as *Judas* his care for the Poor was mere covetouſneſs; and that frank-hearted waſtfulneſs ſpoken of in the Goſpel, thrift; ſo, there is no doubt, but that going in raggs may be Pride, and Thrones be cloathed with unfeigned Humility.

We muſt go further therefore and enter ſomewhat deeper, before we can come to the Cloſet wherein this poyſon lyeth. There is in the heart of every proud man, firſt, an error of underſtanding, a vain opinion whereby he thinketh his own excellency, and, by reaſon thereof, his worthineſs of eſtimation, regard and honour, to be greater than in truth it is. This maketh him in all his affections accordingly to raiſe up himſelf, and by his inward affections his outwards acts are faſhioned. Which, if you liſt to have exemplified, you may, either by calling to mind things ſpoken of them, whom God himſelf hath in Scripture ſpecially noted with this fault; or by preſenting to your ſecret cogitations that which you daily behold in the odious lives and manners of high-minded men. It were too long to gather together ſo plentiful an harveſt of examples in this kind as the ſacred Scripture affordeth. That which we drink in at our ears doth not ſo piercingly enter, as that which the mind doth conceive by ſight. Is there any thing written concerning the *Aſſyrian* Monarch in the tenth of *Iſaiah*, of his ſwelling mind, his haughty looks, his great and preſumptuous taunts: *By the power of mine own hand I have done all things, and by mine own wiſdom I have ſubdued the World*? Any thing concerning the Dames of *Sion*, in the third of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, of their ſtretched-out Necks, their immodeſt Eyes, their Pageant-like, ſtately, and pompous Gate? Any thing concerning the Practices of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, of their impatience to live in ſubjection, their mutinies repining, at lawful Authority, their grudging againſt their Superiors Eccleſiaſtical and Civil? Any thing concerning Pride in any ſort of Sect, which the preſent face of the World doth not, as in a glaſs, repreſent to the view of all mens beholding? So that if Books, both prophane and holy, were all loſt, as long as the manners of men retain the eſtate they are in: for him that obſerveth, how that, when men have once conceived an over-weening of themſelves, it maketh them in all their affections to ſwell; how deadly their hatred, how heavy their diſpleaſure, how un-appeaſable their indignation and wrath is above other mens, in what manner they compoſe themſelves to be as *Heteroclites*, without the compaſs of all ſuch Rules as the common ſort are meaſured by; how the Oaths which religious hearts do tremble at, they affect as principal graces of ſpeech; what felicity they take to ſee the enormity of their crimes above the reach of Laws and puniſhments; how much it delighteth them when they are able to appale with the cloudineſs of their looks; how far they exceed the terms wherewith man's nature ſhould be limited; how high they bear their heads over others; how they brow-beat all men which do not receive their Sentences as Oracles, with marvellous applauſe and approbation; how they look upon no man, but with an indirect countenance, nor hear any thing ſaving their own praiſe, with patience, nor ſpeak without ſcornfulneſs and diſdain; how they uſe their Servants, as if they were Beaſts, their Inferiors as Servants, their Equals as Inferiors, and as for Superiors they acknowledge none; how they admire themſelves as venerable, puiſſant, wiſe, circumſpect, provident, every way great, taking all men beſides themſelves for cyphers, poor, inglorious, ſilly creatures, needleſs burthens of the earth, off-ſcowrings, nothing: in a word, for him which marketh how irregular and exorbitant they are in all things, it can be no hard thing hereby to gather, that Pride is nothing but an inordinate elation of the mind, proceeding from a falſe conceit of mans excellency in things honoured, which accordingly frameth alſo their deeds and behaviour, unleſs they be cunning to conceal it; For a foul ſcar may be covered with a fair cloath: And as proud as *Lucifer*, may be in outward appearance lowly.

No man expecteth Grapes of Thiſtles; nor from a thing of ſo bad nature, can other than ſuitable fruits be looked for. What harm ſoever in private Families there groweth by diſobedience of Children, ſtubbornneſs of Servants, untractableneſs in them, who although they otherwiſe may rule, yet ſhould, in conſideration of the imparity of their ſex, be alſo ſubject; whatſoever, by ſtriſe amongſt men combined in the fellowſhip of greater Societies, by tyranny of Potentates, ambition of Nobles, rebellion of Subjects in Civil State; by Hereſies, Schiſms, Diviſions in the Church; naming Pride, we name the Mother which brought them forth, and the only Nurſe that feedeth them. Give me the hearts of all men humbled; and what is there that can overthrow or diſturb the peace of the World? Wherein many things are the cauſe of much evil; but Pride of all.

To declaim of the ſwarms of Evils iſſuing out of Pride, is an eaſie labour. I rather wiſh that I could exactly preſcribe and perſwade effectually the remedies, whereby a ſore ſo grievous might be cured, and the means how the pride of ſwelling minds might be taken down. Whereunto ſo much we have already gained, that the evidence of the Cauſe which breedeth it, pointeth directly unto the likelieſt and fitteſt helps to take it away: Diſeaſes that come of fulneſs, emptineſs, muſt remove. Pride is not cured but by abating the Error which cauſeth the Mind to ſwell Then ſeeing that they ſwell by miſconceit of their own excellency; for this cauſe, all which tend to the beating down of their Pride, whether it be advertiſement from men, or from God himſelf chaſtiſement; it then maketh them ceaſe to be proud, when it cauſeth them to ſee their error in over-ſeeing the thing they were proud of. At this mark *Job*, in his Apology unto his eloquent Friends, aimeth. For perceiving how much they delighted to hear themſelves talk, as if they had given their poor afflicted familiar a ſchooling of marvellous deep and rare Inſtructions, as if they had taught him more than all the World beſides could acquaint him with: his Anſwer was to this effect: Ye ſwell, as though he had conceived ſome great matter; but as for that which ye are delivered of, who knoweth it not? Is any man ignorant of theſe things? At the ſame mark the bleſſed Apoſtle driveth: Ye abound in all things, ye are rich, ye reign, and would to Chriſt we did reign with you: But boaſt not. For what have ye, or are ye of your ſelves? To this mark all thoſe humble Confeſſions are referred, which have been always frequent in the mouths of Saints, truly wading in the tryal of themſelves: as that of the Prophet's, *We are nothing but ſoreneſs and feſtered corruption*: our very light is darkneſs, and our righteouſneſs it ſelf unrighteouſneſs; That of *Gregory*, *Let no man ever put confidence in his own deſerts*; *Sordet in conſpectu Judicis, quod fulget in conſpectu operantis*, In the ſight of the dreadful Judge, it is noyſom, which in the doer's judgment make a beautiful ſhew: That of *Anſelm*, *I adore thee, I bleſs thee, Lord God of Heaven, and Redeemer of the World, with all the power, ability, and ſtrength of my heart and ſoul, for thy goodneſs ſo unmeaſurably extended; not in regard of my merits, whereunto only torments were due, but of thy mere unprocured benignity.* If theſe Fathers ſhould be raiſed again from the duſt, and have the Books laid open before them, wherein ſuch Sentences are found as this: *Works no other than the value, deſert, price, and worth of the joyes of the kingdom of Heaven; Heaven, in relation of our works, as the very ſtipend, which the hired Labourer covenanteth to have of him whoſe work he doth, as a thing equally and juſtly anſwering unto the time and weight of his travels, rather than to a voluntary or beautiful gift.* If, I ſay, thoſe reverend fore-rehearſed Fathers, whoſe Books are ſo full of Sentences, witneſſing their Chriſtian humility, ſhould be raiſed from the dead, and behold with their eyes ſuch things written; would they not plainly pronounce of the Authors of ſuch Writ, that they were fuller of *Lucifer* than of Chriſt; that they were proud-hearted men, and carried more ſwelling minds than ſincerity and feelingly known Chriſtianity can tolerate?

But as unruly Children, with whom wholſom admonition prevaileth little, are notwithſtanding brought to fear that ever after, which they have once well ſmarted for; ſo the Mind which falleth not with Inſtruction, yet under the rod of Divine chaſtiſement ceaſeth to ſwell. If therefore the Prophet *David*, inſtructed by good experience, have acknowledged, Lord, I was even at the point of clean forgetting my ſelf, and ſo ſtraying from my right mind: but thy Rod hath been my Reformer; it hath been good for me, even as much as my Soul is worth, that I have been with ſorrow troubled: If the bleſſed Apoſtle did need the corroſive of ſharp and bitter ſtrokes, leſt his Heart ſhould ſwell with too great abundance of heavenly Revelations, ſurely, upon us whatſoever God in this World doth, or ſhall inflict, it cannot ſeem more than our Pride doth exact, not only by way of revenge, but of remedy. So hard it is to cure a ſore of ſuch quality as Pride is inaſmuch as that which rooteth out other Vices, cauſeth this, and (which is even above all conceit) if we were clean from all ſpot and blemiſh both, of other faults; of Pride, the fall of Angels doth make it almoſt a queſtion, whether we might not need a Preſervative ſtill, leſt we ſhould haply wax proud that we are not proud. What is Vertue, but a Medicine, and Vice, but a Wound? Yet we have ſo often deeply wounded our ſelves with Medicine; that God hath been fain to make Wounds medicinable; to cure by Vice where Vertue hath ſtrucken; to ſuffer the juſt man to fall, that being raiſed, he may be taught what Power it was which upheld him ſtanding: I am not afraid to affirm it boldly with St. *Auguſtine*, That men puffed up through a proud opinion of their own ſanctity and holineſs, receive a benefit at the hands of God, and are aſſiſted with his Grace, when with his Grace they are not aſſiſted, but permitted, and that grievouſly to tranſgreſs; whereby, as they were in over-great liking of themſelves ſupplanted, ſo the diſlike of that which did ſupplant them, may eſtabliſh them afterwards the ſurer. Ask the very Soul of *Peter*, and it ſhall undoubtedly make you it ſelf this Anſwer; My eager Proteſtations, made in the glory of my ghoſtly ſtrength, I am aſhamed of; but thoſe Chryſtal Tears wherewith my ſin and weakneſs was bewailed, have procured my endleſs joy; my Strength hath been my Ruin, and my Fall my Stay.

A
REMEDY
AGAINST
Sorrow and Fear,
DELIVERED IN A
FUNERAL SERMON.

JOHN 14. 27.

Let not your Hearts be troubled, nor Fear.

THE Holy Apoſtles having gathered themſelves together by the ſpecial appointment of Chriſt, and being in expectation to receive from him ſuch Inſtructions as they had been accuſtomed with, were told that which they leaſt looked for, namely, That the time of his departure out of the World was now come. Whereupon they fell into conſideration, firſt, of the manifold benefits which his abſence ſhould bereave them off; and ſecondly of the ſundry evils which themſelves ſhould be ſubject unto, being once bereaved of ſo gracious a Maſter and Patron. The one conſideration over-whelmed their Souls with heavineſs: the other with fear. Their Lord and Saviour, whoſe words had caſt down their hearts, raiſeth them preſently again with choſen ſentences of ſweet encouragement, My dear, it is for your own ſakes I leave the World. I know the affections of your hearts are tender, but if your love were directed with that adviſed and ſtaid judgment which ſhould be in you, my ſpeech of leaving the World, and going unto my Father, would not a little augment your joy. Deſolate and comfortleſs I will not leave you; in Spirit I am with you to the

Worlds end. Whether I be preſent or abſent, nothing ſhall ever take you out of theſe hands. My going is to take poſſeſſion of that, in your names which is not only for me, but alſo for you prepared; where I am, you ſhall be. In the mean while, *my peace I give, not as the World giveth, give I unto you : Let not your hearts be troubled, nor fear.* The former part of which Sentence having otherwhere already been ſpoken of, this unacceptable occaſion to open the latter part thereof here, I did not look for. But ſo God diſpoſeth the ways of men. Him I heartily beſeech, that the thing which he hath thus ordered by his Providence, may through his gracious goodneſs turn unto your comfort.

Our Nature coveteth for preſervation from things hurtful. Hurtful things being preſent, do breed heavineſs; being future, do cauſe fear. Our Saviour to abate the one, ſpeaketh thus unto his Diſciples, *Let not your hearts be troubled* : and to moderate the other, addeth, *Fear not.* Grief and heavineſs in the preſence of ſenſible Evils cannot but trouble the minds of men. It may therefore ſeem that Chriſt required a thing impoſſible. Be not troubled. Why, how could they chooſe? But we muſt note this being natural, and therefore ſimply not reproveable, is in us good or bad, according to the cauſes for which we are grieved, or the meaſure of our grief. It is not my meaning to ſpeak ſo largely of this affection, as to go over all particulars whereby men do one way or other offend in it, but to teach it ſo far only, as it may cauſe the very Apoſtles equals to ſwerve. Our grief and heavineſs therefore is reproveable, ſometime in reſpect of the cauſe from whence, ſometime in regard of the meaſure whereunto it groweth.

When Chriſt, the life of the World, was led unto cruel death, there followed a number of people and women, which women bewailed much his heavy caſe. It was a natural compaſſion which cauſed them, where they ſaw undeſerved miſeries, there to pour forth unreſtrained tears. Nor was this reproved. But in ſuch readineſs to lament where they leſs needed, their blindneſs in not diſcerning that for which they ought much rather to have mourned; this our Saviour a little toucheth, putting them in mind that the tears which where waſted for him, might better have been ſpent upon themſelves; *Daughters of Jeruſalem, weep not for me, weep for your ſelves, and for your children.* It is not, as the Stoicks have imagined, a thing unſeemly for a Wiſeman to be touched with grief of mind : but to be ſorrowful when we leaſt ſhould; and where we ſhould lament, there to laugh, this argueth our ſmall wiſdom. Again, when the Prophet *David* confeſſeth thus of himſelf, *I grieved to ſee the great proſperity of godleſs men, how they flouriſh and go untoucht, Pſal.* 73. Himſelf hereby openeth both our common and his peculiar imperfection, whom this cauſe ſhould not have made ſo penſive. To grieve at this, is to grieve where we ſhould not, becauſe this grief doth riſe from Error. We err when we grieve at wicked mens impunity and proſperity, becauſe their Eſtate being rightly diſcerned they neither proſper nor go unpuniſhed. It may ſeem a Paradox, it is a truth, That no wicked man's eſtate is proſperous, fortunate, or happy. For what though they bleſs themſelves, and think their happineſs great? Have not frantick Perſons many times a great opinion of their own wiſdom? It may be that, ſuch as they think themſelves, others alſo do account them. But what others? Surely ſuch as themſelves are. Truth and Reaſon diſcerneth far otherwiſe of them. Unto whom the Jews wiſh all proſperity, unto them the phraſe of their ſpeech is to wiſh Peace. Seeing then the name of Peace containeth in it all parts of true happineſs, when the Prophet ſaith plainly, *That the wicked have no peace*; how can we think them to have any part of other than vainly imagined Felicity? What wiſeman did ever account Fools happy? If wicken men were wiſe, they would ceaſe to be wicked, Their Iniquity therefore proving their Folly, how can we ſtand in doubt of their miſery? They abound in thoſe things which all men deſire. A poor happineſs to have good things in poſſeſſion, *A man to whom* Eccleſ. 6. 2. *God hath given Riches, and Treaſures, and Honour, ſo that he wanteth nothing for his Soul of all that it deſireth but yet God giveth him not the power to eat thereof*; ſuch a felicity *Solomon* eſteemeth but as a vanity, a thing of nothing. If ſuch things add nothing to mens happineſs, where they are not uſed, ſurely wicked men that uſe them ill, the more they have, the more wretched. Of their Proſperity therefore we ſee what we are to think. Touching their Impunity, the ſame is likewiſe but ſuppoſed. They are oftner plagued than we are aware of. The pangs they feel are not always written in their forehead. Though wickedneſs be ſugar in their mouths, and wantonneſs as oyl to make them look with chearful Countenance; nevertheleſs, if their hearts were diſcloſed, perhaps their glittering ſtate would not greatly be envied. The voices that have broken out from ſome of them, *O that God had given me a heart ſenſleſs, like the flints in the rocks of ſtone*! which as it can taſte no pleaſure, ſo it feeleth no woe; theſe and the like ſpeeches are ſurely tokens of the curſe which *Zophar* in the Book of *Job* poureth upon the head of the impious man, *He ſhall ſuck the gall of Aſps, and the Viper's tongue ſhall ſlay him.* If this ſeem light, becauſe it is ſecret, ſhall we think they go unpuniſhed, becauſe no apparent Plague is preſently ſeen upon them? The Judgments of God do not always follow crimes, as Thunder doth Lightning; but ſometimes the ſpace of many Ages coming between. When the Sun hath ſhined fair the ſpace of ſix days upon their Tabernacle, we know not what Clouds the ſeventh may bring. And when their puniſhment doth come, let them make their account in the greatneſs of their ſufferings to pay the intereſt of that reſpite which hath been given them. Or if they chance to eſcape clearly in this World, which they ſeldom do; in the Day when the Heavens ſhall ſhrivel as a ſcrowl, and the Mountains move as frighted men out of their places, what Cave ſhall receive them? What Mountain or Rock ſhall they get by intreaty to fall upon them? What covert to hide them from that wrath, which they ſhall neither be able to abide or avoid? No man's miſery therefore being greater than theirs whoſe impiety is moſt fortunate; much more cauſe there is for them to bewail their own infelicity, than for others to be troubled with their proſperous and happy eſtate, as if the hand of the Almighty did not, or would not touch them. For theſe cauſes, and the like unto theſe, therefore *Be not troubled*.

Now, though the cauſe of our heavineſs be juſt, yet may not your affections herein be yielded unto with too much indulgency and favour. The grief of Compaſſion, whereby we are touched with the feeling of other mens woes, is of all other leaſt dangerous: Yet this is a lett unto ſundry duties; by this we are apt to ſpare ſometimes where we ought to ſtrike. The grief which our own ſufferings do bring, what temptations have not riſen from it? What great advantage Satan hath taken even by the godly grief of hearty contrition for ſins committed againſt God, the near approaching of ſo many afflicted Souls, whom the conſcience of ſin hath brought unto the very brink of extream deſpair, doth but too abundantly ſhew. Theſe things, whereſoever they fall, cannot but trouble and moleſt the mind. Whether we be therefore moved vainly with that which ſeemeth hurtful, and is not; or have juſt cauſe of grief, being preſſed indeed with thoſe things which are grievous, our Saviour's Leſſon is touching the one, *Be not troubled*; nor over-troubled for the other. For, though to have no feeling of that which merely concerneth us were ſtupidity, nevertheleſs, ſeeing that as the Author of our Salvation was himſelf Conſecrated by affliction, ſo the way which we are to follow him by, is not ſtrewed with ruſhes, but ſet with thorns; be it never ſo hard to learn, we muſt learn to ſuffer with patience, even that which ſeemeth almoſt impoſſible to be ſuffered, that in the hour when God ſhall call us unto our trial, and turn his honey of peace and pleaſure wherewith we ſwell, into that gall and bitterneſs which Fleſh doth ſhrink to taſte of, nothing may cauſe us in the troubles of our Souls to ſtorm, and grudge, and repine at God; but every Heart be enabled with divinely inſpired courage to inculcate unto it ſelf, *Be not troubled*; and in thoſe laſt and greateſt Conflicts to remember, that nothing may be ſo ſharp and bitter to be ſuffered, but that ſtill we our ſelves may give our ſelves this encouragement, *Even learn alſo patience, O my Soul.*

Naming Patience, I name that vertue which only hath power to ſtay our Souls from being over-exceſſively troubled: A vertue, wherein, if ever any, ſurely that Soul had good experience, which, extremity of pains having chaſed out of the Tabernacle of this Fleſh, Angels, I nothing doubt, have carried into the boſom of her Father *Abraham*. The death of the Saints of God is precious in his ſight. And ſhall it ſeem unto us ſuperfluous at ſuch times as theſe are, to hear in what manner they have ended their Lives? The Lord himſelf hath not diſdained ſo exactly to regiſter in the Book of Life, after what ſort his Servants have cloſed up their days on Earth, that he deſcendeth even to their very meaneſt actions, what meat they have longed for in their Sickneſs, what they have ſpoken unto their Children, Kinsfolks, and Friends, where they have willed their dead Carcaſes to be laid, how they have framed their Wills and Teſtaments; yea, the very turning of their Faces to this ſide or that, the ſetting of their Eyes, the degrees whereby their natural Heat hath departed from them, their Crys, their Groans, their Pantings, Breathings, and Laſt-gaſpings, he hath moſt ſolemnly commended unto the memory of all Generations. The care of the living both to live and die well, muſt needs be ſomewhat encreaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded up in ſilence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Again, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the hour of their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they give to God, and the joy which they have, or ſhould have, by reaſon of their Fellowſhip and Communion of Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their own diſſolution? Finally, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſs the ears of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute of life, but it cauſeth them ſome time or other to wiſh in their hearts, *Oh, that we might die the death of the Righteous, and that our end might be like his*! Howbeit, becauſe to ſpend herein many words would be to ſtrike even as many wounds into their minds, whom I rather wiſh to comfort: Therefore concerning this vertuous Gentlewoman only this little I ſpeak, and that of knowledge, *She lived a Dove, and died a Lamb*. And if amongſt ſo many Vertues, hearty Devotion towards God, towards Poverty tender Compaſſion, Motherly Affection towards Servants, towards Friends even ſerviceable kindneſs, mild behaviour, and harmleſs meaning towards all; if, where ſo many Vertues were eminent, any be worthy of ſpecial mention, I wiſh her deareſt Friends of that ſex to be her neareſt Followers in two things; *Silence*, ſaying only where duty did exact ſpeech; and *Patience*, even then when extremity of pains did enforce grief, *Bleſſed are they that die in the Lord*. And concerning the dead which are bleſſed, let not the hearts of any living be over-charged, with grief over-troubled.

Touching the latter affection of Fear, which reſpecteth evil to come, as the other which we have ſpoken of doth preſent evils; firſt, in the nature thereof it is plain, that we are not of every future evil afraid. Perceive we not how they, whoſe tenderneſs ſhrinketh at the leaſt raſe of a Needle's Point, do kiſs the Sword that pierceth their Souls quite thorough? If every Evil did cauſe Fear, Sin, becauſe it is Sin, would be feared; whereas properly Sin is not feared as Sin, but only as having ſome kind of harm annexed. To teach men to avoid ſin, it had been ſufficient for the Apoſtle to ſay, *Fly it* : But to make them afraid of committing ſin, becauſe the naming of Sin ſufficed not, therefore he addeth further, That it is a *Serpent which ſtingeth the Soul.* Again, be it that ſome nocive or hurtful thing be towards us, muſt fear of neceſſity follow hereupon? Not, except that hurtful thing do threaten us either with deſtruction or vexation, and that ſuch as we have neither a conceit of ability to reſiſt, nor of utter impoſſibility to avoid. That which we know our ſelves able to withſtand, we fear not; and that which we know we are unable to deferr or diminiſh, or any way avoid, we ceaſe to fear; we give our ſelves over to bear and ſuſtain it. The evil therefore which is feared, muſt be in our perſwaſion unable to be reſiſted when it cometh, yet not utterly impoſſible for a time in whole or in part to be ſhunned. Neither do we much fear ſuch evils, except they be imminent and near at hand; nor if they be near, except we have an opinion that they be ſo. When we have once conceived an opinion, or apprehended an imagination of ſuch evils preſt, and ready to invade us; becauſe they are hurtful unto our nature, we feel in our ſelves a kind of aborring; becauſe they are thought near, yet not preſent, our nature ſeeketh forthwith how to ſhift and provide for it ſelf; becauſe they are evils which cannot be reſiſted, therefore ſhe doth not provide to withſtand, but to ſhun and avoid. Hence it is, that in extreme fear, the Mother of Life contracting herſelf, avoiding as much as may be the reach of evil, and drawing the heat together with the ſpirits of the Body to her, leaveth the outward parts cold, pale, weak, feeble, unapt to perform the functions of Life; as we ſee in the fear of *Balthaſar* King of *Babel*. By this it appeareth, that Fear is nothing elſe but a perturbation of the mind, through an opinion of ſome imminent evil, threatning the deſtruction or great annoyance of our Nature, which to ſhun it doth contract and deject it ſelf.

Now becauſe, not in this place only, but otherwere often, we hear it repeated, *Fear not*; it is by ſome made a queſtion, *Whether a man may fear deſtruction or vexation without ſinning*? Firſt, the reproof wherewith Chriſt checketh his Diſciples more than once, *O men of little faith, wherefore are ye afraid*? Secondly, the puniſhment threatned in *Revelat.* 21. *viz.* the Lake, and Fire, and Brimſtone, not only to Murtherers, unclean Perſons, Sorcerers, Idolaters, Liers, but alſo to the fearful and faint-hearted : this ſeemeth to argue, That Fearfulneſs cannot but be ſin. On the contrary ſide we ſee, that he which never felt motion unto ſin, had of this affection more more than a ſlight feeling. How clear is the evidence of the Spirit, that *in the days of his Fleſh he offered up Prayers and Supplications, with ſtrong crys and tears, unto him that was able to ſave him from death, and was alſo heard in that which he feared*? *Heb.* 5. 7. Whereupon it followeth, that fear in it ſelf is a thing not ſinful. For, is not Fear a thing natural, and for mens preſervation neceſſary, implanted in us by the provident and moſt gracious Giver of all good things, to the end, that we might not run head-long upon thoſe miſchiefs wherewith we are not able to encounter, but uſe the remedy of ſhunning thoſe Evils which we have not ability to withſtand? Let that People therefore which receive a benefit by the length of their Prince's days, the Father or Mother which rejoyceth to ſee the Off-ſping of their Fleſh grow like green and pleaſant Plants, let thoſe Children that would have their Parents, thoſe men that would gladly have their Friends and Brethren days prolonged on Earth (as there is no natural-hearted man but gladly would) let them bleſs the Father of Lights, as in other things, ſo even in this, that he hath given man a fearful heart, and ſettled naturally that affection in him, which is a preſervation againſt ſo many ways of death. Fear then in it ſelf being mere Nature, cannot in it ſelf be Sin, which Sin is not Nature, but thereof an acceſſary deprivation.

But in the matter of Fear we may ſin, and do, two ways. If any man's danger be great, theirs is greateſt than have put the fear of danger fartheſt from them. Is there any eſtate more fearful than that *Babylonian* Strumpet's, that ſitteth upon the tops of ſeven Hills, glorying and vaunting, *I am a Queen*, &c. *Revel.* 18. 7? How much better and happier are they, whoſe eſtate hath been always as his, who ſpeaketh after this ſort of himſelf, *Lord, from my youth have I born thy yoke*? They which ſit at continual eaſe, and are ſettled in the Lees of their ſecurity, look upon them, view their countenance, their ſpeech, their geſture, their deeds : *Put them in fear, O God*, ſaith the Prophet, *that ſo they may know themſelves to be but men*; Worms of earth, duſt and aſhes, frail, corruptible, feeble things. To ſhake off ſecurity therefore, and to breed fear in the hearts of mortal men, ſo many admonitions are uſed concerning the power of Evils which beſet them, ſo many threatnings of calamities, ſo many deſcriptions of things threatned, and thoſe ſo lively, to the end they may leave behind them a deep impreſſion of ſuch as have force to keep the heart continually waking. All which do ſhew, that we are to ſtand in fear of nothing more than the extremity of not fearing.

When fear hath delivered us from that Pit, wherein they are ſunk that have put far from them the evil day, that have made a league with death, and have ſaid, *Tuſh, we ſhall feel no harm*; it ſtandeth us upon to take heed it caſt us not into that, wherein Souls deſtitute of all hope are plunged. For our direction, to avoid as much as may be both extremities, that we may know, as a Ship-maſter by his Card, how far we are wide, either on the one ſide, or on the other, we muſt note, that in a Chriſtian man there is, Firſt, Nature : Secondly,

condly, Corruption perverting Nature : Thirdly, Grace correcting and amending Corruption. In fear all theſe have their ſeveral operations : Nature teacheth ſimply, to wiſh preſervation and avoidance of things dreadful; for which cauſe our Saviour himſelf prayeth, and that often, *Father, if it be poſſible.* In which caſes, corrupt Nature's ſuggeſtions are, For the ſafety of Temporal life not to ſtick at things excluding from Eternal; wherein how far even the beſt may be led, the chiefeſt Apoſtle's frailty teacheth. Were it not therefore for ſuch cogitations as, on the contrary ſide, Grace and Faith miniſtreth, ſuch as that of *Job, Though God kill me*; that of *Paul, Scio cui credidi,* I know him on whom I do rely; ſmall evils would ſoon be able to overthrow even the beſt of us. *A wiſe man,* ſaith *Solomon, doth ſee a plague coming, and hideth himſelf.* It is *Nature* which teacheth a Wiſe man in fear to *hide* himſelf, but *Grace* and *Faith* doth teach him *where.* Fools care not to hide their heads : but where ſhall a Wiſe man hide himſelf, when he feareth a Plague coming? Where ſhould the frighted Child hide his head, but in the boſom of his loving Father? Where a Chriſtian, but under the ſhadow of the Wings of Chriſt his Saviour? *Come my People,* ſaith God in the Prophet, *Enter into thy Chamber, hide thy ſelf,* &c. *Iſa.* 26. But becauſe we are in danger, like chaſed Birds, like Doves, that ſeek and cannot ſee the reſting holes that are right before them; therefore our Saviour giveth his diſciples theſe encouragements before-hand, that Fear might never ſo amaze them, but that always they might remember, that whatſoever Evils at any time did beſet them, to him they ſhould ſtill repair for comfort, counſel, and ſuccour. For their aſſurance whereof, his *Peace he gave them, his Peace he left unto them, not ſuch Peace as the World offereth,* by whom his name is never ſo much pretended, as when deepeſt treachery is meant; but *Peace which paſſeth all underſtanding, Peace* that bringeth with it all happineſs, *Peace* that continueth for ever and ever with them that have it.

This Peace *God the Father grant, for his Son's ſake; unto whom, with the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one Eternal and Everlaſting God, be all Honour, and Glory, and Praiſe, now and for ever. Amen.*

A Learned and Comfortable

SERMON

Of the certainty and perpetuity of

FAITH in the ELECT:

Eſpecially of the Prophet *Habakkuk's* FAITH.

HABAK. I. 4.

Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, *by admitting this cogitation into his mind,* The Law doth fail, *did thereby ſhew himſelf an Unbeliever?*

WE have ſeen in the opening of this clauſe, which concerneth the weakneſs of the Prophet's Faith, Firſt, what things they are, whereunto the Faith of ſound Believers doth aſſent : Secondly, wherefore all men aſſent not thereunto : and Thirdly, why they that do, do it many times with ſmall aſſurance. Now, becauſe nothing can be ſo truly ſpoken, but through miſ-underſtanding it may be depraved; therefore to prevent, if it be poſſible, all miſ-conſtruction in this cauſe, where a ſmall error cannot riſe but with great danger; it is perhaps needful, ere we come to the fourth Point, that ſomething be added to that which hath been already ſpoken concerning the third.

That mere natural men do neither know nor ackowledge the things of God, we do not marvel, becauſe they are ſpiritually to be diſcerned : but they in whoſe hearts the light of Grace doth ſhine, they that are taught of God, why are they ſo weak in Faith? why is their aſſenting to the Law ſo ſcrupulous, ſo much mingled with fear and wavering? It ſeemeth ſtrange, that ever they ſhould imagine the Law to fail. It cannot ſeem ſtrange if we weigh the reaſon. If the things which we believe be conſidered in themſelves, it may truly be ſaid, that Faith is more certain than any Science: That which we know, either by ſenſe, or by infallible demonſtration, is not ſo certain as the Principles, Articles, and Concluſions of Chriſtian Faith. Concerning which we muſt note, that there is a *certainty* of *evidence*, and a *certainty* of *adherence*. *Certainty* of *evidence* we call that, when the mind doth aſſent to this or that, not becauſe it is true in it ſelf, but becauſe the truth is clear, becauſe it is manifeſt unto us. Of things in themſelves moſt certain, except they be alſo moſt evident, our perſwaſion is not ſo aſſured, as it is of things more evident, although in themſelves they be leſs certain. It is as ſure, if not ſurer, that there be ſpirits, as that there be men: but we be more aſſured of theſe than of them, becauſe theſe are more evident. The truth of ſome things is ſo evident, that no man which heareth them can doubt of them: as when we hear that *a part of any thing is leſs than the whole*, the mind is conſtrained to ſay, This is true. If it were ſo in matters of Faith, then, as all men have equal certainty of this, ſo no Believer ſhould be more ſcrupulous and doubtful than another. But we find the contrary. The Angels and Spirits of the Righteous in Heaven have certainty moſt evident of things ſpiritual: but this they have by the light of glory. That which we ſee by the light of Grace, though it be indeed more certain; yet it is not to us ſo evidently certain, as that which ſenſe or the light of Nature will not ſuffer a man to doubt of. Proofs are vain and frivolous, except they be more certain, than is the thing proved: and do we not ſee how the Spirit every where in the Scripture proving matters of Faith, laboureth to confirm us in the things which we believe by things whereof we have ſenſible knowledge? I conclude therefore that we have leſs *certainty* of *evidence* concerning things believed, than concerning ſenſible or naturally perceived. Of theſe who doth doubt at any time? Of them at ſometime who doubteth not? I will not here alledge the ſundry confeſſions of the perfecteſt, that have lived upon earth, concerning their great imperfections this way; which if I did, I ſhould dwell too long upon a matter ſufficiently known by every faithful man that doth know himſelf.

The other, which we call the *certainty* of *adherence*, is, when the heart doth cleave and ſtick unto that which it doth believe: This certainty is greater in us than the other. The reaſon is this, The faith of a Chriſtian doth apprehend the words of the Law, the promiſes of God, not only as true, but alſo as good; and therefore even then, when the evidence which he hath of the Truth is ſo ſmall, that it grieveth him to feel his weakneſs in aſſenting thereto, yet is there in him ſuch a ſure adherence unto that which he doth but faintly and fearfully believe, that his Spirit having once truly taſted the heavenly ſweetneſs thereof, all the world is not able quite and clean to remove him from it: but he ſtriveth with himſelf to hope againſt all reaſon of believing, being ſettled with *Job* upon this unmoveable reſolution, *Though God kill me, I will not give over truſting in him.* For why? This Leſſon remaineth for ever imprinted in him, *It is good for me to cleave unto God, Pſal.* 73.

Now the minds of all men being ſo darkned as they are with the foggy damp of original corruption, it cannot be that any man's heart living ſhould be either ſo enlightned in the knowledge, or ſo eſtabliſhed in the love of that wherein his Salvation ſtandeth, as to be perfect, neither doubting nor ſhrinking at all. If any ſuch were, what doth lett why that man ſhould not be juſtified by his own inherent righteouſneſs? For Righteouſneſs inherent, being perfect, will juſtiſie. And perfect Faith is a part of perfect Righteouſneſs inherent; yea, a principal part, the root and the Mother of all the reſt: ſo that if the fruit of every Tree be ſuch as the Root is, Faith being perfect as it is, if it be not at all mingled with diſtruſt and fear, what is there to exclude other Chriſtian vertues from the like perfections? And then what need we the Righteouſneſs of Chriſt? His Garment is ſuperfluous: we may be honourably cloathed with our own Robes, if it be thus. But let them beware, who challenge to themſelves a ſtrength which they have not, leſt they loſe the comfortable ſupport of that weakneſs which indeed they have.

Some ſhew, although no ſoundneſs of ground, there is, which may be alledged for defence of this ſuppoſed perfection in certainty touching matters of our Faith; as firſt, that *Abraham* did believe, and doubted not: ſecondly, that the Spirit, which God hath given us to no other end, but only to aſſure us that we are the Sons of God; to embolden us to call upon him as our Father; to open our eyes, and to make the truth of things believed evident unto our minds; is much mightier in operation than the common light of Nature, whereby we diſcern ſenſible things: wherefore we muſt needs be more ſurer of that we believe, than of that we ſee; we muſt needs be more certain of the mercies of God in Chriſt Jeſus, than we are of the light of the Sun when it ſhineth upon our faces. To that of *Abraham, He did not doubt*; I anſwer, that this *negation* doth not exclude all fear, all doubting, but only that which cannot ſtand with true Faith. It freeth *Abraham* from doubting through Infidelity, not from doubting through Infirmity; from the doubting of Unbelievers, not of weak Believers; from ſuch a doubting as that whereof the Prince of *Samaria* is attainted, who hearing the promiſe of ſudden Plenty in the midſt of Extreme Dearth, anſwered, *Though the Lord would make windows in Heaven, were it poſſible ſo to come to paſs?* But that *Abraham* was not void of all doubting, what need we any other proof, than the plain evidence of his own words? *Gen.* 17. 17. The reaſon which is taken from the power of the Spirit were effectual, if God did work like a natural Agent, as the fire doth inflame, and the Sun enlighten, according to the uttermoſt ability which they have to bring forth their effects : But the incomprehenſible wiſdom of God doth limit the effects of his power to ſuch a meaſure as it ſeemeth beſt to himſelf. Wherefore he worketh that certainty in all, which ſufficeth abundantly to their Salvation in the life to come; but in none ſo great as attaineth in this life unto perfection. Even ſo, O Lord, it hath pleaſed thee; even ſo it is beſt and fitteſt for us, that feeling ſtill our own Infirmities, we may no longer breath than pray, *Adjuva Domine, Help Lord our incredulity.* Of the third Queſtion, this I hope will ſuffice, being added unto that which hath been thereof already ſpoken. The fourth Queſtion reſteth, and ſo an end of this Point.

That which cometh laſt of all in this firſt branch to be conſidered concerning the weakneſs of the Prophet's Faith, is, *Whether he did by this very thought* [the Law doth fail] *quench the Spirit, fall from Faith, and ſhew himſelf an Unbeliever or no*? The Queſtion is of moment; the repoſe and tranquility of infinite Souls doth depend upon it. The Prophet's caſe is the caſe of many; which way ſoever we caſt for him, the ſame way it paſſeth for all others. If in him this cogitation did extinguiſh Grace, why the like thoughts in us ſhould not take the like effect there is no cauſe. Foraſmuch therefore as the matter is weighty, dear and precious, which we have in hand, it behoveth us with ſo much the greater charineſs to wade through it, taking ſpecial heed both what we build, and whereon we build, that if our Building be Pearl, our Foundation be not Stubble; if the Doctrine we teach be full of Comfort and Conſolation, the Ground whereupon we gather it be ſure; otherwiſe we ſhall not ſave, but deceive both our ſelves and others. In this we know we are not deceived, neither can we deceive you, when we teach that the Faith whereby ye are ſanctified cannot fail; it did not in the Prophet, it ſhall not in you. If it be ſo, let the difference be ſhewed between the condition of Unbelievers and his in this or in the like imbecillity and weakneſs. There was in *Habbakkuk* that which St. *John* doth call the *ſeed of God*, meaning thereby the *firſt Grace* which God poureth into the hearts of them that are incorporated into Chriſt; which having received, if, becauſe it is an adverſary to Sin, we do therefore think we ſin not both otherwiſe, and alſo by diſtruſtful and doubtful apprehending of what which we ought ſtedfaſtly to believe, ſurely we do but deceive our ſelves. Yet they which are of God do not ſin either in this, or in any thing, any ſuch ſin as doth quite extinguiſh Grace, clean cut them off from Chriſt Jeſus : becauſe the *ſeed of God abideth* in them, and doth ſhield them from receiving any irremediable wound. Their Faith, when it is at ſtrongeſt, is but weak; yet even then, when it is at the weakeſt, ſo ſtrong, that utterly it never faileth, it never periſheth altogether, no not in them who think it extinguiſhed in themſelves. There are, for whoſe ſakes I dare not deal ſlightly in this Cauſe, ſparing that labour which muſt be beſtowed to make it plain. Men in like agonies unto this of the Prophet *Habbakkuk*'s are through the extremity of Grief many times in judgment ſo confounded, that they find not themſelves in themſelves. For that which dwelleth in their hearts they ſeek, they make diligent ſearch and inquiry. It abideth, it worketh in them, yet ſtill they ask, where? Still they lament as for a thing which is paſt finding: they mourn as *Rachel*, and refuſe to be comforted, as if that were not, which indeed is; and as if that, which is not, were; as if they did not believe when they do; and, as if they did deſpair when they do not. Which in ſome, I grant, is but a melancholy paſſion, proceeding only from that dejection of mind, the cauſe whereof is in the Body, and by bodily means can be taken away. But where there is no ſuch bodily cauſe, the mind is not lightly in this mood, but by ſome of theſe three occaſions : One, that judging by compariſon either with other men, or with themſelves at ſome other time more ſtrong, they think imperfection to be a plain deprivation, weakneſs to be utter want of Faith. Another cauſe is, they often miſtake one thing for another. St. *Paul* wiſhing well to the Church of *Rome*, prayeth for them after this ſort, *The God of Hope fill you with all joy of Believing.* Hence an Error groweth, when men in heavineſs of Spirit ſuppoſe they lack Faith, becauſe they find not the ſugred joy and delight which indeed doth accompany Faith, but ſo as a ſeparable accident, as a thing that may be removed from it; yea, there is a cauſe why it ſhould be removed. The light would never be ſo acceptable, were it not for that uſual intercourſe of darkneſs. Too much honey doth turn to gall, and too much joy, even ſpiritual, would make us wantons. Happier a great deal is that man's caſe, whoſe ſoul by inward deſolation is humbled, than he whoſe heart is through abundance of ſpiritual delight lifted up and exalted above meaſure. Better it is ſometimes to go down into the Pit with him, who beholding darkneſs, and bewailing the loſs of inward joy and conſolation, cryeth from the bottom of the loweſt Hell, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me*? than continually to walk arm in arm with Angels, to ſit as it were in *Abraham*'s boſom, and to have no thought, no Cogitation, but *I thank my God it is not with me as it is with other men.* No, God will have them that ſhall walk in light to feel now and then what it is to ſit in the ſhadow of Death. A grieved ſpirit therefore is no argument of a faithleſs mind. A third occaſion of men's miſ-judging themſelves, as if they were faithleſs when they are not, is, They faſten their Cogitations upon the diſtruſtful ſuggeſtions of the fleſh, whereof finding great abundance in themſelves, they gather thereby, ſurely Unbelief hath full dominion, it hath taken plenary poſſeſſion of me; if I were faithful it could not be thus.

Not marking the motions of the Spirit and of Faith, becauſe they lie buried and overwhelmed with the contrary: when notwithſtanding, as the bleſſed Apoſtle doth ackowledge, that the *Spirit groaneth*, and that God heareth when we do not; ſo there is no doubt but that our Faith may have, and hath her private operations ſecret to us, yet known to him by whom they are. Tell this to a man that hath a mind deceived by too hard an opinion of himſelf, and it doth but augment his grief: he hath his anſwer ready, Will you make me think otherwiſe than I find, than I feel in my ſelf? I have truly conſidered, and exquiſitely ſifted all the corners of my heart, and I ſee what there is; never ſeek to perſwade me againſt my knowledge, *I do not, I know I do not believe.* Well, to favour them a little in their weakneſs, let that be granted which they do imagine, be it that they be faithleſs and without belief. But are they not grieved for their unbelief? They are. Do they not with it might, and alſo ſtrive that it may be otherwiſe? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a ſecret love and liking which they have of thoſe things that are believed? No man can love things which in his own opinion are not. And if they think thoſe things to be, which they ſhew that they love, when they deſire to believe them; then muſt it needs be, that by deſiring to believe they prove themſelves true Believers: For without Faith no man thinketh that things believed are. Which argument all the ſubtilty of infernal powers will never be able to diſſolve. The faith therefore of true Believers, though it hath many and grievous downfalls, yet doth it ſtill continue invincible; it conquereth and recovereth it ſelf in the end. The dangerous conflicts whereunto it is ſubject are not able to prevail againſt it. The Prophet *Habbakkuk* remained faithful in weakneſs, though weak in Faith. It is true, ſuch is our weak and wavering nature, we have no ſooner received Grace, but we are ready to fall from it: we have no ſooner given our aſſent to the Law that it cannot fail, but the next conceit which we are ready to embrace is, that it may, and that is doth fail. Though we find in our ſelves a moſt willing heart to cleave unſeparably unto God, even ſo far as to think unfeignedly with *Peter*, *Lord, I am ready to go with thee into priſon and to death*: yet how ſoon and how eaſily upon how ſmall occaſions are we changed, if we be but a while let alone, and left unto our ſelves? The *Galatians* to day, for their ſakes which teach them the truth of Chriſt, are content, if need were to pluck out their own eyes, and the next day ready to pluck out theirs which taught them. The love of the Angel of the Church of *Epheſus*, how greatly enflamed, and how quickly ſlacked? the higher we flow, the nearer we are unto an ebb, if men be reſpected as mere men, according to the wonted courſe of their alterable inclination, without the heavenly ſupport of the Spirit. Again, the deſire of our ghoſtly enemy is ſo incredible, and his means ſo forcible to overthrow our Faith, that whom the bleſſed Apoſtle knew betrothed and made hand-faſt unto Chriſt, to them he could not write but with great trembling, *I am jealous over you with a godly jealouſie, for I have prepared you to one Husband, to preſent you a pure Virgin unto Chriſt: but I fear, leſt as the Serpent beguiled* Eve *through his ſubtilty, ſo your minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicity which is in Chriſt.* The ſimplicity of Faith which is in Chriſt, taketh the naked promiſe of God, his bare word, and on that it reſteth. This ſimplicity the Serpent laboureth continually to pervert, corrupting the mind with many imaginations of repugnancy and contrariety between the promiſe of God and thoſe things which ſence or experience, or ſome other fore-conceived perſwaſion hath imprinted. The word of the promiſe of God unto his People is, *I will not leave thee nor forſake thee*: upon this the ſimplicity of Faith reſteth, and is not afraid of famin. But mark how the ſubtilty of Satan did corrupt the minds of that rebellious Generation, whoſe Spirits were not faithful unto God. They beheld the deſolate ſtate of the deſart in which they were, and by the wiſdom of their ſenſe concluded the promiſe of God to be but folly: *Can God prepare a Table in the Wilderneſs?* The word of the promiſe to *Sarah*, was, *Thou ſhalt bear a Son.* Faith is ſimple, and doubteth not of it: but Satan, to corrupt this ſimplicity of Faith, entangleth the mind of the Woman with an argument drawn from common experience to the contrary: *A Woman that is old*: Sarah *now to be acquainted again with forgotten paſſions of youth*! The word of the promiſe of God by *Moſes* and the Prophets made the Saviour of the World ſo apparent unto *Philip*, that his ſimplicity could conceive no other Meſſias than *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* the Son of *Joſeph*. But to ſtay *Nathaniel*, leaſt being invited to come to ſee, he ſhould alſo believe, and ſo be ſaved, the ſubtilty of *Satan* caſteth a miſt before his eyes, putteth in his head againſt this the common conceived perſwaſion of all men concerning *Nazareth*, *Is it poſſible that any good thing ſhould come from thence?* This ſtratagem he doth uſe with ſo great dexterity, that the minds of all men are ſo ſtrangely bewitched with it, that it bereaveth them for the time of all perceivance of that which ſhould relieve them and be their comfort; yea, it taketh all remembrance from them, even of things wherewith they are moſt familiarly acquainted. The people of *Iſrael* could not be ignorant, that he which led them through the Sea was able to feed them in the Deſert: but this was obliterated, and put out by the ſenſe of their preſent want. Feeling the hand of God againſt them in their Food, they remember not his hand in the day that he delivered them from the hand of the Oppreſſor. *Sarah* was not then to learn, That *with God all things were poſſible*. Had *Nathaniel* never noted how *God doth chuſe the baſe things of this World to diſgrace them that are moſt honourably eſteemed*? The Prophet *Habakkuk* knew that the promiſes of Grace, protection and favour which God in the Law doth make unto his people, do not grant them any ſuch immunity as can free and exempt

exempt them from all chaſtiſements: he knew that, as God ſaid, *I will continue for ever my mercy towards them*; ſo he likewiſe ſaid, *Their tranſgreſſions I will puniſh with a rod*: he knew that it could not ſtand with any reaſon we ſhould ſet the meaſure of our own puniſhments, and preſcribe unto God how great, or how long our ſufferings ſhall be: he knew that we were blind, and altogether ignorant what is beſt for us; that we ſue for many things very unwiſely againſt our ſelves, thinking we ask Fiſh, when indeed we crave a Serpent: he knew that when the thing we ask is good, and yet God ſeemeth ſlow to grant it, he doth not deny but defer our Petitions, to the end we might learn to deſire great things greatly: all this he knew. But beholding the Land which God hath ſevered for his own people, and ſeeing it abandoned unto Heathen Nations; viewing how reproachfully they did tread it down, and wholly make havock of it at their pleaſure; beholding the Lord's own Royal Seat made an heap of ſtones, his Temple defiled, the carkaſſes of his Servants caſt out for the fowls of the air to devour, and the fleſh of his meek ones for the beaſts of the fields to feed upon; being conſcious to himſelf how long and how earneſtly he had cryed, *Succour us, O God of our well-fare, for the glory of thine own Name*; and feeling that their ſore was ſtill encreaſed; the conceit of repugnancy between this which was objected to his eyes, and that which Faith upon promiſe of the Law did look for, made ſo deep an impreſſion, and ſo ſtrong, that he diſputeth not the matter, but without any further inquiry or ſearch, inferreth as we ſee, *The Law doth fail.*

Of us, who is here, which cannot very ſoberly adviſe his Brother? Sir, you muſt learn to ſtrengthen your Faith by that experience which heretofore you have had of God's great goodneſs towards you, *Per ea quæ agnoſcas præſtita, diſcas ſperare promiſſa*, By thoſe things which you have known performed, learn to hope for thoſe things which are promiſed. Do you acknowledge to have received much? Let that make you certain to receive more: *Habenti dabitur, To him that hath, more ſhall be given.* When you doubt what you ſhall have, ſearch what you have had at God's hands. Make this reckoning, that the benefits which he hath beſtowed are Bills obligatory, and ſufficient Securities, that he will beſtow further. His preſent mercy is ſtill a warrant of his future love, becauſe *whom he loveth, he loveth to the end*. Is it not thus? Yet if we could reckon up as many evident, clear, undoubted ſigns of God's reconciled love towards us, as there are years, yea days, yea hours paſt over our heads; all theſe ſet together have no ſuch force to confirm our Faith, as the loſs, and ſometimes the only fear of loſing a little tranſitory goods, credit, honour, or favour of men, a ſmall calamity, a matter of nothing, to breed a conceit, and ſuch a conceit as is not eaſily again removed; that we are clean croſt out of God's Book, that he regards us not, that he looketh upon others, but paſſeth by us like a Stranger, to whom we are not known. Then we think, looking upon others, and comparing them with our ſelves, their Tables are furniſhed day by day; earth and aſhes are our bread: they ſing to the Lute, and they ſee their Children dance before them; our hearts are heavy in our bodies as lead, our ſighs beat as thick as a ſwift Pulſe, our tears do waſh the beds wherein we lye: the Sun ſhineth fair upon their foreheads; we are hanged up like Botles in the ſmoak, caſt into corners like the ſherds of a broken Pot: tell not us of the promiſes of God's favour, tell ſuch as do reap the fruit of them; they belong not to us, they are made to others. The Lord be merciful to our weakneſs, but thus it is. Well let the frailty of our Nature, the ſubtility of Satan, the force of our deceivable imaginations be, as we cannot deny but they are, things that threaten every moment the utter ſubverſion of our Faith; Faith notwithſtanding is not hazarded by theſe things. That which one ſometimes told the Senators of *Rome*, *Ego ſic exiſtimabam*, P. C. *uti patrem ſæpe meum prædicantem audiveram, Qui veſtram amicitiam diligenter colorent, eos multum laborem ſuſcipere, cæterum ex omnibus maxime tutos eſſe*, As I have often heard my Father acknowledge, ſo I my ſelf did ever think, that the friends and favourers of this State charged themſelves with great labour, but no man's condition ſo ſafe as theirs; the ſame we may ſay a great deal more juſtly in this caſe: Our Fathers and Prophets, our Lord and Maſter hath full often ſpoken, by long experience we have found it true, as many as have entred their names in the myſtical Book of Life, *eos maximum laborem ſuſcipere*, they have taken upon them a labourſome, a toylſome, a painful profeſſion, *ſed omnium maximè tutos eſſe*, but no man's ſecurity like to theirs. *Simon, Simon, Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat*; Here is our toyl: *but I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith fail not*, this is our ſafety. No man's condition ſo ſure as ours: the Prayer of Chriſt is more than ſufficient both to ſtrengthen us, be we never ſo weak; and to overthrow all adverſary power, be it never ſo ſtrong and potent. His Prayer muſt not exclude our labour: their thoughts are vain, who think that their watching can preſerve the City, which God himſelf is not willing to keep. And are not theirs as vain, who think that God will keep the City, for which they themſelves are not careful to watch? The Husband-man may not therefore burn his Plough, nor the Merchant forſake his Trade, becauſe God hath promiſed *I will not forſake thee.* And do the promiſes of God concerning our ſtability, think you, make it a mater indifferent for us to uſe, or not to uſe the means whereby to attend, or not to attend to reading? to pray, or not to pray, that we fall not into temptations? Surely, if we look to ſtand in the faith of the Sons of God, we muſt hourly, continually be providing and ſetting our ſelves to ſtrive. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Saviour in ſaying, *Father keep them in thy name*, that we ſhould be careleſs to keep our ſelves. To our own ſafety, our own ſedulity is required.

And then bleſſed for ever and ever be that Mother's Child, whoſe Faith hath made him the Child of God. The Earth may ſhake, the Pillars of the World may tremble under us; the countenance of the Heaven may be appaled, the Sun may loſe his light, the Moon her beauty, the Stars their glory: but concerning the man that truſteth in God, if the fire have proclaimed it ſelf unable as much as to ſinge a hair of his head; if Lyons, Beaſts ravenous by nature, and keen with hunger, being ſet to devour, have as it were religiouſly adored the very fleſh of the Faithful man; what is there in the World that ſhall change his Heart, overthrow his Faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who ſhall make a ſeparation between me and my God? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword? No; I am perſwaded, that neither tribulation, nor anguiſh, nor perſecution, nor famine, nor nakedneſs, nor peril, nor ſword, nor death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other Creature ſhall ever prevail ſo far over me. I know in whom I have believed; I am not ignorant whoſe precious blood hath been ſhed for me; I have a Shepherd full of kindneſs, full of care, and full of power, unto him I commit my ſelf; his own finger hath engraven this ſentence in the Tables of my heart, *Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed that thy Faith fail not*: Therefore the aſſurance of my hope I will labour to keep as a Jewel unto the end, and by labour, through the gracious mediation of his prayer, I ſhall keep it.

To the Worſhipful Mr. GEORGE SUMMASTER, Principal of *Broad-Gates-Hall* in *Oxford*, *Henry Jackſon* wiſheth all Happineſs.

SIR,

Y*Our kind acceptance of a former teſtification of that reſpect I owe you, hath made me venture to ſhew the World theſe godly Sermons under your name. In which, as every point is worthy obſervation, ſo ſome eſpecially are to be noted; The Firſt, that as the Spirit of Propheſie is from God himſelf, who doth inwardly heat and enlighten the hearts and minds of his holy Pen-men,* (*which if ſome would diligently conſider, they would not puzzle themſelves with the contentions of* Scot, *and* Thomas, Whether God only, or his miniſtring Spirits, do infuſe into mens minds propetical Revelations *per ſpecies intelligibles*) *ſo God framed their words alſo. Whence the holy Father St.* Auguſtine *religiouſly obſerveth; That all thoſe who underſtood the Sacred Writers, will alſo perceive, that they ought not to uſe other words than they did, in expreſſing thoſe heavenly Miſteries which their hearts* conceived, *as the* bleſſed Virgin *did our Saviour,* by the Holy Ghoſt. *The greater is* Caſtellio *his offence, who hath laboured to teach the Prophets to ſpeak otherwiſe than they have already. Much like to that impious King of* Spain, Alphonſus *the tenth, who found fault with God's Works*: Si, *inquit*, Creationi affuiſſem, Mundum melius ordinaſſem, *If he had been with God at the Creation of the World, the World had gone better than now it doth. As this man found fault with God's works, ſo did the other with God's words; but, becauſe we have a* moſt ſure word of the Prophets, *to which we muſt take* heed, *I will let his words paſs with the wind, having elſewhere ſpoken to you more largely of his Errors, whom notwithſtanding for his other excellent parts, I muſt reſpect.*

Lib. 4. cap. 6. de doct. Chr.

Rob. Tolet. l. 4. c. 5.

2. Pet. 1.

Præf. in Orat. D. Rainold.

You ſhall moreover from hence underſtand, how Chriſtianity conſiſts not in formal and ſeeming purity (under which who knows not notorious Villany to mask?) but in the heart root. Whence the Authour truly teacheth, That Mockers, which uſe Religion as a Cloak, to put off and on as the weather ſerveth, are worſe than Pagans and Infidels. Where I cannot omit to ſhew how juſtly this kind of men hath been reproved by that renowned Martyr of Jeſus Chriſt, B. Latimer, *both becauſe it will be oppoſite to this purpoſe, and alſo free that Chriſtian Worthy from the ſlanderous reproaches of him, who was, if euer any, a Mocker of God, Religion, and all good men. But firſt I muſt deſire you, and in you all Readers, not to think lightly of that excellent man for uſing this and the like witty ſimilitudes in his Sermons. For whoſoever will call to mind with what riff raff God's people were fed in thoſe days, when their Prieſts, whoſe* lips ſhould have preſerved Knowledge, *preached nothing elſe but dreams and falſe miracles of counterfeit Saints, enrolled in that ſottiſh Legend, coyned and amplified by a drouſy head between ſleeping and waking. He that will conſider this, and alſo how the people were delighted with ſuch toys (God ſending them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe lyes) and how hard it would have been for any man, wholly, and upon the ſudden, to draw their minds to another bent, will eaſily perceive, both how neceſſary it was to uſe Symbolical Diſcourſe, and how wiſely and moderately*

Parſons in 3. converſ.

Mal. 2. 7.

Canus locor. l. 11. c. 6. Dives, lib. 2. de corrupt. art.

Hard. lib. 4.

rately it was applied by that religious Father, to the end he might lead their underſtanding ſo far, till it were ſo convinced, informed, and ſettled, that it might forget the means and way by which it was led, and think only of that it had acquired. For in all ſuch myſtical ſpeeches who knows not that the end for which they are uſed is only to be thought upon?

This then being firſt conſidered, let us hear the ſtory, as it is related by Mr. Fox: *Mr.* Latimer *(ſaith he) in his Sermon gave the People certain Cards out of the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh Chapters of* Matthew. *For the chief Triumph in the Cards he limited the Heart, as the principal thing that they ſhould ſerve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external Ceremonies, not tending to the neceſſary furtherance of God's holy Word, and Sacraments.* By this *he exhorted all men to ſerve the* Lord *with inward heart, and true affection, and not with outward Ceremonies; adding moreover to the praiſe of that Triumph, that though it were never ſo ſmall, yet it would take up the beſt Coat-card beſide in the Bunch, yea though it were the King of Clubs,* &c. *meaning thereby, how the* Lord *would be worſhipped and ſerved in ſimplicity of the heart, and verity, wherein conſiſteth the true Chriſtian Religion,* &c. Thus Maſter *Fox.*

By which it appears, that the holy man's intention was to lift up the peoples hearts to God, and not that he made a Sermon of playing at Cards, and taught them how to play at Triumph and plaid (himſelf) at Cards in the Pulpit, as that baſe companion (a) Parſons *reports the matter in his wonted ſcurrilous vein of railing, whence he calleth it a* (b) Chriſtmas Sermon. *Now he that will think ill of ſuch Alluſions, may, out of the abundance of his folly, jeſt at* Demoſthenes *for his ſtory of the* (c) *Sheep, Wolves, and Doggs; and* (d) Menenius, *for his fiction of the Belly. But,* hinc illæ lacrymæ, *the good Biſhop meant that the Romiſh Religion came not from the heart, but conſiſted in outward Ceremonies: Which ſorely grieved* Parſons, *who never had the leaſt warmth or ſpark of honeſty. Whether* B. Latimer *compared the Biſhops to the* Knave of Clubs, *as the fellow interprets him, I know not: I am ſure* Parſons, *of all others, deſerved thoſe colours; and ſo I leave him. We ſee then, what inward purity is required of all Chriſtians, which if they have, then in Prayer, and all other Chriſtian duties, they ſhall lift up pure hands, as the* (e) *Apoſtle ſpeaks, not as* (f) Baronius *would have it, waſhed from ſins with holy water; but pure, that is, holy, free from the pollution of ſin, as the Greek word* ὁσίους *does ſignifie.*

You may alſo ſee here refuted thoſe Calumnies of the Papiſts, that we abandon all religious Rites, and godly duties; as alſo the confirmation of our Doctrine touching certainty of Faith (and ſo of Salvation) which is ſo ſtrongly denied by ſome of that Faction, that they have told the world, (g) S. *Paul* himſelf was uncertain of his own ſalvation. *What then ſhall we ſay, but pronounce a woe to the moſt ſtrict obſervers of St.* Francis *rules, and his Canonical Diſcipline (though they make him even* (h) *equal with Chriſt) and the moſt meritorious Monk that ever was regiſtred in their Kalender of Saints? But we, for our comfort, are otherwiſe taught out of the holy Scripture, and therefore exhorted to build our ſelves in our moſt* holy Faith, *that ſo,* when (i) our earthly houſe of this Tabernacle *ſhall be* deſtroyed, *we may have a* Building given of God, a houſe not made with hands, but eternal in the Heavens.

a In the third part of the 3 converſions of *England*: in the examination of *Foxes* Saints, c. 14. ſect. 53, 54. p. 215.

b Sect. 55.

c Plut. in Demoſthen.

d Liv. Dec. 1. l. 2. an. V.C. 60.

e 1 Tim. 2. 8.

f Annal. tom. 1. An. 57. n. 109, 110. & tom. 2. An. 132. num. 5.

g S. Paulus de ſua ſalute incertus *Kicheom* Jeſuit. l. 2. c. 12. Idolat. Huguen. p. 119. in marg. edit. Lat. Mogunt. 113. interpret. Marcel. Bomper. Jeſuta.

h Witneſs the Verſes of *Horatius* a Jeſuite, recited by *Poſſe. Biblioth.* Select. part. 2. l. 17. c. 19. Exue Franciſcum tunicâ laceroque cucullo, Qui Franciſcus erat, jam tibi Chriſtus erit. Franciſci exuviis (ſi quâ licet) indue Chriſtum: Jam Franciſcus erit, qui modo Chriſtus erat. The like hath *Bencius* another Jeſuite.

i 2 Cor. 5. 1.

This is that which is moſt piouſly and feelingly taught in theſe few leaves, ſo that you ſhall read nothing here, but what I perſwade my ſelf you have long practiſed in the conſtant courſe of your life. It remaineth only that you accept of theſe Labours *tendred to you by him, who wiſheth you the long joys of this world, and the eternal of that which is to come.*

Oxon from *Corp. Chriſti Colledge,*
this 13. of *January,* 1613.

TWO
SERMONS
Upon Part of
Saint Jude's Epiſtle.

The Firſt Sermon.

Epiſt. JUDE. verſ. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

How that they told you, that there ſhould be Mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walk after their own ungodly luſts.

Theſe are makers of Sects, fleſhly, having not the Spirit.

But ye, beloved, edifie your ſelves in your moſt holy Faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt.

And keep your ſelves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.

THE occaſion whereupon, together with the end wherefore, this Epiſtle was written, is opened in the front and entry of the ſame. There were then, as there are now, many evil and wickedly diſpoſed Perſons, not of the Myſtical Body, yet within the viſible bounds of the Church, men which were of old ordained to condemnation, ungodly men, which turned the grace of our God into wantonneſs, and denied the Lord Jeſus. For this cauſe the Spirit of the Lord is in the hand of *Jude*, the Servant of *Jeſus*, and brother of *James*, to exhort them that are called, and ſanctified of God the Father, that they would earneſtly contend to maintain the Faith, which was once delivered unto the Saints. Which Faith, becauſe we cannot maintain, except we know perfectly, firſt, againſt whom; ſecondly, in what ſort it muſt be maintained; therefore in the former three verſes of that parcel of Scripture which I have read, the Enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt are plainly deſcribed; and in the latter two, they that love the Lord Jeſus have a ſweet Leſſon given them, how to ſtrengthen and ſtabliſh themſelves in the Faith. Let us firſt therefore examine the deſcription of theſe Reprobates concerning Faith; and afterwards come to the words of the Exhortation, wherein Chriſtians are taught how to reſt their hearts on God's eternal and everlaſting Truth. The deſcription of theſe godleſs perſons is twofold, *general* and *ſpecial*. The *general* doth point them out, and ſhew what manner of men they ſhould be. The *particular* pointeth at them, and ſaith plainly, Theſe are they. In the *general* deſcription, we have to conſider of theſe things; *Firſt*, when they were deſcribed, *They were told of before*. *Secondly*, The men by whom they were deſcribed, *They were ſpoken of by the Apoſtles of our* **Lord** *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Thirdly*, the days when they ſhould be manifeſted unto the World, they told you, *They ſhould be in the laſt time*. *Fourthly*, their diſpoſition and whole demeanour, *Mockers*, and *Walkers after ther their ungodly luſts*.

2. In the third to the *Philippians*, the Apoſtle deſcribeth certain; *They are men* (ſaith he) *of whom I told you often, and now with tears I tell you of them, their God is their belly, their glory and rejoycing is in their own ſhame, they mind earthly things.*

Theſe were Enemies of the Croſs of Chriſt, Enemies whom he ſaw, and his eyes guſht out with tears to behold them. But we are taught in this place, how the Apoſtle ſpake alſo of Enemies, whom as yet they had not ſeen, deſcribed a family of men as yet unheard of, a generation reſerved for the end of the World, and for the laſt time; the had not only declared what they heard and ſaw in the days wherein they lived, but they have propheſied alſo of men in time to come. And *you do well* (ſaith St. *Peter*) *in that you take* *heed to the words of Propheſie, ſo that ye firſt know this, that no Propheſie in the Scripture cometh of any man's own reſolution.* No Propheſie in Scripture cometh of any man's own reſolution; For all Propheſie which is in Scripture, came by the ſecret inſpiration of God. But there are Propheſies which are no Scripture; yea, there are Propheſies againſt the Scripture: My brethren, beware of ſuch Propheſies, and take heed you heed them not. Remember the things that were ſpoken of before; but ſpoken of before by the Apoſtles of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. Take heed to Propheſies, but to Propheſies which are in Scripture; for both the manner and matter of thoſe Propheſies doth ſhew plainly, that they are of God.

Of the Spirit of Propheſie received from God himſelf.

3. Touching the manner how men by the Spirit of Propheſie in holy Scripture, have ſpoken and written of things to come, we muſt underſtand, that as the knowledge of that they ſpake, ſo likewiſe the utterance of that they knew, came not by theſe uſual and ordinary means, whereby we are brought to underſtand the myſteries of our Salvation, and are wont to inſtruct others in the ſame. For whatſoever we know, we have it by the hands and miniſtry of men, which lead us along like Children, from a letter to a ſyllable, from a ſyllable to a word, from a word to a line, from a line to a ſentence, from a ſentence to a ſide, and ſo turn over. But God himſelf was their Inſtructor, he himſelf taught them, partly by Dreams and Viſions in the Night, partly by Revelations in the Day, taking them aſide from amongſt their Brethren, and talking with them, as a man would talk with his Neighbour in the way. Thus they became acquainted even with the ſecret and hidden Counſels of God, they ſaw things, which themſelves were not able to utter, they beheld that whereat Men and Angels are aſtoniſhed, they underſtood in the beginning, what ſhould come to paſs in the laſt days.

Of the Prophets manner of ſpeech.

4. God, which lightned thus the eyes of their underſtanding, giving them knowledge by unuſual and extraordinary means, did alſo miraculouſly himſelf frame and faſhion their Words and Writings, inſomuch that a greater difference there ſeemeth not to be between the manner of their knowledge, than there is between the manner of their ſpeech and ours. When we have conceived a thing in our hearts, and throughly underſtand it, as we think, within our ſelves, e're we can utter in ſuch ſort, that our Brethren may receive inſtruction or comfort at our mouths, how great, how long, how earneſt meditation are we forced to uſe? And after much travel and much pains, when we open our lips to ſpeak of the wonderful works of God, our tongues do faulter within our mouths, yea many times we diſgrace the dreadful myſteries of our Faith, and grieve the ſpirit of our Hearers by words unſavoury and unſeemly Speeches: *Shall a Wiſe-man fill his Belly with the Eaſtern wind,* ſaith *Eliphaz? ſhall a Wiſe-man diſpute with words not comely? or with talk that is not profitable?* Yet behold, even they that are wiſeſt amongſt us living, compared with the Prophets, ſeem no otherwiſe to talk of God, than as if the Children which are carried in arms ſhould ſpeak of the greateſt matters of State. They whoſe words do moſt ſhew forth their wiſe underſtanding, and whoſe lips do utter the pureſt knowledge, ſo long as they underſtand and ſpeak as men, are they not fain ſundry ways to excuſe themſelves? Sometimes acknowledging with the Wiſe-man *Hardly can we diſcern the things that are on earth, and with great labour find we out the things that are before us. Who can then ſeek out the things that are in Heaven?* Sometimes confeſſing with *Job* the righteous, in treating of things too wonderful for us, we have ſpoken we wiſt not what. Sometimes ending their talk, as doth the Hiſtory of *Macchabes*; If we have done well, and as the Cauſe required, it is that we deſire; if we have ſpoken ſlenderly and barely, we have done what we could. But *God hath made my mouth like a ſword,* ſaith *Iſaiah.* And *we have received,* ſaith the Apoſtle, *not the ſpirit of the World, but the ſpirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are given to us of God, which things alſo we ſpeak, not in words which man's wiſdom teacheth, but which the Holy God doth teach.* This is that which the Prophets mean by thoſe Books written full within and without; which Books were ſo often delivered them to eat, not becauſe God fed them with Ink and Paper, but to teach us, that ſo often as he imployed them in his heavenly Work, they neither ſpake nor wrote any word of their own, but uttered ſyllable by ſyllable as the Spirit put it into their mouths, no otherwiſe than the Harp or the Lute doth give a ſound according to the diſcretion of his hands that holdeth and ſtricketh it with skill. The difference is only this: An Inſtrument, whether it be a Pipe or Harp, maketh a diſtinction in the times and ſounds, which diſtinction is well perceived of the Hearer, the Inſtrument it ſelf underſtanding not what is piped or harped. The Prophets and holy men of God, not ſo: *I opened my mouth,* ſaith *Ezekiel,* and *God reached me a ſcroll, ſaying, Son of man, cauſe thy Belly to eat, and fill thy Bowels with this I give thee; I eat it, and it was ſweet in my month as honey,* ſaith the Prophet; yea ſweeter, I am perſwaded, than either honey or the honey comb. For herein they were not like Harps or Lutes, but they felt, they felt the power and ſtrength of their own words. When they ſpake of our peace, every corner of their hearts was filled with joy. When they propheſied of mournings, lamentations, and woes to fall upon us, they wept in the bitterneſs, and indignation of Spirit, the arm of the Lord being mighty and ſtrong upon them.

Job. 15. 2, 3.

Wiſd. 2. 16.

Eſa. 47. 2.

Ezekiel 3.

5. On this manner were all the Propheſies of holy Scripture. Which Propheſies although they contain nothing which is not profitable for our inſtruction; yet as one Star differeth from another in glory, ſo every word of Propheſie hath a treaſure of matter

in it: but all matters are not of like importance; as all Treaſures are not of equal price; The chief and principal matter of Propheſie is the promiſe of Righteouſneſs, Peace, Holineſs, Glory, Victory, Immortality, unto every Soul which believeth that Jeſus is Chriſt, of the *Jew* firſt, and of the *Gentile*. Now becauſe the Doctrine of Salvation to be looked for by Faith in him, who was in outward appearance as it had been a man forſaken of God; in him who was numbred, judged, and condemned with the wicked; in him whom men did ſee buffeted on the face, ſcofft at by Soldiers, ſcourged by Tormentors, hanged on the Croſs, pierced to the Heart; in him whom the eyes of many Witneſſes did behold, when the anguiſh of his Soul enforced him to roar, as if his heart had rent in ſunder; *O my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* I ſay, becauſe the Doctrine of Salvation by him is a thing improbable to a natural man, that whether we preach to the Gentile, or to the Jew, the one condemneth our Faith as madneſs, the other as Blaſphemy; therefore to eſtabliſh and confirm the certainty of this ſaving Truth in the hearts of men, the Lord, together with their preachings, whom he ſent immediately from himſelf to reveal theſe things unto the World, mingled Propheſies of things, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, which were to come in every Age from time to time, till the very laſt of the latter days, that by thoſe things, wherein we ſee daily their words fulfilled and done, we might have ſtrong conſolation in the hope of things which are not ſeen, becauſe they have revealed as well the one as the other. For when many things are ſpoken of before in Scripture, whereof we ſee firſt one thing accompliſhed, and then another, and ſo a third, perceive we not plainly, that God doth nothing elſe but lead us along by the hand, till he have ſettled us upon the rock of an aſſured hope, that not one jot or title of his Word ſhall paſs, till all be fulfilled? It is not therefore ſaid in vain, that theſe godleſs wicked ones *were ſpoken of before*.

6. But by whom? By them whoſe words, if Men or Angels from Heaven gainſay, they are accurſed; by them, whom whoſoever deſpiſeth, deſpiſeth not them, but me, ſaith Chriſt, If any man therefore doth love the Lord Jeſus (and wo worth him that loveth not the Lord Jeſus!) hereby we may know that he loveth him indeed, if he deſpiſeth not the things that are ſpoken of by his Apoſtles; whom many have deſpiſed even for the baſeneſs and ſimpleneſs of their perſons. For it is the property of fleſhly and carnal men to honour and diſhonour, credit and diſcredit the words and deeds of every man, according to that he wanteth or hath without. If a man with gorgeous apparel come amongſt us, although he be a Thief or a Murtherer (for there are Thieves and Murtherers in grogeous apparel) be his heart whatſoever, if his Coat be of Purple, or Velvet, or Tiſſue, every one riſeth up, and all the reverend Solemnities we can uſe are too little. But the man that ſerveth God is contemned and deſpiſed amongſt us for his Poverty. *Herod* ſpeaketh in judgment, and the people cry out, *The voice of God, and not of man.* *Paul* preacheth Chriſt, they term him a Trifler. Hearken beloved, hath not God choſen the poor of this world, that they ſhould be rich in Faith? Hath he not choſen the Refuſe of the world to be Heirs of his Kingdom, which he hath promiſed to them that love him? Hath he not choſen the Off-ſcourings of Men to be the Lights of the world, and the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Men unlearned, yet how fully repleniſhed with underſtanding? Few in number, yet how great in power? Contemptible in ſhew, yet in Spirit how ſtrong? how wonderful? *I would fain learn the myſtery of the eternal generation of the Son of God*, ſaith *Hilary*; Whom ſhall I ſeek? Shall I get me to the Schools of the *Grecians*? Why, I have read, *Ubi Sapiens? ubi Scriba? ubi Conquiſitor hujus ſæculi?* Theſe Wiſe-men in the World muſt needs be dumb in this, becauſe they have rejected the wiſdom of God. Shall I beſeech the Scribes and Interpreters of the Law to become my Teachers? How can they know this, ſith they are offended at the Croſs of Chriſt? It is death for me to be ignorant of the unſearchable myſtery of the Son of God; of which myſtery notwithſtanding I ſhould have been ignorant, but that a poor fiſher-man, unkown, unlearned, new come from his Boat, with his Cloaths wringing-wet, hath opened his mouth and taught me, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* Theſe poor ſilly Creatures have made us rich in the knowledge of the myſteries of Chriſt.

A natural man perceiveth not heavenly things.

James 2.

Acts 12.

Acts 17.

7. Remember therefore that which is ſpoken of by the Apoſtles; whoſe words if the Children of this world do not regard, is it any marvel? They are the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus; not of their Lord, but of ours. It is true which one hath ſaid in a certain place, *Apoſtolicam fidem ſeculi homo non capit*, A man ſworn to the world is not capable of that Faith which the Apoſtles do teach. What mean the Children of this world then to tread in the Courts of our God? What ſhould your Bodies do at *Bethel*, whoſe hearts are at *Bethaven*? The god of this world whom you ſerve, hath provided Apoſtles and Teachers for you, *Chaldeans*, *Wizards*, *Sooth-ſayers*, *Aſtrologers*, and ſuch like; Hear them. Tell not us that you will ſacrifice to the Lord our God, if we will ſacrifice to *Aſhtaroth* or *Melcom*; that ye will read our Scriptures, if we will liſten to your Traditions; that if ye may have a Maſs by permiſſion, we ſhall have a Communion with good leave and liking: that ye will admit the things that are ſpoken of by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus, if your Lord and Maſter may have his Ordinances obſerved, and his Statutes kept. *Solomon* took it (as he well might) for an evident proof, that ſhe did not bear a motherly affection to her Child, which yielded to have it cut in divers parts. He cannot love the Lord Jeſus with his heart, which lendeth one ear to his Apoſtles, and another to falſe Apoſtles; which can brook

We muſt not halt between two opinions.

brook to ſee a mingle-mangle of Religion and Superſtition, Miniſters and Maſſing-Prieſts, Light and Darkneſs, Truth and Error, Traditions and Scriptures. No, we have no Lord but Jeſus; no Doctrine but the Goſpel; no Teachers but the Apoſtles. Were it reaſon to require at the hand of an Engliſh Subject obedience to the Laws and Edicts of the *Spaniards*? I do marvel, that any man bearing the name of a Servant of the Servants of Jeſus Chriſt, will go about to draw us from our Allegiance. We are his ſworn Subjects; it is not lawful for us to hear the things that are not told us by his Apoſtles. They have told us, that in the laſt days there ſhall be Mockers, therefore we believe it; *Credimus quia legimus*, we are ſo perſwaded, becauſe we read it muſt be ſo. If we did not read it we would not teach it: *Nam quæ libro Legis non continentur, ea nec noſſe debemus*, ſaith *Hilary*, Thoſe things that are not written in the Book of the Law, we ought not ſo much as to be acquainted with them. *Remember the words which were ſpoken of before by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

Mockers in the laſt time.

8. The third thing to be conſidered in the deſcription of theſe men, of whom we ſpeak, is the time wherein they ſhould be manifeſted to the world. They told you there ſhould be Mockers in the laſt time. *Noah* at the commandment of God built an Ark, and there were in it Beaſts of all ſorts, clean and unclean. A Husbandman planteth a Vineyard, and looketh for Grapes, but when they come to the gathering, behold, together with Grapes there are found alſo wild Grapes. A rich man prepareth a great Supper, and biddeth many, but when he ſitteth him down, he findeth amongſt his Friends here and there a man whom he knoweth not. This hath been the ſtate of the Church ſithence the beginning, God always hath mingled his Saints with faithleſs and godleſs Perſons, as it were the clean with the unclean, Grapes with ſowre Grapes, his Friends and Children with Aliens and Strangers. Marvel not then, if in the laſt days alſo ye ſee the men, with whom you live and walk arm in arm, laugh at your Religion, and blaſpheme that glorious Name whereof you are called. Thus it was in the days of the Patriarchs and Prophets, and are we better than our Fathers? Albeit we ſuppoſe that the bleſſed Apoſtles, in foreſhewing what manner of men were ſet out for the laſt days, meant to note a calamity ſpecial and peculiar to the Ages and Generations which were to come: As if he ſhould have ſaid, As God hath appointed a time of ſeed for the ſower, and a time of harveſt for him that reapeth; as he hath given unto every Herb and every Tree his own fruit, and his own ſeaſon, not the ſeaſon nor the fruit of another (for no man looketh to gather Figgs in the Winter, becauſe the Summer is the ſeaſon for them; nor Grapes of Thiſtles, becauſe Grapes are the fruit of the Vine:) ſo the ſame God hath appointed ſundry for every Generation of men, other men for other times, and for the laſt times the worſt men, as may appear by their properties, which is the fourth point to be conſidered of in this deſcription.

Mockers.

9. They told you that there ſhould be *Mockers*: He meaneth men that ſhall uſe Religion as a Cloak, to put off and on, as the weather ſerveth; ſuch as ſhall, with *Herod*, hear the preaching of *John Baptiſt* to day, and to morrow condeſcend to have him beheaded; or with the other *Herod*, ſay, They will worſhip Chriſt, when they purpoſe a Maſſacre in their hearts; kiſs Chriſt with *Judas*, and betray Chriſt with *Judas*. Theſe are Mockers. For *Iſhmael* the ſon of *Hagar* laughed at *Iſaac*, which was heir of the Promiſe; ſo ſhall theſe men laugh at you as the maddeſt people under the Sun, if ye be like *Moſes*, chooſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon. And why? God hath not given them eyes to ſee, nor hearts to conceive that exceeding recompence of your reward. The promiſes of Salvation made to you are matters wherein they can take no pleaſure, even as *Iſhmael* took no pleaſure in that promiſe, wherein God had ſaid unto *Abraham*, *In Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called*; becauſe the Promiſe concerned not him, but *Iſaac*. They are termed for their Impiety towards God, *Mockers*; and for the impurity of their life and converſation, *Walkers after their own ungodly Luſts*. Saint *Peter*, in his ſecond Epiſtle and third Chapter, ſoundeth the very depth of their Impiety, ſhewing firſt, how they ſhall not ſhame at the length to profeſs themſelves profane and irreligious, by flat denying the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and deriding the ſweet and confortable promiſes of his appearing: Secondly, that they ſhall not be only deriders of all Religion, but alſo diſputers againſt God; uſing Truth to ſubvert the Truth: yea, Scriptures themſelves to diſprove Scriptures. Being in this ſort Mockers, they muſt needs be alſo Followers of *their own ungodly Luſts*. Being Atheiſts in perſwaſion, can they chooſe but be Beaſts in converſation? For why remove they quite from them the fear of God? Why take they ſuch pains to abandon and put out from their hearts all ſenſe, all taſte, all feeling of Religion? but only to this end and purpoſe, that they may without inward remorſe and grudging of Conſcience give over themſelves to all uncleanneſs. Surely the ſtate of theſe men is more lamentable than is the condition of

Mockers worſe than Pagans and Infidels.

Pagans and Turks. For at the bare beholding of Heaven and Earth, the Infidel's heart by and by doth give him, that there is an eternal, infinite, immortal, and ever-living God; whoſe hands have faſhioned and framed the World; he knoweth, that every Houſe is builded of ſome man, though he ſee not the man which built the Houſe; and he conſidereth that it muſt be God which hath built and created all things; although, becauſe the number of his days be few, he could not ſee when God diſpoſed his Works of old, when he cauſed the light of his Cloulds firſt to ſhine, when he laid the Corner-ſtone of the

Earth, and ſwadled it with bands of Water and Darkneſs, when he cauſed the Morning-ſtar to know his place, and made barrs and doors to ſhut up the Sea within his Houſe, ſaying, *Hitherto ſhalt thou come, but no further* : he hath no eye-witneſs of theſe things : Yet the light of Natural reaſon hath put this wiſdom in his reins, and hath given his Heart thus much underſtanding. Bring a Pagan to the Schools of the Prophets of God ; propheſie to an Infidel, rebuke him, lay the judgments of God before him, make the ſecret ſins of his heart manifeſt, and he ſhall fall down and worſhip God. They that crucified the Lord of Glory, were not ſo far paſt recovery, but that the preaching of the Apoſtles was able to move their hearts, and to bring them to this, *Men and Brethren, what ſhall we do?* *Agrippa*, that ſat in Judgment againſt *Paul* for preaching, yielded notwithſtanding thus far unto him, *Almoſt thou perſwadeſt me to become a Chriſtian.* Although the Jews for want of knowledge have not ſubmitted themſelves to the righteouſneſs of God ; yet I bear them record, ſaith the Apoſtle, *That they have a zeal.* The *Athenians*, a people having neither zeal nor knowledge, yet of them alſo the ſame Apoſtle beareth witneſs, *Ye men of Athens*, I *perceive ye are* δεισιδαιμονεστέρους, ſome way very religious ; but Mockers, walking after their own ungodly luſts, they have ſmothered every ſpark of that heavenly light, they have ſtifled even their very natural underſtanding. O Lord, thy Mercy is over all thy works, thou ſaveſt Man and Beaſt! yet a happy caſe it had been for theſe men, if they had never been born : and ſo I leave them. Rom. 10.

10. Saint *Jude* having his mind exerciſed in the Doctrine of the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt, concerning things to come in the laſt time, became a man of wiſe and ſtaid judgment. Grived he was to ſee the departure of many, and their falling away from the Faith, which before they did profeſs ; *grieved*, but not *diſmayed*. With the ſimpler and weaker ſort it was otherwiſe : Their countenance began by and by to change, they were half in doubt they had deceived themſelves in giving credit to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. *Judas* vir ſapiens & certi judicii.

Saint *Jude*, to comfort and refreſh theſe ſilly Babes, taketh them up in his arms, and ſheweth them the men at whom they were offended. Look upon them that forſake this bleſſed Profeſſion wherein you ſtand : they are now before your eyes, view them, mark them, are they not carnal? are they not like to noyſom carrion caſt out upon the Earth? is there that Spirit in them which cryeth *Abba* Father in your boſoms? Why ſhould any man be diſcomforted? Have you not heard that there ſhould be Mockers in the laſt time? Theſe verily are they that now ſeparate themſelves.

11. For your better underſtanding what this ſevering and ſeparating of themſelves doth mean, we muſt know that the multitude of them which truly believe (howſoever they be diſperſed far and wide each from other) is all *one Body*, whereof the Head is Chriſt ; *one building*, whereof he is the Corner-ſtone, in whom they, as the Members of the body, being knit, and as the ſtones of the Building, being coupled, grow up to a man of perfect ſtature, and riſe to a holy Temple in the Lord. That which linketh Chriſt to us, is his mere mercy and love towards us. That which tyeth us to him, is our Faith in the promiſed Salvation revealed in the Word of Truth. That which uniteth and joyneth us amongſt our ſelves, in ſuch ſort that we are now as if we had but one Heart and one Soul, is our love. Who be inwardly in Heart the lively Members of this Body, and the poliſhed ſtones of this Building, coupled and joyned to Chriſt, as fleſh of his fleſh, and bones of his bones, by the mutual bond of his unſpeakable love towards them, and their unfeined faith in him, thus linked and faſtned each to other by a ſpiritual, ſincere, and hearty affection of love, without any manner of ſimulation ; who be Jews within, and that their names be, none can tell, ſave he whoſe eyes do behold the ſecret diſpoſition of all mens hearts. We, whoſe eyes are too dim to behold the inward man, muſt leave the ſecret judgment of every Servant to his own Lord, accounting and uſing all men as Brethren, both near and dear unto us, ſuppoſing Chriſt to love them tenderly, ſo as they keep the profeſſion of the Goſpel, and joyn in the outward communion of Saints. Whereof the one doth warrantize unto us their Faith, the other their love, till they fall away, and forſake either the one, or the other, or both ; and then it is no injury to term them as they are. When they ſeparate themſelves, they are αὐτοκατάκριτοι, not judged by us but by their own doings. Men do ſeparate themſelves either by Hereſie, Schiſm, or Apoſtaſie. If they loſe the bond of Faith, which then they are juſtly ſuppoſed to do, when they frowardly oppugn any principal point of Chriſtian Doctrine, this is to ſeparate themſelves by *Hereſie*. If they break the bond of Unity, whereby the Body of the Church is coupled and knit in one, as they do which wilfully forſake all external Communion with Saints in holy Exerciſes purely and orderly eſtabliſhed in the Church, this is to ſeparate themſelves by *Schiſm*. If they willingly caſt off, and utterly forſake both profeſſion of Chriſt and communion with Chriſtians, taking their leave of all Religion, this is to ſeparate themſelves by plain *Apoſtaſie*. And Saint *Jude*, to expreſs the manner of their departure, which by *Apoſtaſie* fell away from the Faith of Chriſt, ſaith, *They ſeparated themſelves* ; noting thereby, that it was not conſtraint of others, which forced them to depart, it was not infirmity and weakneſs in themſelves ; it was not fear of Perſecution to come upon them, whereat their hearts did fail ; it was not grief of torment, whereof they had taſted, and were not able any longer to endure them : No, they voluntarily did ſeparate themſelves with a fully ſettled, and altogether deter-

Threefold Separation. 1. Hereſie.

2. Schiſm.

3. Apoſtaſie.

determined purpoſe, never to name the Lord Jeſus any more, nor to have any fellowſhip with his Saints, but to bend all their counſel, and all their ſtrength, to raze out their memorial from amongſt them.

12. Now, becauſe that by ſuch examples, not only the hearts of Infidels were hardned againſt the Truth, but the minds of weak Brethren alſo much troubled, the Holy Ghoſt hath given ſentence of theſe Backſliders, that they were carnal men, and had not the Spirit of Chriſt Jeſus, leſt any man having an over-weening of their perſons ſhould be overmuch amazed and offended at their fall. For ſimple men, not able to diſcern their Spirits, were brought by their Apoſtaſie thus to reaſon with themſelves: If Chriſt be the Son of the Living God, if he have the words of Eternal Life, if he be able to bring Salvation to all men that come unto him, what meaneth this Apoſtaſie, and unconſtrained departure? Why do his Servants ſo willingly forſake him? Babes, be not deceived, his Servants forſake him not. They that ſeparate themſelves were amongſt his Servants, but if they had been of his Servants, they had not ſeparated themſelves. They were amongſt us, not of us, ſaith Saint *John*; and Saint *Jude* proveth it, becauſe they were carnal, and had not the Spirit. Will you judge of Wheat by Chaff, which the wind hath ſcattered from amongſt it? Have the Children no Bread, becauſe the Dogs have not taſted it? Are Chriſtians deceived of that Salvation they look for, becauſe they were denied the joys of the Life to come, which were no Chriſtians? What if they ſeemed to be Pillars and principal Upholders of our Faith? What is that to us, which know that Angels have fallen from Heaven? Although if theſe men had been of us indeed (O the bleſſedneſs of a Chriſtian man's eſtate!) they had ſtood ſurer than Angels that had never departed from their place: Whereas now we marvel not at their departure at all, neither are we prejudiced by their falling away; becauſe they were not of us, ſith they are fleſhly, and have not the Spirit. Children abide in the Houſe for ever, they are Bond-men and Bond-women which are caſt out.

13. It behoveth you therefore greatly every man to examine his own eſtate, and to try whether you be bond or free, Children or no Children. I have told you already, that we muſt beware we preſume not to ſit as Gods in judgment upon others, and raſhly, as our conceit and fancy doth lead us, ſo to determine of this man, he is ſincere; or of that man, he is an Hypocrite; except by their falling away they make it manifeſt and known that they are. For who art thou that takeſt upon thee to judge another before the time? Judge thy ſelf. God hath left us infallible evidence, whereby we may at any time give true and righteous ſentence upon our ſelves. We cannot examine the hearts of other men, we may our own. That we have paſſed from death to life, we know it, ſaith Saint *John*, becauſe we love the Brethren: *And know ye not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except you be Reprobates?* I truſt, Beloved, we know that we are not Reprobates, becauſe our Spirit doth bear us record, that the Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is in us.

Infallible evidence in the Faithful, that they are God's Children.

14. It is as eaſy a matter for the Spirit within you to tell whoſe ye are, as for the eyes of your Body to judge where you ſit, or in what place you ſtand. For what ſaith the Scripture? *Ye which were in times paſt Strangers and Enemies, becauſe your minds were ſet on evil works,* Chriſt hath now reconciled in the body of his Fleſh through death, to make you holy, and unblamable, and without fault in his ſight; If you continue grounded and eſtabliſhed in the Faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Goſpel, *Coloſſ.* 1. And in the third to the *Coloſſians, Ye know, that of the Lord ye ſhall receive the reward of that Inheritance; for ye ſerve the Lord Chriſt.* If we can make this account with our ſelves, I was in times paſt dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins, I walked after the Prince that ruleth in the Air, and after the Spirit that worketh in the Children of Diſobedience; but God, who is rich in mercy, through his great love, wherewith he loved me, even when I was dead, hath quickned me in Chriſt. I was fierce, heady, proud, high-minded; but God hath made me like the Child that is newly weaned. I loved pleaſure more than God, I followed greedily the joys of this preſent World; I eſteemed him that erected a Stage or Theatre, more than *Solomon*, which built a Temple to the Lord; the Harp, Viol, Timbrel, and Pipe, Men-ſingers and Women-ſingers were at my Feaſt; it was my felicity to ſee my Children dance before me; I ſaid of every kind of vanity, O how ſweet art thou in my Soul! All which things now are crucified to me, and I to them: Now I hate the pride of life, and pomp of this world; now I take as great delight in the way of thy Teſtimonies, O Lord, as in all Riches; now I find more joy of heart in my Lord and Saviour, than the worldly-minded man, when his Wheat and Oyl do much abound; Now I taſte nothing ſweet but the Bread which came down from Heaven, to give life unto the World; Now mine eyes ſee nothing but Jeſus riſing from the dead; Now my ears refuſe all kind of melody, to hear the Song of them that have gotten victory of the Beaſt, and of his Image, and of his Mark, and of the number of his Name, that ſtand on the Sea of Glaſs, having the Harps of God, and ſinging the Song of *Moſes*, the Servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb, ſaying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, juſt and true are thy ways, O King of Saints. Surely, if the Spirit have been thus effectual in the ſecret work of our Regeneration unto newneſs of life; if we endeavour thus to frame our ſelves anew; then we ſay boldly with the bleſſed Apoſtle in the tenth to the *Hebrews*, *We are*

not of them which withdraw our ſelves to perdition, but which follow Faith to the conſervation of the Soul. For they which fall away from the grace of God, and ſeparate themſelves unto perdition, they are fleſhly and carnal, they have not God's holy Spirit: But unto you, becauſe ye are Sons, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son in your hearts, to the end ye might know that Chriſt hath built you upon a Rock unmoveable; that he hath regiſtred your names in the Book of Life; that he hath bound himſelf in a ſure and everlaſting Covenant to be your God, and the God of your Children after you; that he hath ſuffered as much, groaned as oft, prayed as heartily for you, as for *Peter*, *O Father, keep them in thy Name. O Righteous Father, the World hath not known thee, but I have known thee, and theſe have known that thou haſt ſent me, I have declared thy Name unto them, and will declare it, that the love, wherewith thou haſt loved me, may be in them, and I in them.* The Lord of his infinite mercy gave us hearts plentifully fraught with the treaſure of this bleſſed aſſurance of Faith unto the end.

15. Here I muſt advertiſe all men that have the teſtimony of God's holy fear within their Breaſts, to conſider, how unkindly and injuriouſly our own Country-men and Brethren have dealt with us by the ſpace of four and twenty years, from time to time, as if we were the men of whom Saint *Jude* here ſpeaketh, never ceaſing to charge us, ſome with Schiſm, ſome with Hereſie, ſome with plain and manifeſt Apoſtaſie, as we had clean ſeparated our ſelves from Chriſt, utterly forſaken God, quite abjured Heaven, and trampled all Truth and Religion under our feet. Againſt this third ſort, God himſelf ſhall plead our Cauſe in that day when they ſhall anſwer us for theſe words, not we them. To others, by whom we are accuſed for Schiſm and Hereſie, we have often made our reaſonable, and in the ſight of God, I truſt, allowable Anſwers. For in the way which they call *Hereſie*, we worſhip the God of our Fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets. That which they call Schiſm, we know to be our reaſonable ſervice unto God, and obedience to his voice, which cryeth ſhrill in our ears, *Go out of Babylon, my People, that you be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye receive not of her Plagues.* And therefore when they riſe up againſt us, having no quarrel but this, we need not ſeek any farther for our Apology, than the words of *Abiah* to *Jeroboam* and his Army, 2 Chron. 13. *O Jeroboam and Iſrael, hear you me: Ought you not to know, that the Lord God of Iſrael hath given the Kingdom over Iſrael to* David *for ever, even to him, and to his Sons, by a Covenant of Salt?* that is to ſay, an everlaſting Covenant. Jeſuits and Papiſts, hear ye me: ought you not to know, that the Father hath given all power unto the Son, and hath made him the only Head over his Church, wherein he dwelleth as an Husband-man in the midſt of his Vineyard, manuring it with the ſweat of his own brows, not letting it forth to others? For, as it is in the *Canticles*, *Solomon* had a Vineyard in *Baalhamon*, he gave the Vineyard unto Keepers, every one bringing forth the fruit thereof a thouſand pieces of Silver; but my Vineyard, which is mine, is before me, ſaith Chriſt. It is true, this is meant of the Myſtical Head ſet over the Body, which is not ſeen. But as he hath reſerved the Myſtical Adminiſtation of the Church inviſible unto himſelf: ſo he hath committed the Myſtical Government of Congregations viſible to the Sons of *David* by the ſame Covenant; whoſe Sons they are in the governing of the Flock of Chriſt, whomſoever the Holy Ghoſt hath ſet over them, to go before them, and to lead them in ſeveral Paſtures, one in this Congregation, another in that; as it is written, *Take heed unto your ſelves, and to all the Flock, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.* Neither will ever any Pope or Papiſt under the Cope of Heaven, be able to prove the Romiſh Biſhop's uſurped Supremacy over all Churches by any one word of the Covenant of Salt, which is the Scripture. For the Children in our ſtreets do now laugh them to ſcorn, when they force [*Thou art Peter*] to this purpoſe. The Pope hath no more reaſon to draw the Charter of his univerſal Authority from hence, than the Brethren had to gather by the words of Chriſt in the laſt of Saint *John*, that the Diſciple whom Jeſus loved ſhould not die. *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* ſaith Chriſt. Streightways a report was raiſed amongſt the Brethren, that this Diſciple ſhould not die. Yet Jeſus ſaid not to him, He ſhall not die; but, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* Chriſt hath ſaid in the ſixteenth of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel to *Simon* the Son of *Jonas*, *I ſay to thee, Thou art Peter.* Hence an opinion is held in the World, That the Pope is univerſal Head of all Churches. Yet Jeſus ſaid not, The Pope is univerſal Head of all Churches; but, *Tu es Petrus*, Thou art *Peter*. Howbeit, as *Jeroboam*, the ſon of *Nebat*, the Servant of *Solomon*, roſe up and rebelled againſt his Lord, and there were gathered unto him vain men and wicked, which made themſelves ſtrong againſt *Roboam*, the ſon of *Solomon*, becauſe *Roboam* was but a Child, and tender-hearted, and could not reſiſt them: So the Son of Perdition, and Man of Sin, being not able to brook the words of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which forbad his Diſciples to be like Princes of Nations, *They bear rule that are called Gracious, it ſhall not be ſo with you*, hath riſen up and rebelled againſt his Lord; and to ſtrengthen his arm, * he hath crept into the Houſes almoſt of all the Nobleſt Families round about him, and taken their Children from the Cradle, to be his Cardinals; He hath fawned upon the Kings and Princes of the Earth, and by Spiritual Cozenage hath made them ſell their lawful Authority and Juriſdiction for Titles of *Catholicus*, *Chriſtianiſſimus*, *Defenſor Fidei*, and ſuch like; he hath proclaimed ſale

The Papiſts falſly accuſe us of Hereſie and Apoſtaſie.

Acts 25.

Apoc. 18.

Cant. 8. 11.

Acts 20.

The Popes uſurped Supremacy.

* Cone. delect. Card. Laut. Surius Com. de reb. geſt. à Pio 5. Franciſc. Sanſovin. de gubern. Rerum. pub. l. 11. Cap. de Jud. Mareſcal. & Sold.

of Pardons to inveigle the ignorant; built Seminaries to allure young men deſirous of Learning; erected Stews to gather the diſſolute unto him. This is the Rock, whereupon his Church is built. Hereby the man is grown huge and ſtrong, like the Cedars, which are not ſhaken with the wind, becauſe Princes have been as Children, over-tender hearted, and could not reſiſt.

Hereby it is come to paſs, as you ſee this day, that the Man of Sin doth war againſt us, not by men of a Language which we cannot underſtand, but he cometh as *Jeroboam* againſt *Judah*, and bringeth the fruit of our own Bodies to eat us up, that the bowels of the Child may be made the Mother's Grave; and hath cauſed no ſmall number of our Brethren to forſake their Native Country, and with all diſloyalty to caſt off the yoke of their Allegiance to our dread Soveraign, whom God in mercy hath ſet over them; for whoſe ſafeguard, if they carried not the hearts of Tygers in the boſoms of men, they would think the deareſt blood in their Bodies well ſpent. But now, ſaith *Abiah* to *Jeroboam*, Ye think ye be able to reſiſt the Kingdom of the Lord, which is in the hands of the Sons of *David*. Ye be a great multitude, the golden Calves are with you, which *Jeroboam* made you for gods: Have ye not driven away the Prieſts of the Lord, the Sons of *Aaron*, and the *Levites*, and have made your Prieſts like the People of Nations? Whoſoever cometh with a young Bullock, and ſeven Rams, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no gods. If I ſhould follow the Compariſon, and here uncover the Cup of thoſe deadly and ugly Abominations, wherewith this *Jeroboam*, of whom we ſpeak, hath made the Earth ſo drunk, that it hath reeled under us, I know your godly Hearts would loath to ſee them. For my own part, I delight not to rake in ſuch filth, I had rather take a Garment upon my Shoulders, and go with my face from them to cover them. The Lord open their eyes, and cauſe them, if it be poſſible, at the length to ſee how they are wretched, and miſerable, and poor, and blind, and naked. Put it, O Lord, in their hearts, to ſeek white Rayment, and to cover themſelves, that their filthy nakedneſs may no longer appear. For, beloved in Chriſt, we bow our knees, and lift up our hands to Heaven in our Chambers ſecretly, and openly in our Churches we pray heartily and hourly, even for them alſo: though the Pope hath given out as a Judge in a ſolemn Declaratory Sentence of *Excommunication* againſt this Land, That our gracious Lady hath quite aboliſhed *Prayer* within her Realm: and his Scholars, which he hath taken from the midſt of us, have in their publiſhed Writings charged us, not only not to have any holy Aſſemblies unto the Lord for Prayer, but to hold a Common School of Sin and Flattery; to hold Sacriledge to be God's Service; Unfaithfulneſs and breach of Promiſe to God, to give it to a Strumpet, to be a Virtue; to abandon Faſting; to abhor Confeſſion; to miſlike with Penance; to like well of Uſury; to charge none with Reſtitution; to find no good before God in ſingle life; nor in no well-working; that all men, as they fall to us, are much worſe, and more than afore, corrupted. I do not add one word or ſyllable unto that which Mr. *Briſtow*, a man both born and ſworn amongſt us, hath taught his hand to deliver to the view of all. I appeal to the Conſcience of every Soul, that hath been truly converted by us, Whether his heart were never raiſed up to God by our Preaching; Whether the words of our Exhortation never wrung any tears of a penitent heart from his eyes; Whether his Soul never reaped any joy and comfort, any conſolation in Chriſt Jeſus by our Sacraments, and Prayers, and Pſalms, and Thankſgiving; Whether he were never bettered, but always worſe by us.

O merciful God! If Heaven and Earth in this caſe do not witneſs with us, and againſt them, let us be razed out from the Land of the Living; Let the Earth on which we ſtand, ſwallow us quick, as it hath done *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. But if we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forſaken him: if our Prieſts, the Sons of *Aaron*, miniſter unto the Lord, and the Levites in their Offices; if we offer unto the Lord every morning and every evening the Burnt-offerings, and ſweet Incenſe of Prayers, and 2 Chron. 13. Thankſgiving; if the Bread be ſet in order upon the pure Table, and the Candelſtick of Gold, with the Lamps thereof, burn every morning; that is to ſay, if amongſt us God's bleſſed Sacraments be duly adminiſtred, his holy Word ſincerely and daily preached; if we keep the Watch of the Lord our God, and if ye have forſaken him; then doubt ye not, this God is with us as a Captain, his Prieſts with ſounding Trumpets muſt Verſe 18. cry alarm againſt you; *O ye Children of Iſrael, fight not againſt the Lord God of your Fathers, for ye ſhall not proſper.*

THE SECOND
SERMON.

Epiſt. JUDE, verſ. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

How that they told you, that there ſhould be Mockers in the laſt time, which ſhould walk after their own ungodly luſts.

Theſe are makers of Sects, fleſhly, having not the Spirit.

But ye, beloved, edifie your ſelves in your moſt holy Faith, praying in the Holy Ghoſt.

And keep your ſelves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.

Having otherwhere ſpoken of the words of Saint *Jude*, going next before, concerning *Mockers*, which ſhould come in the laſt time, and Backſliders, which even then ſhould fall away from the Faith of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; I am now by the aid of Almighty God, and through the aſſiſtance of his good Spirit, to lay before you the words of Exhortation which I have read.

2. Wherein firſt of all, whoſoever hath an eye to ſee let him open it, and he ſhall well perceive how careful the Lord is for his Children, how deſirous to ſee them profit and grow up to a manly ſtature in Chriſt, how loth to have them any way miſ-led, either by the examples of the wicked, or by inticements of the world, and by provocation of the fleſh, or by any other means forcible to deceive them, and likely to eſtrange their hearts from God. For God is not at that point with us, that he careth not whether we ſink or ſwim. No, he hath written our names in the Palm of his Hand, in the Signet upon his Finger are we graven; in Sentences not only of Mercy, but of Judgment alſo, we are remembred. He never denounceth Judgment againſt the wicked, but he maketh ſome *Proviſo* for his Children, as it were for ſome certain priviledged Perſons, *Touch not mine Anointed, do my Prophets no harm* : *Hurt not the Earth, nor the Sea, nor the Trees, till we have ſealed the Servants of God in their Foreheads* He never ſpeaketh of godleſs men, but he adjoineth words of comfort, or admonition, or exhortation, whereby we are moved to reſt and ſettle our hearts on him. In the ſecond to *Timothy*, the third Chapter, *Evil men* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and deceivers ſhall wax worſe and worſe, deceiving and being deceived. But continue thou in the things which thou haſt learned.* And in the firſt to *Timothy*, the ſixth Chapter, *Some men luſting after money, have erred from the Faith, and pierced themſelves thorow with many ſorrows* : *But thou, O man of God, fly theſe things, and follow after righteouſneſs, godlineſs, faith, love, patience, meekneſs.* In the ſecond to the *Theſſalonians*, the ſecond Chapter, *They have not received the love of the Truth, that they might be ſaved. God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions, that they may believe lies. But we ought to give thanks alway to God for you, Brethren, beloved of the Lord, becauſe God hath from the beginning choſen you to ſalvation, through ſanctification of the Spirit, and faith in the Truth.* And in this Epiſtle of Saint *Jude*, *There ſhall come Mockers in the laſt time walking after their own ungodly luſts. But, Beloved, edifie ye your ſelves in your moſt holy Faith.*

3. Theſe ſweet Exhortations, which God putteth every where in the mouths of the Prophets and Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt, are evident tokens that God ſitteth not in Heaven careleſs and unmindful of our eſtate. Can a Mother forget her Child? Surely, a Mother will hardly forget her Child. But if a Mother by haply found unnatural, and do forget the fruit of her own Womb; yet God's Judgments ſhew plainly, that he cannot forget the man whoſe heart he hath framed and faſhioned a new in ſimplicity and truth to ſerve and fear him. For when the wickedneſs of man was ſo great, and the Earth ſo filled with cruelties, that it could not ſtand with the righteouſneſs of God any longer to forbear,

wrathful ſentences brake out from him, like Wine from a Veſſel that hath no vent: *My* Gen. 6. 3, & 13. *Spirit* (ſaith he) *can ſtruggle and ſtrive no longer, an end of all fleſh is come before me.* Gen. 6. 8, & 18. Yet then did *Noah* find grace in the eyes of the Lord; *I will eſtabliſh my Covenant with thee* (ſaith God) *thou ſhalt go into the Ark, thou, and thy ſons, and thy wife, and thy ſons wives with thee.*

4. Do we not ſee what ſhift God doth make for *Lot*, and for his Family, in the nineteenth of *Geneſis* leſt the fiery deſtruction of the wicked ſhould overtake him? Over-night the Angels make inquiry what Sons and Daughters, or Sons in Law, what Wealth and Subſtance he had. Gen. 19. 12. They charge him to carry out all, *Whatſoever thou haſt in the City, bring it out.* God ſeemeth to ſtand in a kind of fear, leſt ſome thing or other would be left behind. And his will was, that nothing of that which he had, not an hoof of any Beaſt, not a thred of any Garment, ſhould be ſindged with that fire. In the morning the Angels fail not to call him up, and to haſten him forward, Gen. 19. 15. *Ariſe, take thy Wife, and thy Daughters which are here, that they be not deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the City.* The Angels having ſpoken again and again, *Lot* for all this lingereth out the time ſtill, till at the length they were forced to take *both him, and his wife, and his daughters by the arms,* Verſ. 16. (*the Lord being merciful unto him*) *and to carry them forth, and ſet them without the City.*

5. Was there ever any Father thus careful to ſave his Child from the flame? A man would think, that now being ſpoken unto to eſcape for his life, and not to look behind him, nor to tarry in the Plain, but to haſten to the Mountain, and there to ſave himſelf, he ſhould do it gladly. Yet behold, now he is ſo far off from a chearful and willing heart to do whatſoever is commanded him for his own weal, that he beginneth to reaſon the matter, as if God had miſtaken one place for another, ſending him to the Hill, when ſalvation was in the City, Verſ. 18. *Not ſo, my Lord, I beſeech thee, Behold, thy Servant hath found grace in thy ſight, and thou haſt magnified thy mercy, which thou haſt ſhewed unto me in ſaving my life. I cannot eſcape in the Mountain, leſt ſome evil take me, and I die. Here is a City hard by, a ſmall thing; O, let me eſcape thether* (*is it not a ſmall thing?*) *and my Soul ſhall live.* Well, God is contented to yield to any conditions: *Behold, I have received thy requeſt concerning this thing alſo, I will ſpare this City for which thou haſt ſpoken; haſt thee, ſave thee there; For I can do nothing till thou come thither.*

6. He could do nothing! Not becauſe of the weakneſs of his ſtrength (for who is like unto the Lord in power?) but becauſe of the greatneſs of his Mercy, which would not ſuffer him to lift up his arm againſt that City, nor to pour out his wrath upon that place, where his righteous ſervant had a fancy to remain, and a deſire to dwell. O the depth of the riches of the mercy and love of God! God is afraid to offend us, which are not afraid to diſpleaſe him! God can do nothing till he have ſaved us, which can find in our hearts rather to do any thing than to ſerve him. It contenteth him not to exempt us, when the Pit is digged for the wicked; to comfort us at every mention which is made of Reprobates and godleſs men; to ſave us as the apple of his own eye, when fire cometh down from Heaven to conſume the Inhabitants of the Earth; except every Prophet, and every Apoſtle, and every Servant whom he ſendeth forth, do come loaden with theſe or the like exhortations, *O beloved, edifie your ſelves in your moſt holy Faith; Give your ſelves to Prayer in the Spirit; keep your ſelves in the love of God; Look for the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto eternal life.*

7. *Edifie your ſelves.* The ſpeech is borrowed from material builders, and muſt be ſpiritually underſtood. It appeareth in the 6. of Saint *John*'s Goſpel by the Jews, that their mouths did water too much for bodily food, *Our Fathers,* ſay they, *did eat Manna in the deſart, as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven to eat, Lord, evermore give us of this bread!* Our Saviour, to turn their appetite another way, maketh them this anſwer, *I am the bread of life, he that cometh to me, ſhall not hunger, and he that believeth in me, ſhall never thirſt.*

8. An uſual practice it is of Satan, to caſt heaps of worldly baggage in our way, that whilſt we deſire to heap up gold as duſt, we may be brought at the length to eſteem vilely that ſpiritual bliſs. Chriſt in the 6. of *Matthew*, to correct this evil affection, putteth us in mind to lay up treaſure for our own ſelves in heaven. The Apoſtle, 1 *Tim.* 3. *chap.* miſliking the vanity of thoſe women, which attired themſelves more coſtly, than beſeemed the heavenly calling of ſuch as profeſſed the fear of God, willeth them to cloath themſelves with ſhamefacedneſs and modeſty, and to put on the apparel of good works. *Taliter pigmentatæ Deum habebitis amatorem,* ſaith *Tertullian.* Put on righteouſneſs as a garment: inſtead of Civet, have Faith, which may cauſe a ſavour of life to iſſue from you, and God ſhall be enamoured, he ſhall be raviſhed with your beauty. Theſe are the ornaments, and bracelets, and jewels, which inflame the love of Chriſt, and ſet his heart on fire upon his Spouſe. We ſee, how he breaketh out in the Canticles at the beholding of this attire, How fair art thou, and how pleaſant art thou, O my love, in theſe pleaſures!

9. And perhaps Saint *Jude* exhorteth us here not to build our houſes, but our ſelves, foreſeeing by the Spirit of the Almighty, which was with him, that there ſhould be men in the laſt days like to thoſe in the firſt, which ſhould encourage and ſtir up each other to make Brick, and to burn it in the fire, to build Houſes huge as Cities, and Towers as high as Heaven, thereby to get them a name upon earth; men that ſhould turn out the

poor, and the Fatherleſs, and the Widow, to build places of reſt for Dogs and Swine in their rooms; men that ſhould lay Houſes of Prayer even with the ground, and make them Stables where God's people have worſhipped before the Lord. Surely this is a vanity of all vanities, and it is much amongſt men: a ſpecial ſickneſs of this age. What it ſhould mean, I know not, except God have ſet them on work to provide fewel againſt that day, when the Lord Jeſus ſhall ſhew himſelf from Heaven with his mighty Angels in flaming fire. What good cometh unto the owners of theſe things, ſaith *Solomon*, but only the beholding thereof with their eyes? *Martha, Martha, thou buſieſt thy ſelf about many things, One thing is neceſſary.* Ye are too buſie, my brethren, with Timber, and Brick; They have choſen the better part, they have taken a better courſe, that build themſelves. Ye are the Temples of the living God; as God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, and will walk in them, and they ſhall be my people, and I will be their God.

Eccleſ. 5.

10. Which of you will gladly remain, or abide in a miſ-ſhapen, or ruinous, or a broken houſe? And ſhall we ſuffer ſin, and vanity to drop in at our eyes, and at our ears, at every corner of our bodies, and of our ſouls, knowing that we are the Temples of the holy Ghoſt? Which of you receiveth a Gueſt, whom he honoureth, and whom he loveth, and doth not ſweep his Chamber againſt his coming? And ſhall we ſuffer the chamber of our hearts and conſciences to be full of vomiting, full of filth, full of garbidge, knowing that Chriſt hath ſaid, I, and my Father will come, and dwell with you? Is it meet for your Oxen to lie in Parlours, and your ſelves to lodge in Cribs? Or is it ſeemely for your ſelves to dwell in your ſetled houſes, and the houſe of the Almighty to lie waſte, whoſe houſe ye are your ſelves? Do not our eyes behold, how God every day overtaketh the wicked in their journies, how ſuddenly they pop down into the pit? how God's judgments for their times come ſo ſwiftly upon them, that they have not the leaſure to crie, Alas! how their life is cut off like a thred in a moment! how they paſſe like a ſhadow? how they open their mouths to ſpeak, and God taketh them even in the midſt of a vain or an idle word? And dare we for all this lie down, take our reſt, eat our meat ſecurely and careleſly in the midſt of ſo great and ſo many ruins? Bleſſed and praiſed for ever and ever be his name, who perceiving of how ſenſeleſs and heavy mettal we are made, hath inſtituted in his Church a ſpiritual Supper, and an holy Communion, to be celebrated often, that we might thereby be occaſioned often to examine theſe buildings of ours, in what caſe they ſtand. For ſith God doth not dwell in Temples which are unclean, ſith a Shrine cannot be a Sanctuary unto him; and this Supper is received as a ſeal unto us, that we are his Houſe and his Sanctuary; that his Chriſt is as truly united to me, and I to him, as my arm is united and knit unto my ſhoulder; that He dwelleth in me as verily, as the elements of Bread and Wine abide within me; which perſwaſion, by receiving theſe dreadful myſteries, we profeſs our ſelves to have a due comfort, if truly; and if in hypocriſie, then woe worth us. Therefore e're we put forth our hands to take this bleſſed Sacrament, we are charged to examine and to try our hearts, whether God be in us of a truth, or no: and if by faith and love unfeined we be found the Temples of the holy Ghoſt, then to judge, whether we have had ſuch regard every one to our building, that the Spirit which dwelleth in us hath no way been vexed, moleſted, or grieved: or if it have, as no doubt ſometimes it hath by incredulity, ſometimes by breach of charity, ſometimes by want of zeal, ſometimes by ſpots of life, even in the beſt and moſt perfect amongſt us (for who can ſay, his heart is clean?) O then, to fly unto God by unfeined repentance, to fall down before him in the humility of our ſouls, begging of him whatſoever is needful to repair our decays, before we fall into that deſolation whereof the Prophet ſpeaketh, ſaying, *Thy breach is great like the Sea, who can heal thee*?

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Lam. 2. 13.

11. Receiving the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord after this ſort, (you that are Spiritual, judge what I ſpeak) is not all other Wine like the Water of *Marah*, being compared to the Cup, which we bleſs? Is not *Manna* like to gall, and our bread like to *Manna*? Is there not a taſte, a taſte of Chriſt Jeſus, in the heart of him that eateth? Doth not he which drinketh, behold plainly in this Cup, that his ſoul is bathed in the blood of the Lamb? O beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, if ye will taſte how ſweet the Lord is, if ye will receive the King of Glory, *build your ſelves.*

12. *Young men*, I ſpeak this to you; for ye are his Houſe, becauſe by faith ye are Conquerors over *Satan*, and have overcome that evil. *Fathers*, I ſpeak it alſo to you; ye are his Houſe, becauſe ye have known him, which is from the beginning. Sweet *Babes*, I ſpeak it even to you alſo; ye are his Houſe, becauſe your ſins are forgiven you for his Name's ſake. *Matrons* and *Siſters*, I may not hold it from you; ye are alſo the Lord's building, and, as St. *Peter* ſpeaketh, heirs of the grace of life as well as we. Though it be forbidden you to open your mouths in publick Aſſemblies, yet ye muſt be inquiſitive in things concerning this building, which is of God, with your husbands and friends at home; not as *Dalila* with *Samſon*, but as *Sara* with *Abraham*, whoſe daughters ye are, whilſt ye do well, and build your ſelves.

13. Having ſpoken thus far of the Exhortation, as whereby we are called upon to edify and build our ſelves; it remaineth now, that we conſider the thing preſcribed, namely, wherein we muſt be built. This Preſcription ſtandeth alſo upon two points, the *thing* preſcribed, and the *adjuncts* of the *thing*. And that is our moſt pure and *holy Faith.*

14. The thing preſcribed is *Faith*. For as in a chain, which is made of many links, if you pull the firſt, you draw the reſt; and as in a Ladder of many ſtaves, if you take away the loweſt, all hope of aſcending to the higheſt, will be removed: So, becauſe all the Precepts and Promiſes in the Law and in the Goſpel do hang upon this, *Believe*; and becauſe the laſt of the graces of God doth ſo follow the firſt, that he glorifieth none, but whom he hath juſtified, nor juſtifieth any, but whom he hath called to a true, effectual, and lively faith in Chriſt Jeſus; therefore Saint *Jude* exhorting us to *build our ſelves*, mentioneth here expreſly only faith, as the thing wherein we muſt be edified, for that faith is the ground and the glory of all the welfare of this Building.

Epheſ. 2.

15. *Ye are not ſtrengers and forainers, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the houſhold of God* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and are built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner-Stone, in whom all the building being coupled together, groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord, in whom ye alſo are built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit.* And we are the habitation of God by the Spirit, if we believe. For it is written, Whoſoever confeſſeth, that Jeſus is the Son of God, in him God dwelleth, and he in God. The ſtrength of this habitation is great; it prevaileth againſt Satan; it conquireth Sin; it hath Death in deriſion; neither Principalities, nor Powers, can throw it down; it leadeth the World captive, and bringeth every enemy, that riſeth up againſt it, to confuſion and ſhame, and all by faith; for this is the victory that overcometh the World, even one faith. Who is it that overcometh the World, but he which believeth, that Jeſus is the Son of God?

1 John 4.
1 John 5.

16. The ſtrength of every building, which is of God, ſtandeth not in any man's arms, or legs; it is only in our faith, as the valour of *Samſon* lay only in his hair. This is the reaſon, why we are ſo earneſtly called upon *to edifie our ſelves in faith.* Not as if this bare action of our minds, whereby we believe the Goſpel of Chriſt, were able in it ſelf, as of it ſelf, to make us unconquerable, and invincible, like ſtones, which abide in the Building for ever, and fall not out. No, it is not the worthineſs of our believing, it is the vertue of him in whom we believe, by which we ſtand ſure, as houſes that are builded upon a Rock. He is a Wiſeman, which hath builded his houſe upon a Rock; for he hath choſen a good foundation, and no doubt his houſe will ſtand. But how ſhall it ſtand? Mat. 7. Verily, by the ſtrength of the Rock which beareth it, and by nothing elſe. Our fathers, whom God delivered out of the Land of Egypt, were a people that had no Peers amongſt the Nations of the Earth, becauſe they were built by faith upon the Rock, which Rock is Chriſt. *And the Rock* (ſaith the Apoſtle in the firſt to the *Corinthians*, the tenth Chapter) *did follow him.* Whereby we learn not only this, that being built by faith on Chriſt as on a Rock, and grafted into him as into an Olive, we receive all our ſtrength and fatneſs from him; but alſo, that this ſtrength and fatneſs of ours ought to be no cauſe why we ſhould be high-minded, and not work out our ſalvation with a reverent trembling, Rom. 11. and holy fear. For if thou boaſteſt thy ſelf of thy faith, know this, That Chriſt choſe his Apoſtles, his Apoſtles choſe not him; that Iſrael follow not the Rock, but the Rock followed Iſrael; and that thou beareſt not the Root, but the Root thee. So that every heart muſt thus think, and every tongue muſt thus ſpeak, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us,* nor unto any thing which is within us, but unto thy Name only, only to thy Name, belongeth all the praiſe of all the Treaſures and Riches of every Temple which is of God. This excludeth all boaſting and vaunting of our faith.

17. But this muſt not make us careleſs to edifie our ſelves in faith. It is the Lord that 1 Joh. 5. delivereth mens ſouls from death, but not except they put their truſt in his mercy. It is God that hath given us eternal life, but no otherwiſe than thus, If we believe in the name of the Son of God; for he that hath not the Son of God, hath not life. It was the Spirit of the Lord which came upon *Samſon*, and made him ſtrong to tear a Lyon as a man would rent a Kid: but his ſtrength forſook him, and he became like another man when the Razor had touched his head. It is the power of God whereby the faithful have ſubdued kingdoms, wrought righteouſneſs, obtained the promiſes, ſtopped the mouths of Lyons, quenched the violence of fire, eſcaped the edge of the ſword: But take away their faith, and doth not their ſtrength forſake them? are they not like unto other men?

18. If ye deſire yet farther to know how neceſſary and needful it is, that we edifie and build up our ſelves in faith, mark the words of the bleſſed Apoſtles, *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* If I offer unto God all the Sheep and Oxen that are in the world, if all the Temples that were builded ſince the days of *Adam* till this hour, were of my foundation, if I break my very heart with calling upon God, and wear out my tongue with Preaching, if I ſacrifice my body and my ſoul unto him, *and have no faith,* all this No pleaſing of God without faith. availeth nothing. *Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God.* Our Lord and Saviour therefore being asked in the ſixth of St. *John*'s Goſpel, *What ſhall we do that we might work the works of God,* maketh anſwer, *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him, whom he hath ſent.*

19. That no work of ours, no building of our ſelves in any thing can be available or profitable unto us, except we be edified and built in faith, what need we to ſeek about for long proof? Look upon *Iſrael*, once the very choſen and peculiar of God, to whom the adoption of the faithful, and the glory of Cherubins, and the Covenants of Mercy, and the Law of *Moſes*, and the Service of God, and the Promiſes of Chriſt were made impro-

propriate, who not only were the off-ſpring of *Abraham*, father unto all them which do believe, but Chriſt their off-ſpring, which is God to be bleſſed for evermore.

20. Conſider this People, and learn, what it is to *build your ſelves in faith.* They were the Lord's Vine: he brought it out of *Egypt*, he threw out the Heathen from their places, that it might be planted, he made room for it, and cauſed it to take root, till it had filled the earth, the mountain were covered with the ſhadow of it, and the boughs thereof were as the goodly Cedars. She ſtretched out her branches unto the Sea, and her boughs unto the River. But when God having ſent both his Servants and his Son to viſit this Vine, they neither ſpared the one, nor received the other, but ſtoned the Prophets, and crucified the Lord of glory which came unto them, then began the curſe of God to come upon them, even the curſe whereof the Prophet *David* hath ſpoken, ſaying, *Let their* Pſal. 69.
table be made a ſnare, and a net, and a ſtumbling block, even for a recompence unto them, let Rom. 11.
their eyes be darkned, that they do not ſee, bow down their backs for ever, keep them down. And ſithens the hour, that the meaſure of their infidelity was firſt made up, they have been ſpoiled with wars, eaten up with plagues, ſpent with hunger and famine: they wander from place to place, and are become the moſt baſe and contemptible people that are under the Sun. *Ephraim*, which before was the terror unto nations, and they trembled at his voice, is now by infidelity ſo vile, that he ſeemeth as a thing caſt out, to be trampled under men's feet. In the midſt of theſe deſolations they cry, *Return, we beſeech thee,* Pſal. 18. 14.
O God of hoſts, look down from heaven, behold and viſit this Vine: but their very prayers are turned into ſin, and their crys are no better than the lowing of beaſts before him. *Well*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *By their unbelief they are broken off, and thou doſt ſtand by thy faith.* Rom. 11, 20.
Behold therefore the bountifulneſs and ſeverity of God, towards them, ſeverity, becauſe they have fallen, bountifulneſs towards thee, if thou continue in his bountifulneſs, or elſe thou ſhalt be Verſ. 22.
cut off. If they forſake their unbelief, and be grafted in again, and we at any time for the hardneſs of our hearts be broken off, it will be at ſuch a judgment as will amaze all the powers and principalities which are above. Who hath ſearched the counſel of God concerning this ſecret? and who doth not ſee that *infidelity* doth threaten *Lo-ammi* unto the *Hoſ.* 1. 9. not my people.
Gentiles, as it hath brought *Lo-ruchama* upon the Jews? It may be that theſe words ſeem *Verſ.* 6. not ob-
dark unto you. But the words of the Apoſtle in the eleventh of the *Romans*, are plain taining mercy.
enough, *If God have not ſpared the natural branches, take heed,* take heed, *leſt he ſpare not thee.* Build thy ſelf in faith. Thus much of the thing which is preſcribed, and wherein we are exhorted to edifie our ſelves. Now conſider the *conditions* and *properties*, which are in this place annexed unto faith. The former of them (for there are but two) is this, *Edifie your ſelves in your faith.*

21. A ſtrange, and a ſtrong deluſion it is wherewith the *man of ſin* hath bewitched the world; a forcible ſpirit of error it muſt needs be, which hath brought men to ſuch a ſenſeleſs and unreaſonable perſwaſion as this is, not only that men cloathed with mortality and ſin, as we our ſelves are, can do God ſo much ſervice, as ſhall be able to make a full and perfect ſatisfaction before the Tribunal ſeat of God for their own ſins, yea a great deal more, than is ſufficient for themſelves; But alſo that a man at the hands of a Biſhop or a Pope, for ſuch or ſuch a price, may buy the *overplus* of other mens merits, purchaſe the fruits of other mens labours, and build his ſoul by another mans faith. Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitterneſs? Is his heart right in the ſight of God? Can he have any part of fellowſhip with *Peter*, and with the *ſucceſſors of Peter*, which thinketh ſo vilely of building the precious Temples of the holy Ghoſt? Let his money periſh with him, and he with it, becauſe he judgeth, that the gift of God may be ſold for money.

22. But, Beloved in the Lord, deceive not your ſelves, neither ſuffer ye your ſelves to be deceived: ye can receive no more eaſe nor comfort for your ſouls by another man's faith, than warmth for your bodies by another man's clothes, or ſuſtenance by the bread which another doth eat. The Juſt ſhall live by his *own faith.* *Let a Saint, yea a Martyr content himſelf, that he hath cleanſed himſelf of his own ſins,* ſaith *Tertullian*, No *Saint* or *Martyr* can cleanſe himſelf of his own ſins. But if ſo be a *Saint*, or a *Martyr* can cleanſe himſelf of his own ſins, it is ſufficient that he can do it for himſelf. Did ever any man by his death deliver another man from death, except only the Son of God? he indeed was able to *Safe-conduct* a Thief from the Croſs to Paradiſe: for to this end he came, that being himſelf pure from ſin, he might obey for ſinners. Thou which thinkeſt to do the like, and ſuppoſeſt, that thou canſt juſtifie another by thy righteouſneſs, if thou be without ſin, then lay down thy life for thy brother; die for me. But if thou be a ſinner, even as I am a ſinner, how can the Oyl of thy Lamp be ſufficient both for thee, and for me? *Virgins*, that are wiſe, get ye Oyl, while ye have day, into your own Lamps. For out of all peradventure, others, though they would, can neither give nor ſell. Edifie your ſelves in your *own* moſt holy faith. And let this be obſerved for the firſt *property* of that, wherein we ought to edifie our ſelves.

23. Our faith being ſuch, is that indeed which St. *Jude* doth here term *Faith*, namely, a thing moſt *holy*. The reaſon is this; We are juſtified by *Faith*. For *Abraham* believed, and this was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs. Being juſtified, all our iniquities are covered: God beholdeth us in the righteouſneſs which is imputed, and not in the ſins which we have committed.

24. It is true, we are full of ſin, both *original* and *actual*; whoſoever denyeth it, is a double ſinner, for he is both a *ſinner* and a *lyar*. To deny ſin, is moſt plainly and clearly to prove it, becauſe he that ſaith, he hath no ſin, lyeth, and by lying, proveth that he hath ſin.

25. But *imputation* of righteouſneſs hath covered the ſins of every ſoul which believeth; God by pardoning our ſin, hath taken it away: So that now, although our tranſgreſſions be multiplied above the hairs of our head, yet being juſtified, we are as free, and as clear, as if there were no one ſpot or ſtain of any uncleanneſs in us. For it is God that juſtifieth; and who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's choſen? ſaith the Apoſtle in the eighth chapter to the *Romans*.

26. Now ſin being taken away, we are made the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt. For *David* ſpeaking of this righteouſneſs, ſaith, *Bleſſed is the man whoſe iniquities are forgiven.* No man is bleſſed, but in the righteouſneſs of God. Every man whoſe ſin is taken away, is bleſſed. Therefore every man whoſe ſin is covered, is made the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt. The righteouſneſs doth make us to appear moſt holy, moſt pure, moſt unblameable before him.

27. This then is the ſum of that which I ſay: Faith doth juſtifie; Juſtification waſheth away ſin; Sin removed, we are cloathed with the righteouſneſs which is of God; the righteouſneſs of God maketh us moſt holy. Every of theſe I have proved by the teſtimony of God's own mouth. Therefore I conclude, that faith is that which maketh us moſt holy; in conſideration whereof, it is called in this place, *Our moſt holy Faith.*

28. To make a wicked and a ſinful man moſt holy through his believing, is more than to create a World of nothing. Our faith moſt holy? Surely, *Solomon* could not ſhew the Queen of *Sheba* ſo much treaſure in all his Kingdom, as is lapt up in theſe words. O that our hearts were ſtretched out like tents, and that the eyes of our underſtanding were as bright as the Sun, that we might throughly know the richeſs of the glorious inheritance of Saints, and what is the exceeding greatneſs of his power towards us, whom he accepteth for pure, and moſt holy, through our believing. O that the Spirit of the Lord would give this doctrine entrance into the ſtony and brazen heart of the Jew, which followeth the Law of Righteouſneſs, but cannot attain unto the righteouſneſs of the Law! Wherefore? ſaith the Apoſtle. They ſeek righteouſneſs, and not by faith. Wherefore they ſtumble at Chriſt, they are bruiſed, ſhivered to pieces as a Ship that hath run her ſelf upon a rock. O that God would caſt down the eyes of the proud, and humble the ſouls of the high-minded, that they might at the length abhor the garments of their own fleſh, which cannot hide their nakedneſs, and put on the faith of Chriſt Jeſus, as he did put it on, which hath ſaid; *Doubtleſs I think all things but loſs, for the excellent knowledge ſake of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord, for whom I have counted all things loſs, and do judge them to be dung, that I might win Chriſt, and might be found in him, not having mine own righteouſneſs, which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Chriſt, even the righteouſneſs which is of God through faith.* O that God would open the Ark of mercy, wherein this doctrine lyeth, and ſet it wide before the eyes of poor afflicted conſciences, which fly up and down upon the water of their afflictions, and can ſee nothing but only the gulf and deluge of their ſins, wherein there is no place for them to reſt their feet. The God of pitty and compaſſion give you all ſtrength and courage every day, and every hour, and every moment, to build and edifie your ſelves in this moſt pure and holy faith. And thus much both of the thing preſcribed in this exhortation, and alſo of the properties of the thing, *Build your ſelves in your moſt holy faith.* I would come to the next branch, which is of *Prayer*, but I cannot lay this matter out of my hands, till I have added ſomewhat for the applying of it both to others and to our ſelves.

29. For your better underſtanding of matters contained in this Exhortation, *Build your ſelves*, you muſt note, that every Church and Congregation doth conſiſt of a multitude of believers, as every houſe is built of many ſtones. And although the nature of the myſtical body of the Church be ſuch, that it ſuffereth no diſtinction in the inviſible members, but whether it be *Paul* or *Apollos*, Prince or Prophet, he that is taught, or he that teacheth, all are equally Chriſt's, and Chriſt is equally theirs: yet in the external adminiſtation of the Church of God, becauſe God is not the author of confuſion, but of peace, it is neceſſary, that in every Congregation there be a diſtinction, if not of inward dignity, yet of outward degree; ſo that all are Saints, or ſeem to be Saints, and ſhould be as they ſeem. But are all Apoſtles? If the whole body were an eye, where were then the hearing? God therefore hath given ſome to be Apoſtles, and ſome to be Paſtors, *&c.* for the edification of the body of Chriſt. In which work we are God's labourers (ſaith the Apoſtle) and ye are God's husbandry, and God's building.

30. The Church reſpected with reference unto adminiſtration Eccleſiaſtical, doth generally conſiſt but of two ſorts of men, the *Labourers*, and the *Building*; they which are miniſtred unto, and they to whom the work of the Miniſtery is committed; *Paſtors*, and the *Flock*, over whom the holy Ghoſt hath made them Overſeers. If the *Guide* of a Congregation, be his name, or his degree whatſoever, be diligent in his vocation, feed the Flock of God which dependeth upon him, caring for it not by conſtraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, not as though he would tyrannize over God's heritage,

but as a Pattern unto the Flock, wiſely guiding them: if the people in their degree do yield themſelves frameable to the truth, not like rough ſtone or flint, refuſing to be ſmoothed and ſquared for the building: if the Magiſtrate do carefully and diligently ſurvey the whole order of the work, providing by ſtatutes and laws, and bodily puniſhments, if need require, that all things may be done according to the rule which cannot deceive, even as *Moſes* provided that all things might be done according to the pattern which he ſaw in the Mount; there the words of this exhortation are truly and effectualy heard. Of ſuch a Congregation ever man will ſay, *Behold a people that are wiſe, a people that walk in the Statutes and Ordinances of their God, a people full of knowledge and underſtanding; a people that have skill in building themſelves.* Where it is otherwiſe, there, *as by ſlothfulneſs, the roof doth decay*; and as *by idleneſs of hands, the houſe dropeth through*, as it is in the 10. of Eccleſiaſtes, verſ. 18. ſo firſt one piece, and then another of their building ſhall fall away, till there by not a ſtone left upon a ſtone.

31. We ſee how fruitleſs this Exhortation hath been to ſuch as bend all their travel to build and manage a *Papacy* upon earth, without any care in the world of building themſelves in their moſt holy faith. God's people have enquired at their mouths, *What ſhall we do to have eternally life?* Wherein ſhall we build and edifie our ſelves? And they have departed home from their Prophets, and from their Prieſts, laden with doctrines, which are precepts of men; they have been taught to tire out themſelves with bodily exerciſe, thoſe things are injoined them, which God did never require at their hands, and the things he doth require are kept from them; their eyes are fed with pictures, and their ears filled with melody, but their ſouls do wither, and ſtarve, and pine away; they cry for bread, and behold, ſtones are offered them; they ask for fiſh, and ſee, they have Scorpions in their hands: Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that they build themſelves, but not in faith; they feed their children, but not with food; Their Rulers ſay with ſhame, Bring, and not build. But God is righteous; their drunkneſs ſtinketh, their abominations are known, their madneſs is manifeſt, the wind hath bound them up in her wings, and they ſhall be aſhamed of their doings. *Ephraim*, ſaith the Prophet, is joined to idols, let him alone, I will turn me therefore from the Prieſts, which do miniſter unto idols, and apply this exhortation to them, whom God hath appointed to feed his choſen in Iſrael.

32. If there be any feeling of Chriſt, and drop of heavenly dew, or any ſpark of God's good Spirit within you, ſtir it up, be careful to build and edifie, firſt your ſelves, and then your flocks in this moſt holy faith.

33. I ſay, *firſt your ſelves*; For, he which will ſet the hearts of other men on fire, with the love of Chriſt, muſt himſelf burn with love. It is want of faith in our ſelves, my Brethren, which maketh us * retchleſs in building others: We forſake the Lord's inheritance, and feed it not. What is the reaſon of this? Our own deſires are ſettled where they ſhould not be. We our ſelves are like thoſe women which have a longing to eat coals, and lime, and filth; we are fed, ſome with honour, ſome with eaſe, ſome with wealth; the Goſpel waxeth lothſome and unpleaſant in our taſte; how ſhould we then have a care to feed others with that, which we cannot fancy our ſelves! If *faith* wax cold, and ſlender, in the *heart* of the *Prophet*, it will ſoon periſh from the ears of the people. The Prophet *Amos* ſpeaketh of famine, ſaying, *I will ſend a famine in the Land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt of water, but of hearing the Word of the Lord. Men ſhall wander from ſea to ſea, and from the North unto the Eaſt ſhall they run to and fro, to ſeek the Word of the Lord, and ſhall not find it. Judgment muſt begin at the houſe of God*, ſaith *Peter*. Yea, I ſay, at the Sanctuary of God, this judgment muſt begin. This famine muſt begin at the heart of the Prophet. He muſt have darkneſs for a viſion, he muſt ſtumble at noon day, as at the twi-light, and then truth ſhall fall in the midſt of the ſtreets, then ſhall the people wander from ſea to ſea, and from the North, unto the Eaſt ſhall they run to and fro, to ſeek the Word of the Lord.

* Careleſs.

Amos 8. 11.

Verſ. 12.

1 Pet. 4. 17.

34. In the ſecond of *Haggai*, *Speak now*, ſaith God, to his Prophet, *Speak now to* Zerubbabel, *the ſon of* Shealtiel, *Prince of Judah, and to* Jehoſhua, *the ſon of* Jehozadak *the high Prieſt, and to the reſidue if the people, ſaying, Who is left among you, that ſaw this houſe in her firſt glory, and how do you ſee it now? Is not this houſe in your eyes, in compariſon of it, as nothing?* The Prophet would have all mens eyes turned to the view of themſelves, every ſort brought to the conſideration of their preſent ſtate. This is no place to ſhew what duty *Zerubbabel* or *Jehoſhua* doth owe unto God in this reſpect. They have, I doubt not, ſuch as put them hereof in remembrance. I ask of you, which are a part of the reſidue of God's Elect and choſen people: Who is there amongſt you, that hath taken a ſurvey of the Houſe of God, as it was in the days of the bleſſed Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Who is there amongſt you, that hath ſeen and conſidered this holy Temple in her firſt glory? And how do you ſee it now? Is it not in compariſon of the other, almoſt as nothing, when ye look upon them that have undertaken the charge of your ſouls, and know how far theſe are for the moſt part grown out of kind, how few there be that tread the ſteps of ther ancient Predeceſſors, ye are eaſily filled with indignation, eaſily drawn unto theſe complaints, wherein the difference of preſent, from former times, is bewailed, eaſily perſwaded to think of them that lived to enjoy the days which now are gone. Surely they were happy in compariſon of us that have ſucceeded them: were not their Biſhops men

unreproveable, wiſe, righteous, holy, temperate, well reported of, even of thoſe which were without? were not their Paſtors, Guides, and Teachers, able and willing to exhort with wholſome Doctrine, and to improve thoſe which gainſaid the Truth? had they Prieſts made of the refuſe of the people? were men, like to the children which were in *Niniveh*, unable to diſcern between the right hand and the left, preſented to the charge of their Congregation? did their Teachers leave their flocks over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them Overſeers? did their Prophets enter upon holy things as ſpoils, without a reverent calling? were their Leaders ſo unkindly affected towards them, that they could find in their hearts to ſell them as ſheep or oxen, not caring how they made them away? But, Beloved, deceive not your ſelves. Do the faults of your Guides and Paſtors offend you? it is your fault if they be thus faulty. *Nullus qui malum Rectorem patitur, eum accuſet; quia ſui fuit meriti perverſi Paſtoris ſubjacere ditioni*, ſaith St. *Gregory*, whoſoever thou art, whom the inconvenience of an evil Governor doth Jer. 3. 14, 15. preſs, accuſe thy ſelf, and not him; his being ſuch is thy deſerving. *O ye diſobedient Children, turn again*, ſaith the Lord, *and then will I give you Paſtors according to mine own heart, which ſhall feed you with knowledge and underſtanding*. So that the only way to repair all ruins, breaches, and offenſive decays in others, is to begin reformation at your ſelves. Which that we may all ſincerely, ſeriouſly, and ſpeedily do, God the Father grant for his Son our Saviour Jeſus ſake, unto whom, with the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one Eternal and everlaſting God, be honour, and glory, and praiſe for ever. *Amen*.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE
INDEX.

Note, The letters at the end of the figures, *a* refers to the top of the page; *b* about the middle, and *c* towards the end.

A.

ABSOLUTION, *the extravagant abuſe of it by the* papiſts, Page 319c 322c
what in the doctrine of the church of England, 320c
Adverſity, *prayer to be* ever more deliver'd from it *vindicated,* 192c
Aerius, *his different opinion from* Tertullian *about* faſting, 256c
the firſt oppoſer of the order of biſhops, 351b
Agents natural *and* voluntary, *how diſtinguiſhed,* 56b
Anabaptiſts *in* Germany, *their firſt tenets,* 46c
by what ſteps they gain'd ground, 48b
their bold aſſertions at laſt, 49a
their notions as to the liberty *of chriſtians cenſur'd,* 3b
Angels, *what* law *they act by,* 58a
how ſome of them come to fall, ibid. b
how diſpers'd *after their fall,* ibid. c
their knowledge *full and complete,* 59a
Antiquity, *what deference to be paid to it in diſputable points,* 142c
Apocryphal books, *what denoted by the word formerly, and what now,* 156b
the reading of them in churches vindicated, 157a
Apollinarians, *their hereſy, what,* 204c
Apoſtacy, *what,* 57c
Apoſtles, *in what things they have* ſucceſſors, *and in what not,* 338a
the danger of deſpiſing *their words or preaching,* 55b
Appetite, *how it differs from* will, 60c
Arch-biſhop, *to what end appointed,* 347c
Arch-deacon, *his office, what,* 346b
Arch-presbyter, *his* Office, *what,* ibid.
Arianiſm, *its riſe and progreſs,* 185a
Athanaſian creed, *when, and by whom written (according to the judgment of* Mr. Hooker) 186c
the uſe of it in our liturgy vindicated, 187c
Atheiſm, *when affected, the moſt oppoſite to true religion,* 139a
St. Auguſtin *vindicated,* 86b

B.

BAptiſm, *in caſes of* neceſſity, *to be adminiſter'd without the uſual* ceremonies, 212c 215b
the neceſſity *of it,* 212c
the inward grace *of it confer'd, where the* outward means *can't be had,* 214b
the caſe of infants *dying without it conſider'd,* 215a
to be privately *adminiſter'd in caſes of neceſſity,* ibid. c
(*adminiſter'd by* women *and* laymen) valid *and* effectual, (*in the judgment of Mr.* Hooker) 217c
(*adminiſter'd by* hereticks) *why rejected by the* antients, 99b
See croſs, interrogatorys.
Benedictus, *the uſe of it in our ſervice vindicated,* 183a
Benefice, *what the name ſignifies,* 280c
Biſhops, *their order appointed of* GOD, 334a
were in all churches univerſally for 1500 *years after Chriſt,* 343b
in England *before the year* 359, *and ever ſince,* ibid. c
whence they took their name, 335b
their order *antienter than their* name, 336a
a definition of a biſhop, and in what his office conſiſts, ibid. b
at large, *and* with reſtraint, *how diſtinguiſh'd,* ibid. c
their ſuperiority, *in what ſenſe diſputed,* ibid.
the apoſtles *the firſt biſhops, and all biſhops the apoſtles ſucceſſors,* 337b
all biſhops originally call'd apoſtles, ibid. c
they were firſt inſtituted with reſtraint, *and why,* 338b
St. Jerom*'s notion of them vindicated,* 339b
their ſucceſſion *from the apoſtles, to be prov'd in all churches which the apoſtles founded,* 341c
what their power *was originally,* 342a
have the power of ordination *inveſted* ſolely *in them,* ibid. b
have the power of juriſdiction *inveſted* ſolely *in themſelves,* 343a
how far they admitted presbyters *to the exerciſe of* juriſdiction, 345c
how far their power extended originally in compaſs, 346c
ſome ſuperior *to others, and why,* 347c
by whom their order was firſt oppos'd, 351b
their intereſt in civil affairs *vindicated,* 362a
what honours *due to them, and upon what account,* 369a 373c
in what inſtances *honour is to be ſhew'd them,* 374b
what ſhare *they had formerly out of the publick* maintenance *of the church,* 380b
their behaviour *and* conduct, *what it ſhould be,* 382c
the great ſin of procuring their office by ſimony, 383a
their viſitation *and* courts, *how they ought to be manag'd,* 384b
the great detriment that ariſes from careleſs *biſhops to the church,* 385a
the duty of their clergy and people to bear with their infirmities, ibid. c
their revenues *and* wealth *to be carefully protected,* 386c
their title *to their revenues juſtified,* 389a
See epiſcopacy, maintenance, *and* prelates.
Bowing at the name of Jeſus *vindicated,* 174b
Brazen ſerpent *deſtroy'd by* Hezekiah, *how far to be drawn into a precedent,* 231b
Burial-office, *the* deſign *of it,* 261b
Mourning-attire *at funerals, lawful and decent,* ibid.
Proceſſions *at funerals decent and antient,* ibid.
Sermons *at funerals, the proper* uſe *of them,* 262c
funeral banquets, *or* doles, *the decency of them,* ibid. b
teſtification of our hope of the reſurrection. *at ſuch times, how neceſſary,* ibid.
funeral-offices *us'd by* jews *and* chriſtians *of old,* ibid.

C.

CAlvin (John) *born in* France, *and originally a* lawyer, 33a
how he introduced himſelf into the church of Geneva, ibid.
is baniſh'd *thence, and* recall'd *thither again,* ibid. c
what conditions *he requir'd of them upon his return,* 34a
the ſubtlety of his conditions, and how receiv'd by the people, ibid. b
is again diſguſted, *and takes his* leave *of them,* ibid. c
his juſt praiſe, *and how univerſally honour'd among the foreign reform'd,* 35c
Catechizing, *the* deſign *and* uſefulneſs *of it,* 152a
Ceremonies, *what meant by them,* 117c 123a
the uſe *of them,* 123a 228b
how univerſal, 123b
how far we may vary from the primitive *ceremonies,* 124a
the objections that are made againſt our ceremonies as popiſh, 125a
theſe objections contradict themſelves, 126b
not to be aboliſh'd upon account of the boaſts *and* hopes *of the* papiſts, 131c
the grief *of thoſe that are diſturb'd at them, by whom to be* remedy'd, 132c
not always to be rejected, becauſe originally derived from the Jews, 133c
when ſcandalous, *and when not,* 138a
when to be remov'd for fear *of ſcandal, and when not,* ibid. c
not neceſſary to be form'd after the pattern of elder *churches,* 139b
the moderation *and* prudence *of the church of* England *in eſtabliſhing them,* 142a
Certainty *of* aſſurance, *what,* 46c
of evidence, *what,* 47a
Chorepiſcopi, *how diſtinguiſh'd from* biſhops, 347c
CHRIST *hath the ſecond perſon in the Trinity* united *with him,* 199a
is but one perſon, 200a
hath two natures *entire and diſtinct,* 201a
what his humanity gain'd *by its* union *with the* deity, 202c 205c
his body *not every where preſent,* 204c
in what ſenſe he may be ſaid to be preſent every where as man, 206a
in what manner, and by what means, he is united with his church, 207b
has the ſame authority in the government of the world, *as in the government of the* church, 404b
St. Chryſoſtom *vindicated as to his notion of the* juriſdiction *of* biſhops, 344b
Church, *what it ſignifies,* 242c
myſtical *and* viſible, ſound *and* unſound, *how diſtinguiſh'd,* 97c
how united with CHRIST, 207b
what power *we attribute to it, in the making of* laws, 118a
what deference *due to her* judgment, 143c
how it is diſtinguiſh'd from the common-wealth, 392b
both one *and the* ſame *ſociety,* ibid. c
the notion of their being two ſeparate ſocieties, *whence it ariſes,* ibid.
Churches, *the decency of* dedicating *them* ſolemnly *to* GOD, 147c

the

the lawfulneſs of diſtinguiſhing them by the names of angels *and* ſaints, 149 a
the faſhion *of them vindicated,* ibid. c
ought to be ſtately *and* ſumptuous, ibid.
not to be aboliſh'd becauſe formerly abus'd to ſuperſtitious *uſes,* 151 b
Church goods, lands, offerings, *and* revenues, *&c. the* property *of them in* God, 376 a
the right of the clergy *to receive and uſe them,* 378 a
ſacrilege *to alienate them,* 382 a
the ſad conſequences *that would attend a* ſacrilegious *alienation,* 387 a 388 a
Church-polity. *See* ecclesiaſticai-polity.
Churching of women, *the* lawfulneſs *of the rite,* 260 c
the woman not before excluded the church as unholy, 261 a
the attire *of a woman at churching to be decent,* ibid. b
oblations, *a proper name for her offerings at ſuch times,* ibid.
Civil powers. *See* king.
Clergy (chriſtian) three orders *of them mention'd in the new teſtament,* 372 c 273 a
See maintenance.
Clergy (jewiſh) *their diſtinct* orders *and* offices, 270 a
their diſtinct juriſdiction, 248 a
their plentiful maintenance *allotted by* God, 379 a
Collects, *the* ſhortneſs *of them vindicated,* 176 a
Common-prayer, *the* place *where perform'd to be* decent *and* ſolemn, 167 c
the miniſters *that perform it to be* zealous *and* fervent, 168 b
the ſeveral exceptions *made againſt it,* 169 c 177 c
the objections to it as popiſh *conſider'd,* 170 c
not to be poſtpon'd to any foreign *liturgies,* ibid. c
the eaſineſs *of reading it conſider'd,* 175 a
the length *of it vindicated,* ibid. c
the ſhortneſs *of the* collects *vindicated,* 176 c
the frequent *petitions for* temporal *bleſſings vindicated,* 178 b
See forms of prayer.
Common-wealth. *See* church. *See* prayer.
Communion. *See* euchariſt.
Communion of ſaints, *wherein it conſiſts,* 210 a
Conference. *See* diſputation.
Confeſſion, *how practiſed by the* primitive church, 302 a
how practiſed among the Jews, 303 b
how practiſed by the proteſtants abroad, 311 b
how it ſtands with the church of England, 312 a
Confeſſion (auricular) *the pretended texts of ſcripture for it examined,* 304 b
the riſe, progreſs *and* diſcontinuance *of it in the* primitive *church,* 305 a
how abus'd by the papiſts, 309 b
how far practiſed by the church of England, 312 b
Confirmation, *the* antiquity *of it,* 234 a
an office peculiar to biſhops, ibid. c
why ſever'd from baptiſm, 235 a
Contrition, *wherein it conſiſts,* 301 a
Councils *to be called and diſſolved by the* civil powers, 408 b
Courts (*of* biſhops) *how* pernicious, *if* corrupt, 384 b
Croſs *in* baptiſm, *juſtified,* 277 c
its antiquity, *and* uſe, *and why made in the* forehead, 278 a
not to be diſcontinued becauſe abuſed by the papiſts, 231 b
St. Cyprian *vindicated,* 86 b 356 b 357 c 367 b

D.

DEacons, *their order and office,* 271 b
Death (ſudden) *the petition againſt it in the* litany *vindicated,* 191 a
Dioceſs *and* province (*of a biſhop*) *how they differ,* 348 b
whence the diſtinction firſt aroſe, ibid. b
Diſcipline *and* doctrine, *the difference between them,* 102 b
(penitential) *the* ſeverity *of it in the primitive church,* 317 c
the danger of too eaſily *remitting it,* 318 b
how abus'd by the papiſts, 319 a
(*of the* puritans) *by what means it got footing among the* people, 36 b
by what means among the learned. 39 a
the dangerous conſequences that would follow from it, 44 c
Diſputation (*publick*) *where properly to be held,* 41 b
not to be admitted upon all *demands,* ibid. b
how to be manag'd, ibid. c
the proper manner to end *it,* 42 a
Doles, *at* funerals, *the* decency *of them,* 262 a
Dominion (*ſpiritual*) *the* power *of it, what,* 395 c
See head of the church. *See* king. *See* ſupremacy.
Donations, endowments *or* foundations (*religious*) *the impiety of or ſacrilege of alienating or impairing them,* 277 a
Donatiſts, *the ground of their ſchiſm,* 219 b
Doxology. *See* Gloria Patri.

E.

ECcleſiaſtical polity, *why choſen by the author for the* title *of his book,* 101 b
the ſubſtance *and* matter *of the eight books,* 44 a
not neceſſary to be the ſame in all churches, 101 b
not to be wholly and minutely ſet down in ſcripture, ibid. c
See diſcipline.
Elect, *never wholly fall from the faith,* 28 a 48 a 58 b
God*'s care of them, when he executes judgments on the wicked,* 61 c
Endowments (*religious.*) *See* donations.
Epiſcopacy, *by whom firſt oppoſed,* 351 b
in what reſpect oppoſed by the modern *ſectaries,* 352 b
their arguments againſt it as a human invention, ibid. b
thoſe arguments anſwered, ibid. c
their arguments againſt the neceſſity of it, 355 c
an anſwer to thoſe arguments, 356 a
the objection of biſhops uſurping more power *now than formerly, anſwered,* 357 c
no where condemn'd in ſcripture or antiquity, 366 b
See biſhops. *See* prelates.
Error *and* hereſy, *how they differ,* 22 b 29 a
Evangeliſts, *what they were,* 272 b
Euchariſt, *not to be receiv'd before baptiſm,* 237 a
the deſign *and* uſe *of it,* ibid.
the manner of Christ*'s* preſence *in it, not to be enquired into too curiouſly,* 237 b 240 b
in what ſenſe the elements *are his* body *and* blood, 238 b
diſtributing *the elements to every perſon* ſingly *juſtified,* 241 c
kneeling *at the time of receiving juſtified,* 242 a
examination of the communicants not to be laid aſide, ibid. b
papiſts, *when conforming, not to be repelled,* ibid. c
the objection as to the fewneſs *of our communicants anſwer'd,* 245 a
very properly adminiſtred at marriages, 260 c
the power of miniſters to exclude men from it, 312 c
Evil, *as* evil, *not to be deſir'd,* 61 a
how to be diſtinguiſhed from good, 62 a
Eutyches, *his* error, *what,* 201 a 204 c

F.

FAith, *why* weak *and* imperfect *in ſome believers,* 46 c
when once receiv'd, never afterwards entirely *fails,* 28 b 48 a 58 b
the ſole baſis *of a chriſtian,* 64 a
(*the* foundation) *of it, what,* 23 a 32 b
what it is to hold *it,* 26 c
what to deny it directly, *and what* by conſequent, 27 a
the difference of faith in good *men and* wicked, ibid. c
he that once holds it can never afterwards directly *deny it,* 28 a
Faſting, *the* deſign *and* uſe *of it,* 253 c
what faſts obſerv'd by the Jews, 254 c
what by the chriſtians, 255 b
the oppoſitions made to it, 256 c
the political *benefits of it,* 258 c
why appointed before feſtivals, 259 a
Fathers, *how far they make uſe of* negative arguments *from ſcripture,* 86 b
Fathers (romiſh.) *See* romaniſts.
Fear, *not ſinful in its ſelf,* 45 b
on what it ought to be exerciſed moſt, ibid. c
Fear *and* zeal, *the roots of ſuperſtition,* 140 b
Feſtivals, *the* natural *cauſe of their inſtitution,* 246 a
in what manner *to be celebrated,* 247 a
what days *to be obſerverd as feſtivals,* 248 b
the objections *againſt obſerving them anſwer'd,* 249 a
Firſt cauſe, *acknowledg'd by the* heathens, *and what they thought of it,* 55 a
Forms of prayer, *us'd by the* Jews, *and* primitive chriſtians, 169 a
See common-prayer.
Foundation. *See* faith.
Foundations (religious.) *See* donations.
Funerals. *See* burial-office.

G.

GEneva. *See* Calvin.
Geſtures (different) *at the time of* prayer *vindicated,* 174 a
Gloria Patri, *why the uſual concluſion of* pſalms, *&c.* 187 a
the uſe made of it againſt the Arians, ibid. c
the uſe of it in our liturgy *vindicated,* ibid.
the arian *doxology, orthodox in* words, ibid. b
God *and his* doings, unſearchable, 55 a
a law to himſelf, ibid. b
does nothing without reaſon, ibid. c
Good-works, *how far* inſtrumental *to ſalvation,* 25 a
not meritorious, *or the* cauſe *of ſalvation,* 26 a 31 a
Goodneſs, *the* degrees *of it, and whence it proceeds,* 59 a
how to be diſcern'd, 62 a
how to be diſtinguiſh'd from evil, ibid. a
Government (publick) *how and upon what occaſion it firſt began,* 67 b
the kinds *of it arbitrary,* ibid. c
its happineſs and proſperity depended upon religion, 264, &c.
Grace, *no falling away from it entirely,* 28 a 48 a 58 b
Grief *and* heavineſs, *when reprovable,* 43 a

H.

HAbit *of the* clergy *for diſtinction, proper,* 273 c
Halting *between two opinions condemn'd,* 55 c
Head of the church, *the lawfulneſs of applying that title to the* king, 401 b
not apply'd in the ſame ſenſe to the king *as to* Christ, ibid. c
in what ſenſe apply'd to one and the other, 403 a 406 c
implies no contradictions *or* abſurdities, *when apply'd to the* king, 503 c
apply'd to the king *and to the* pope *in different ſenſes,* 407 a
Hereſy, *what,* 57 c
how it differs from error, 22 b 29 b
Hezekiah*'s deſtroying the brazen ſerpent, how far to be drawn into a precedent,* 231 a
Holy-days. *See* faſts. *See* feſtivals.
Holy-Ghost, *in what ſenſe given and received in ordination,* 267 b
Honour, *to* whom, *and upon what accounts due,* 396 b
how to be expreſs'd, ibid. c
how and upon what accounts due to the clergy, 373 c
in what reſpects to be ſhewed them, 374 b
See biſhops. *See* prelates.
Human authoriry, *how far to be urg'd,* 90 c

INDEX.

I.

St. Jerom, *vindicated as to his notions of* epiſcopacy, 339 b 344 a
Jeruſalem (*the* council *of*) *of ſuperior authority to any ſince*, 417 a
Jesus, bowing *at his name vindicated*, 174 b
Jews, *their deſtruction, the reſult of their* infidelity, 64 c
Jewiſh ceremonies *and* rites, *how far they may be lawfully retained by* chriſtians, 113 c
Jewiſh clergy. *See* clergy jewiſh.
Ignorance *in the* clergy, *the true cauſe of it*, 284 a
in ſome caſes not to be remedied, ibid.
ought not to be ſuffer'd unneceſſarily, 383 b
Impoſition of hands, *an antient ceremony in* bleſſing, *&c.* 234 a
Indulgences (*popiſh*) *expoſed*, 319 b
Incarnation *of the Son of God with Chriſt*, 206 b
how diverſly miſinterpreted by hereticks, 199 c
the orthodox account of it expreſs'd in four *words, in refutation of the* four *principal hereſies*, 204 c
Infants, *dying* without baptiſm, *their caſe conſider'd*, 215 a
Intention *of the* prieſt, *in the adminiſtration of the* ſacraments, *to be always ſuppos'd* ſincere, 212 b
Interragatories *in* baptiſm *juſtified*, 224 b 225 b
Juriſdiction, *a diſtinct power from* ordination, 298 a
to what end given by Christ, ibid. b
Juſtification, *what in the ſenſe of the church of* Rome, 19 a
what in the ſenſe of our own church, ibid. c
how it differs from Sanctification, 20 b

K.

King, *had a* ſupremacy *in* eccleſiaſtical *affairs among the* Jews, 391 c
has the ſame power with us, ibid.
by what right *he has it*, 397 a
and in what ſort, ibid. b
in what meaſure, 398 c
may, in a limited ſenſe be lawfully term'd head of the church, 401 b
hath a power to call and diſſolve councils, *&c.* 410 b
hath power to make laws concerning eccleſiaſtical *affairs*, 412 b
hath power in all cauſes and over all perſons, as well eccleſiaſtical as civil, 412 b
his conſent *neceſſary to the making of laws*, 418 a
See dominion. *See* head of the church.
See ſupremacy.
Kneeling *at the* ſacrament *juſtified*, 242 a

L.

Law (*in* general) *what it is*, 54 b
(Eternal) *what it is*, 55 a
(*Set by* God *to himſelf*) *what*, ibid. b 62 c
unſearchable, 55 c
(*obſerved by* natural agents) *what*, 56 b 62 c
(*obſerved by* angels) *what*, 58 a
(*by which* man *is to be* guided) *what*, 59 a
(Of reaſon) *what, and how to be known*, 64 a
the benefit of keeping it, 65 b
Laws (politick) *to what end ordain'd*, 66 c 68 a
by whom to be made, 68 b
from whence they take their force, ibid.
why ſo much variety *in them.* 68 c
(mix'd *and merely* human) *how they differ*, 69 a
(*of* nations) *of what uſe*, 70 b
(primary *and* ſecondary) *how diſtinguiſh'd*, ibid.
(ſupernatural) *why it pleaſed* God *to make them known*, 71 a
(natural *and* rational) *why ſet down in holy ſcripture*, 74 a
(divine) *the benefit of having them* written, ibid. c 76 b
(poſitive) *when* mutable, *and when not*, 77 a 111 c
how to judge *of laws*, 78 c
when well *or* ill *made*, 110 b
how far to be obey'd, 419 a
(*of* Christ *and* Moſes) *how they differ*, 174 b
whether Christ *has forbidden all* change *of his laws*, ibid.
in what caſes we may add to *or* diminiſh *them*, 118 b
(eccleſiaſtical) *by whom to be made*, 409 b 416 c
Laity, *their* conſent *neceſſary in* eccleſiaſtical *laws*, 418 b
Lay-baptiſm, valid *and* effectual *in the opinion of the author*, 217 c
Learning *in the* clergy, *not every where to be expected*, 284 a
the want *of it does not vacate their commiſſion*, 286
Leſſons, *the intermingling of them with the* publick ſervice *vindicated*, 177 a
Litanies, *the* antiquity *and* uſe *of them*, 183 c
Liturgy. *See* common-prayer.
Lord's prayer, *the* frequent uſe *of it in the liturgy vindicated*, 177 c

M.

Magnificat, *the uſe of it in our* ſervice *vindicated*, 183 a
Maintenance *of the clergy among the* Jews *how liberal*, 379 a
among chriſtians *ought to be the ſame*, 379 c 387 b
how ſcandalouſly ſmall it is with us, 398 b
ſacrilege to alienate it, 382 a 387 b 388 a
Man *aſpires to a conformity with* God, 59 a
by what degree he attains to knowledge, ibid. b
what happineſs *or perfection he aims at*, 71 a
by what means he muſt attain it, 73 a
Maſſes *for the* dead (*as practiſed by the* papiſts) *expos'd*, 318 c
Matrimony, *why inſtituted*, 259 a
how eſteem'd by heathens *and* Jews, ibid. c
not to be celebrated at improper times, ibid.
Mercy for all men, *the praying for it vindicated*, 196 c
Merits, *none whatſoever in the beſt of men*, 20 c
the popiſh *doctrine of them refuted*, 321 c 65 b
Metropolitan biſhops, *how they came to be* arch-biſhops, 349 a
Miniſters, *their* zeal *and* fervency *in* publick prayer, *how neceſſary*, 168 b
of great importance to the welfare and proſperity of the common-wealth, 262 c
their authority *and* power, 266 b
their character indeſiable, ibid. c
the ſcandal of admitting unfit *perſons to the miniſtry*, 285 b
See clergy.
Mockers, *who properly ſo called*, 56 b
the danger of their ſtate, ibid. c
Mourning attire *at funerals, lawful and decent*, 261 b
Muſick, *the* power *of it*, 180 b
helpful to devotion, ibid. c
how it ought to be regulated *in churches*, ibid.

N.

Natures (*two diſtinct*) *in* Christ, 201 a
Neceſſity, *how far it may diſpenſe with laws*, 145 a
Negative arguments, *from ſcripture, how far of force*, 85 c
Neſtorius, *his hereſy, what*, 200 a
his hereſy confuted, ibid. 204 c
Noah's *ſeven precepts*, 135 b
Non-reſidence, *how far reprovable*, 281 c
in what caſes allowed of, 284 b
how and by whom to be in ſome meaſure redreſs'd, 288 c
Novatius, *his error, what*, 322 b
Nunc dimittis, *the uſe of it in our ſervice vindicated*, 183 a

O.

Offenſive *and* ſcandalous, *what properly ſo*, 137 a

P.

Pagans, *how the name came to be us'd for* heathens, 278 c
Papiſts. *See* romaniſts.
Pariſhes *or* diſtricts, *when and by whom firſt appointed*, ibid.
Parliament *of* England, *its authority to make laws in* eccleſiaſtical *affairs*, 409 b
Paſtors, *in the new teſtament, what they were*, 272 b
Patriarchs *or* primates, *their* ſuperiority, *what*, 349 b
Patronage *of* churches, *whence the right of it ariſes*, 281 a
Penance, *the diſcipline of it inſtituted by* Christ, 301 b
practis'd by the primitive chriſtians, 302 a
what it is, and of how many parts it conſiſts among the papiſts, ibid. c
how abus'd by the papiſts, 318 c
very ſevere *in the* primitive church, 317 c
the danger of its being too remiſs, 318 b
Penitentiary's Office, *when and for what reaſon* ſet up, 307 a
when and why diſcontinu'd, 308 b
People, *how drawn into a liking of the new diſcipline*, 36 b
their right to the election of miniſters *more infringed by that diſcipline, than by the church*, 358 c
Perſon, *one only, and not two in* Christ, 126 b
Philoſophy. *See* reaſon.
Places *appropriate to* divine worſhip, *how* univerſally *ſet apart*, 147 a
ſuch places ought to be ſacred, 168 b
See churches.
Pluralitys *conſider'd*, 282 b
in what caſes allow'd by the laws. 285 a
how and by whom to be retrench'd, 289 a
Pope, *his* ſupremacy a uſurpation, 67 b
Prayer, *for bleſſings which we are not* ſure *to receive, not unlawful*, 193 a 196 a
the uſe *of it*, ibid.
how God accepts *the prayer which he does not grant*, ibid. 197 b
See common-prayer.
Preaching, *what properly ſo call'd*, 152 c 159 a
reading *the* ſcriptures *in churches, a proper* preaching, 153 b 159 a
Prebends, *and places of* juriſdiction, *the* deſign *of them, and to whom they ought to be given*, 384 a
Prelates *in the church, the* benefit *and* credit *of them*, 370 a 371 b
what honour *due to them, and how*, ibid.
the benefit of them to common-wealths *in general*, ibid. c
to kings *and* princes, 372 a
to the nobility, ibid. c
to the people, 357 a
to the clergy, ibid. b
See biſhops. *See* epiſcopacy. *See* honour.
Presbyters, *their* order *and* office, *what*, 271 a
their laying on of their hands *with the biſhops in ordination, does not infer that they have a power of* ordaining, 342 c
how far they were concern'd in juriſdiction, 145 b
Pride, *what it is*, 39 c
the haughtineſs *and* inſolence *of it*, 40 a
the cauſe of all evils, 41 b
how cur'd, ibid.
Prieſt, *a name not improperly applied to* presbyters, 270 b
Primates *or* patriarchs, *their ſuperiority, what*, 349 b
Proceſſions *at funerals*, antient *and* decent, 261 c
Prophets, *in the new teſtament, what they were*, 274 c
received their inſtructions immediately from God *himſelf*, 54 a
Proſperity *of the* wicked, *no juſt cauſe of other mens* grief, 43 b
Province *and* dioceſs *of a biſhop, how* diſtinguiſh'd, *and whence the diſtinction firſt aroſe*, 348 c
Pſalms, *the great* uſefulneſs *of them, and why repeated* oftner *than any other parts of ſcripture, and in a* different *manner*, 179 c
the ſinging them with muſick *vindicated*, 180 b
the ſinging or repeating them alternately *vindicated*, 181 b
Puniſhment. *See* rewards.

Q.

Quare impedit? *the* inconvenience *and* abuſe *of it*, 383 c

R. Real

R.

REal presence *of* CHRIST *in the* ſacrament, *whether in the* elements *or the* receiver, 328 b 240 a
Reaſon, *the* guide *of* human *actions, and the* natural judge *of* right *or* wrong, 61 b
Reaſon *or* philoſophy, *ſix* objections *againſt it, and each objection diſtinctly anſwer'd,* 105 b
  the uſe of it in judging of divine matters, 109 b
Receive the HOLY-GHOST, *in the* ordination office, *vindicated,* 267 b
Religion, *the ſupport of* common-wealths, 137 a
  the foundation of temporal *happineſs and proſperity,* 264 a 265 b
  how far falſe religions *may contribute to the ſupport of a* ſtate, 138 b
  (*internal*) *how aptly expreſs'd by* outward duties, 142 b
Repentance, *the* nature *of it,* 299 a
  the virtue *and* diſcipline *of it, how diſtinguiſh'd,* ibid. b
  how the heart *is fram'd to it,* ibid. c
  the advantages *of it,* 316 a
  men may be too ſcrupulous *in it,* 330 a
    See penance.
Repetitions of prayers after the miniſter, *vindicated,* 179 a
Reſtitution, *the* neceſſity *of it, and to whom due,* 317 a
Rewards *and* puniſhments, *preſuppoſe* good *or* evil, willingly *done,* 65 c
  are not receiv'd but from thoſe who have power to judge *of our actions,* 66 a
  to what end *deſign'd,* 68 a
  who to aſſign *them,* ibid. b
Righteous. *See* elect.
Righteouſneſs, actual *and* habitual, *how they differ,* 25 a
Rogations. *See* litanys.
Romaniſts, *to be follow'd in ſome things, though not* the people of GOD, 127 b
  not to be diſſented from in every thing, becauſe hereticks *and* neighbours, ibid. c
  it is not policy to diſagree with them about things that are ſound, 130 c
  not to be denied the communion when they conform, 242 b
  who partakers *of their* errors, 22 a
  their error *and their* heresy, *how they differ,* ibid. c
  hold the foundation of faith, 23 a 31 a
  notwithſtanding their errors, may poſſibly be ſav'd, ibid.
  falſly accuſe us of hereſy *and* apoſtacy, *&c.* 59 a

S.

SAcraments, *their* name, author *and* force, 198 b
  the uſes *of them,* 210 c
  ſeveral definitions *of them,* 212 a
  whether ſigns *only, or* means *of* grace, 324 c
    See baptiſm. *See* euchariſt. *See* intention.
Sacrilege, *the* odiouſneſs *and* danger *of it,* 276 c 382 a 387 a
  at the reformation *repreſented,* 387 c
Salvation by CHRIST alone, *how to be underſtood,* 31 c
Sanctification, *how it differs from* juſtification, 20 a
Satisfaction, *what in the notion of the antient* fathers, 314 a
  how made to GOD *for* ſin, ibid. b
  what demanded of offenders *in the* primitive *church,* 317 c
  the danger of remitting it too eaſily, 318 b
  how abus'd by the papiſts, 319 b
Scandalous *and* offenſive, *what properly ſo,* 137 a
Schiſm, *what,* 57 c
Scriptures, *want nothing* needful, *nor contain any thing* ſuperfluous, 75 b
  ſufficient *to the end for which they were given,* ibid. c
  the general uſe *of them,* 78 b
  not deſign'd to direct men in actions indifferent, 82 b 85 c 94 c 104 a
  negative arguments *from them, how far of force,* 85 c 88 c
  the honour *of them not impair'd by the eſtabliſh'd church,* 103 b
  general rules *in ſcripture, how far to be apply'd to* particular *duties,* 104 b
  their authority, *from whence to be deduc'd,* 188 c
  the reading of them in churches, a kind of preaching, 153 b 159 a
  ſome ſeeming contradictions *in our* tranſlations *of them reconcil'd,* 153 c
  the method *and* choice *in our reading them vindicated,* ibid. a
  in what manner read in the jewiſh ſynagogues, 155 b
  the great uſe of reading publickly, 160 a
  by what means they conduce to ſalvation, 150 b
Serapion, *his* caſe *ſtated,* 245 b
Sermons, *not the* only *means of* ſaving ſouls, 159 a
  the good uſe *of them,* ibid. b
  conſider'd comparatively *with bare* reading the ſcriptures, 158 a
  what gains them their great repute, 166 c
  at funerals, *the proper* uſe *of them,* 261 b
Simony, *the heinouſneſs of it in biſhops,* 382 c
Sin, *the* horror *of it, after committed,* 329 a
  againſt the HOLY-GHOST, *what,* ibid. c
Societies (publick) *the* foundations *of them,* 66 b
Subſtance, *part of it to be dedicated to the* uſes of religion, 274 a
  tithes *or* tenths *of it, a* juſt *proportion to be allotted to this uſe,* 275 a
Sudden death, *the petition againſt it in the* litany, *vindicated,* 190 c
Superſtition, *whence it ſprings,* 140 b
Supremacy *of the* pope, a uſurpation, 59 c
  of the king, *what it is,* 395 c
  by what right *inveſted in him,* 397 a
  and in what ſort, ibid. b
  and in what meaſure, 398 c
    See dominion. *See* king.
Surplice, *the* objection *to it anſwer'd and expos'd,* 171 a
Synods *and* councils *to be call'd and diſſolv'd by the* civil powers, 408 b

T.

TAbernacle *and* temple *of the* Jews, *the* ſumptuouſneſs *of them,* 275 a
Teachers *in the* new teſtament, *what they were,* 272 c 273 a
Teaching. *See* preaching.
Temple. *See* tabernacle.
Temple-church, *a* diſorderly practice *in receiving the* communion *there noted,* 10 a
Temporal happineſs *or* proſperity, *how far a* bleſſing, 263 a
  the conſequence of religion, 264 a 265 a
  wherein it conſiſteth, 264 a
Ten commandments, *given after a* different *manner from the other laws of* Moſes, 114 c
Tenths. *See* tithes.
Tertullian *vindicated,* 86 a ibid. c
  his and Aerius's *oppoſite opinions about* faſting, 256 c
Thankſgivings, (particular) *the* want *of them in our* liturgy *conſider'd,* 189 a
Time, *what it is,* 245 c
Tithes *or* tenths *of our* ſubſtance *to be offer'd to* GOD, 275 a ibid. b
  theſe never afterwards to be alienated, 277 a
Title (*at* ordination) *what the name implys,* 280 a
  for what reaſon requir'd, ibid. b
  not abſolutely *neceſſary,* ibid. c
Tradition (oral) *the* uncertainty *of it,* 70 c
  when of authority, 77 a
  what tradition we *make uſe of,* 228 a
Trinity (holy) *how* united *and* diſtinguiſh'd, 199 a

U.

VIrgin Mary, *whether* conceiv'd in ſin, *not determin'd by the church of* Rome, 12 a
Viſitations (*of* biſhops) *the* deſign *of them, and how they they ought to be* manag'd, 384 b
Unworthineſs, thoſe things which for our unworthineſs we dare not ask, *&c. the petition vindicated,* 191 c

W.

WHen thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death, *&c. in the* Te Deum *explain'd and vindicated,* 190 b
Wicked men, *their proſperity no juſt cauſe of other mens grief,* 43 b
Widows, *whom ſaint* Paul *means by them,* 273 b
Will of man, *how it is influenc'd* 60 a
  how it differs from appetite, ibid. c
  but one will *in* GOD, 194 b
  two wills *in* CHRIST, ibid.
Women *apt* by nature *to be drawn into admiration of* new doctrines, 38 b
Works. *See* good works.
Worſhip, *in what ſenſe promis'd to the* wife *in the office of* matrimony, 260 b

X.

XIſtus (*biſhop of* Rome) *his* conduct *and* courage *to ſave the* treaſures *of the church,* 277 a

Z.

ZEal *and* fear, *roots of* ſuperſtition, 140 c

TEXTS of SCRIPTURE explain'd, and particularly conſider'd.

Ch.	Ver.	Page
EXOD.		
iv.	24.	223 b
LEVIT.		
xix.	27.	128 a
xxi.	5.	128 c
DEUT.		
xiv.	1.	128 c
PROV.		
ii.	9.	82 b
MAT.		
xx.	25—28.	366, 39
MARK.		
x.	42—45.	366, 39
LUKE.		
xxii.	25—27.	366, 39
ACTS.		
xv.	20, 28.	134 b
ROM.		
xiv.	23.	83 c
1 COR.		
x.	31.	83 a
1 TIM.		
iv.	5.	83 c
vi.	14.	116 c
2 TIM.		
ii.	4.	364 c
1 PET.		
ii.	12.	83 b